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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XXXII.



L O N D O N,

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THE
MORRIS PART



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THE
MORRIS PART

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXXX. *Continued.*

The History of the Empire of Russia.

S E C T. X. *Continued.*

*From the Accession of the now reigning Family of
Romanow.*

A N interesting scene was opening this year on the A.D. 1700.
frontiers of Sweden. One of the principal causes
of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria as *Affairs of*
far as Dresden, and which laid so many countries waste *Sweden.*
during the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the
supreme power, under Charles XI. king of Sweden, father
of Charles XII. The fact cannot be too often repeated,
for it nearly concerns all princes and nations¹. The greatest
part of Livonia, with all Esthonia, had been ceded by Po-
land to Charles XI. king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles
X. during the treaty of Oliva: it was ceded in the custom-
ary manner, reserving to the inhabitants the continuance of
all their privileges. But these being little regarded by

¹ Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 185.

Patkul imprisoned at Stockholm.

Makes his escape.

Flies to Augustus king of Poland,

and forms a league between him, the king of Denmark, and the czar against Sweden.

Charles XI. John Renold Patkul, a Livonian gentleman, repaired to Stockholm, in 1692, at the head of six deputies of the province, in order to lay the strongest, and, at the same time, the most respectful remonstrances of the people before the throne (A): instead of an answer, the six deputies were committed to prison, and Patkul was condemned to lose both his honour and life. But he lost neither; for he made his escape out of prison, and remained for some time in the country of Vaud, in Switzerland. As soon as he heard that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised upon his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces which had been wrested from that kingdom, he hastened away to Dresden, in order to represent the facility of recovering Livonia, and of dispossessing a young king, only in his eighteenth year, of the conquests of his ancestors.

At the same time, the czar Peter was meditating a scheme to make himself master of Ingria and Carelia. These provinces formerly belonged to the Russians; but the Swedes had conquered them at the time of the false Demetrius; and preserved them since by treaties. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and having excited the two monarchs to avenge his cause, he cemented a close union between them, and forwarded their preparations for invading the several territories situated to the east and south of Finland.

At this very time, Frederic IV. the new king of Denmark, entered into a league with the czar and Augustus, against the young king of Sweden, who seemed likely to be overpowered. Patkul had the pleasure of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia; on which occasion he acted as major-general in the Polish service.

The czar marched an army of about sixty thousand men towards Ingria. True it is, that in this great army there were hardly more than twelve thousand disciplined troops; consisting of his two regiments of guards, and a few others: the remainder were composed of an ill-armed militia, with some Cossacks and Circassian Tartars: but he had a hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva (B), a small town in Ingria, with a commodious

Peter lays siege to Narva.

(A) Norberg, chaplain and confessor of Charles XII. says in his history, "that he had the insolence to complain of oppression, and that he was condemned to lose both his honour and life." This is talking like

the priest of despotism. He should have reflected, that it is impossible to bereave a citizen of his honour, for doing his duty.

(B) On the 1st of October.

harbour

harbour ; and there was the greatest probability that the place would be taken in a very short time.

All Europe knows how Charles XII. at that time not quite eighteen years of age, withstood his numerous enemies, and attacked them all successively ; how he made a descent upon Denmark, and finished the war with that crown in less than six weeks ; how he sent succours to Riga, and raised the siege of that town ; and how he marched over ice and snow in the month of November, against the Russians who had laid siege to Narva.

Charles XII. marches to the relief of the place.

The czar, confident of taking the town, was gone to Novogorod, in order to proceed from thence to an interview with the king of Poland. He was attended by his favourite Menzikoff, at that time lieutenant in the company of artillery belonging to the regiment of Preobrazinski, and afterwards raised to the dignity of prince and field-marshal ; a man whose extraordinary fortune deserves a more particular description in another place.

Peter left the command of his army, with instructions for the siege, to the duke of Croy, whose family was originally from Flanders, and who had lately entered into the czar's service. Prince Dolgorucki was commissary of the army. The jealousy between these two chiefs, and the absence of the czar, were in part the cause of the unparalleled defeat at Narva. Charles XII. having landed his troops at Pernau, in Livonia, in the month of October, marched northwards towards Reval, and defeated in that neighbourhood an advanced body of Russians. From thence he continued his march, and routed another. The fugitives flew back to their main army, and spread consternation in the camp. Yet they were now in the month of November ; and the town of Narva, though unskilfully besieged, was upon the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had not with him quite nine thousand men ; and could bring no more than ten pieces of cannon against the Russian entrenchments, which were lined with one hundred and forty-five.

Charles was not in the least afraid to attack so great a force with his small corps ; but availing himself of a violent storm of snow and wind, which blew full in the front of the enemy, he attacked their entrenchments (C) with the aid of a few pieces of cannon advantageously posted. The Russians had not time to recover themselves in the

Attacks the Russians with a very inferior force ;

^b Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII.

(C) On the 30th of November, 1700.

midst of that cloud of snow, which, as we observed before, was driven by the wind directly in their faces, so that they could not see the cannon that played most furiously against them; nor had they any notion that the enemy's force was so inconsiderable.

*and totally
defeats
them.*

The duke de Croy gave orders; and prince Dolgorucki would not obey them. The Russians rose against the German officers, and massacred the duke's secretary, with colonel Lyon and several others. Every man quitted his post; and a general confusion and panic were diffused throughout the whole army. The Swedish troops had then nothing more to do than to kill and destroy a flying multitude. Some of the fugitives threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers of them were drowned; others flung away their arms, and begged for quarter upon their knees. The duke de Croy, general Allard, and the German officers, more afraid of the mutinous Russians, than of the Swedes, surrendered to count Steinboeck. The king of Sweden became master of all their artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off with their heads uncovered before him. The knez Dolgorucki, and all the other Russian generals, came and surrendered as well as the Germans; but did not know till some time after they had been made prisoners, that they were vanquished by nine thousand men. Among the captives was the son of a king of Georgia, whom Charles sent to Stockholm: his name was Mittelefsky Czarowitz, or czar's son; which is a farther proof, that the title of czar or tzar was not originally derived from the Roman Cæsars.

On the side of Charles XII. there were only twelve hundred slain in this engagement. The czar's journal, sent to M. de Voltaire from Petersburg, says^c, that reckoning the soldiers who perished at the siege and battle of Narva, and who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than six thousand men. The loss of that fatal day was entirely owing to want of discipline, and to a panic that seized the army. One very extraordinary circumstance is, that the king of Sweden should suffer one half of the Russian soldiers to go off disarmed, and the other half to repass the river with their arms, without retaining a single soldier prisoner. This unaccountable presumption restored a body of troops to the czar, that were afterwards well disciplined, and became formidable to their enemy.

Charles XII. reaped all the advantages that could be drawn from a signal victory: his troops seized immense

^c Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, p. 192.

magazines, and a great number of transports laden with provisions; the enemy's posts were either evacuated or taken; in short, the whole country was in possession of the Swedes. Narva was now delivered; the shattered remains of the Russian army durst not shew themselves; and the frontier being open as far as Pleskow, the czar seemed to have no resources left to enable him to maintain the war. On the other hand, the king of Sweden having vanquished the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, in less than a year, made a figure as the first prince in Europe, at an age when other sovereigns hardly presume to think of military glory. But Peter's characteristic was invincible constancy of mind; so that he was never discouraged in any of his projects.

The czar was upon the road, in order to concert matters with the king of Poland, when he received the news of the victory obtained by the Swedes. He was not at all dispirited, but shewed a firmness equal to the intrepidity and valour of Charles XII. He deferred his interview with Augustus, to apply a speedy remedy to the disordered state of his affairs. The troops that had been in different quarters rendezvoused at Novogorod, and marched from thence to Pleskow.

Peter having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, repaired with all expedition to Moscow, to forward the casting of cannon. All his artillery had been taken before Narva; and as he wanted metal, he had recourse to the bells of the churches, and of the religious houses. Out of those bells were formed a hundred large cannon, with one hundred and forty-three field pieces, from three to six-pounders, besides mortars, and cohorns; and the whole was forwarded to Pleskow. In other countries, the sovereign commands, and his subjects execute his orders; but here the czar was obliged to see every thing done with his own eyes. While he was making these preparations, he entered into a negociation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to assist him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch durst not perform.

A.D. 1701.

Peter repairs his losses.

His interview and agreement with Augustus king of Poland.

As soon as this treaty was signed, he returned with the greatest dispatch to the seat of war; and had an interview (D) with king Augustus, at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. His business was to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII. and to prevail on the Polish diet to engage in

(D) On the 27th of February, 1701.

this quarrel. It is well known, that the king of Poland is no more than the head of the republic. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed; but the kings of Poland, and England, and at present the king of Sweden, are obliged to treat with their subjects. Patkul, and a few Poles in the interest of their king, were present at those conferences. Peter promised to assist them with subsidies, and with an army of twenty thousand men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, upon a supposition that the diet would act in conjunction with their king to recover that province; but fear had a stronger influence, on the determinations of the diet, than the czar's proposals. The Poles were under an apprehension of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons and Russians; and at the same time they had a greater dread of Charles XII. Hence the majority determined not to serve their king, that is, not to fight. The court-party were exasperated against the contrary faction; in short, the king's proposal of recovering a considerable province, that had been wrestled from Poland, was productive of a civil war throughout the kingdom. The czar therefore had but a weak ally in Augustus, and the Saxon troops afforded him but very little assistance. Such terror did Charles XII. inspire on every side, that Peter was obliged to depend entirely upon his own forces.

After having travelled with the utmost expedition from Moscow to Courland, in order to confer with Augustus, the czar hastened back with equal speed from Courland to Moscow, to forward the performance of his promise, in consequence of which he immediately ordered prince Repnin to march with a body of four thousand men towards Riga, upon the banks of the Duna, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

Charles XII. passes the Duna; defeats the Saxons; and conquers Courland.

The rapid success of the Swedes, increased the general terror of their arms. Charles having passed the Duna, in spite of the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, obtained a complete victory: he followed the blow by making himself master of all Courland; and was advancing with his victorious army into Lithuania, to animate the Polish faction, who had declared against Augustus.

Peter continues his armaments.

Peter still pursued his great designs. General Patkul, who had been the life and soul of the conferences at Birzen, and had lately entered into his service, shewed his zeal in providing him with German officers, and in disciplining his troops; in short, he was a second general Le Fort, and finished what the other began. The czar had horses always ready on the frontiers to bring the officers,

and

and even the common soldiers, whether Germans, Livonians or Poles, that came to serve in his armies; and took particular care of every thing relative to their arms, clothes, and subsistence.

On the confines of Livonia and Esthonia, and west of the province of Novogorod, lies the great lake of Peipus: from the south side of Livonia, it receives the river Welika; and to the northward, it sends forth the river Naiova, which washes the walls of the town of Narva, in whose neighbourhood the Swedes obtained their famous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length; in some places twelve, and in others fifteen in breadth. Here it was of the utmost importance for the czar to maintain a fleet, in order to prevent the Swedish vessels from insulting the province of Novogorod; to be within a proper distance for making a descent upon their coasts; and especially to train up a number of seamen. During the year 1701, Peter caused a hundred and fifty half-gallies, each carrying about fifty men, to be built on this lake, and other vessels were fitted out for war upon the Ladoga Sea. He directed the building of these vessels himself, and set all his new sailors immediately to work. Those who had served in 1697, upon the Palus Maotis, were now employed in the neighbourhood of the Baltic. Yet he frequently made excursions to Moscow, and to the other provinces, in order to establish the regulations already begun, or to introduce new improvements.

Builds a fleet upon the lake Peipus.

Princes who have employed their peaceful days in public foundations, are mentioned in history with honour; but that Peter, just after the unfortunate battle of Narva, should undertake the junction of the Baltic, Caspian, and Euxine Seas, is a circumstance which crowns him with more real glory, than he could ever have derived from the most signal victory. It was in 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, which was intended to unite the Don and the Wolga. Other communications were to be carried on by the help of lakes, from the Don to the Duna, which empties itself into the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Riga: but this latter project seemed to be still at a great distance, for Peter was far from having Riga in his possession.

A.D. 1702.

Undertakes the junction of the Baltic, Caspian, and Euxine Seas

Charles continued to ravage Poland, while Peter was introducing from thence and from Saxony, shepherds with their flocks of sheep, in order to have wool fit for manufacturing good cloth: he erected linen and paper manufactories: by his order great numbers of blacksmiths, braziers, armourers, and founders, with other artificers, were invited

Establishes several manufactures.

from abroad : and workmen were employed to dig the mines of Siberia. Thus at the same time he endeavoured to enrich, and to defend his dominions.

Charles, eager to prosecute his victories, left a sufficient number of forces, as he imagined, upon the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to defend the provinces subject to Sweden. He was now determined to dethrone king Augustus, and then to pursue the czar with his victorious arms as far as Moscow.

This year there happened some little skirmishes between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter were not always victorious ; and even when they had the advantage, the Russians were learning the art of war. Within a twelve-month after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so greatly improved in the military discipline, that they obtained a victory over one of the best generals belonging to Charles the Twelfth.

Gains several advantages over the Swedes.

Peter was at Pleskow, from whence he sent out numerous detachments on all sides to attack the Swedes. The Russians proved victorious under the command of a general of their own nation. Scheremetow, by a judicious manœuvre, surprised several out-parties of Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, in the neighbourhood of Dœrpt, on the frontiers of Livonia ; and at length obtained a victory over the general himself. The Russians took four colours, for the first time, from the Swedes.

The Swedish and Russian fleets had several engagements on the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga ; where the former had the same advantage as by land, that of discipline and long practice. Yet the Russians were sometimes successful on board their half-gallies ; and in a general action upon the lake of Peipus (E), field-marshal Scheremetow made himself master of a Swedish frigate.

By means of this lake, the czar kept all Livonia and Esthonia in constant alarm ; his gallies frequently transported over several regiments to make a descent in those provinces : if the attempt did not prove favourable, they were rebarked ; if they had any advantage, they improved it. The Swedes were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of Dœrpt, while their arms were prosperous every where else.

In all these engagements the Russians were superior in number to the Swedes ; therefore, as Charles XII. was victorious in every other quarter, he did not give himself any uneasiness about the czar's success : but he should have considered, that the numerous forces of his rival were im-

(E) In May, 1702.

proving

proving every day in discipline, and might soon be a match for the Swedish veterans.

While the two nations were thus engaged by sea and land towards Livonia, Ingria, and Esthonia, the czar received intelligence (F), that a Swedish fleet had sailed to the North Seas, with a view to destroy Archangel: he forthwith set out for that city; and the public were surprised to hear that he was upon the banks of the Frozen Ocean, when every body believed him to be at Moscow. He put the town into a state of defence, prevented the Swedes from landing, drew the plan of a citadel called the New Dwina, laid the first stone, returned to Moscow, and from thence to the seat of war.

Flies to the relief of Archangel.

Charles was advancing into Poland, while the Russians were making conquests in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Scheremetow marched against the Swedish forces commanded by Schlippenbach, and obtained a victory over that general near the little river Embac, where he took sixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon from the enemy.

Conquests of the Russians in Ingria and Livonia.

The Russian general continued his march, and laying the whole country under contribution, made himself master of the little town of Marienburg, situate on the confines of Livonia and Ingria.

They take Marienburg.

This little town having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, either through inadvertency or design, set fire to the magazines. The Russians, provoked at this behaviour, destroyed the town, and carried off all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been educated by Mr. Gluck, the minister of the place: this is the very person who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed Russia by the name of the empress Catharine.

The czar's arms were equally successful in Ingria; for the Russian half-gallies on the lake Ladoga, obliged the Swedish fleet to retire to Kexholm, situated at the other extremity of this great lake: from thence they could observe the siege of Notteburg, which general Sheremetow had undertaken by order of the czar.

Notteburg was a very strong town, situated on an island in the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands; so that whoever possesses this place, must of course be master of the river Neva, which disembogues itself not far from thence

The Russians take Notteburg.

* Voltaire, p. 206.

(F) In July, 1702.

into

into the Baltic. The Russians battered the town, night and day, from the 18th of September to the 12th of October; and at length having made three breaches, gave the assault. The Swedish garrison were reduced to a hundred men; yet what is very extraordinary, they made a stand, and obtained an honourable capitulation upon the breach. Colonel Schlippenbach, the governor, would not surrender the town, but upon condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, in order to examine the breach, and to inform the king his master; that eighty-three soldiers, all that remained of the garrison, besides a hundred and fifty-six sick and wounded, did not surrender, till it was impossible for them to make a longer resistance, or to preserve the town. The czar distributed some gold medals among his officers, and gave rewards to all the common soldiers; except to a few, who were punished for running away from an assault: their comrades spit in their faces, and afterwards shot them to death, mixing ignominy with their punishment. The fortifications of Notteburg were repaired, and its name was changed into that of Schlusselfurg: Schlusfel, in the German, signifying a key, for this place is the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was Menzikoff, who merited this honour by behaving most gallantly during the siege. This example was an encouragement to merit, undistinguished by birth.

Peter and his victorious troops make a triumphant entry into Moscow.

After this campaign of 1702, Peter resolved that Scheremetow, and the officers who had signalized themselves under his command, should make a triumphant entry into Moscow. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the train of the victors: before them were carried the Swedish colours and standards, with the flag taken on board the frigate in the lake Peipus. Peter assisted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had shared in the victories, which were celebrated with much magnificence. So splendid a procession was designed to inspire his troops with a noble emulation; otherwise it would have been an idle show. Charles disdained every thing of this kind, and held the Russians, with their triumphs, and all their efforts, in the utmost contempt, ever after the battle of Narva.

A.D. 1703.

The short stay which the czar made at Moscow in the beginning of the next winter, was employed in seeing his new regulations executed, and in improving the civil, as well as military government. Even his very diversions were calculated to promote the new manner of life, which he was now introducing among his subjects. With this view, he caused all the bojars and ladies to be invited to the marriage

of

of one of his jesters ; and gave his commands that every body should be dressed in the ancient fashion. Dinner was served up just in the same manner as had been practised in the sixteenth century*. There had been formerly a superstitious custom of not lighting a fire on a wedding-day, even in the severest frost : this custom was strictly observed at the present entertainment. The Russians used to drink no wine, but only mead, and brandy ; and now he would suffer no other liquor : in vain did the guests complain of this treatment ; he answered them in a jocular manner, “ Your ancestors did so ; and surely ancient customs are always the best.” This kind of raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of such as were apt to prefer the past to the present times ; at least it discouraged their complaints. Some other nations stand in need of the like correction.

But a more useful establishment was that of a printing-house, with the Russian and Latin types, which had been all brought from Holland. They began with printing some Russian translations of books of morality and polite literature ; while Ferguson opened schools for teaching geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

Establishes a printing-house ;

public schools ;

Another foundation no less useful than necessary, was that of a large hospital : not one of those houses which encourage idleness, and perpetuate the misery of the people ; but such as the czar himself had seen at Amsterdam, where both old men and children are employed at work, and every body is of some use to the public.

an hospital ;

He likewise established several manufactures ; and after he had set his people to work at the different trades and professions which he had lately introduced into Moscow, he made an excursion to Woronetz. Here he gave orders for building two eighty-gun ships, with long empty chests, exactly closed, and fixed under the ribs, for the easier floating of the vessel over the bars and shoals, of which there are many in the neighbourhood of Asoph.

and several manufactures ;

Preparations against the Turks,

Having prepared every thing for an expedition against the Turks, he flew back to the frontiers of Sweden, and visited the ships which he had directed to be built in the dock-yards of Olonitz, between the lakes Ladoga and Onega. In this town he had erected some forges and foundaries for making arms : so that the place was filled with the bustle of military preparations, while Moscow began to flourish in the

and the Swedes,

* Taken by Voltaire, (p. 212.) from the Journal of Peter the Great.

arts of peace. From thence he went to Schlusſelburg, in order to improve its fortifications.

We have already taken notice, that he had thought proper to paſs through all the military degrees: he had been a lieutenant of bombardiers under prince Menzikoff, before this favourite was made governor of Schlusſelburg; and now he took the rank of captain, and ſerved under maſhal Scheremetow.

Near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, ſtood a very important fortrefs named Nianz or Nienschantz. It was of the utmoſt importance for the czar to make himſelf maſter of this place, in order to ſecure his conqueſts, and to proſecute his other deſigns. He was obliged to lay ſiege to it by land, and at the ſame time to prevent its receiving any ſuccours by water. Peter undertook to tranſport troops in ſmall barks, and to watch the Swediſh convoys; while Scheremetow had the care of the trenches. The citadel ſurrendered (G): and two Swediſh veſſels came too late to relieve it; for they were both taken by the czar. Peter's journey, communicated to M. de Voltaire^f, makes mention, that “as a reward for his ſervice, the captain of bombardiers was created a knight of the order of St. Andrew, by admiral Golowin, firſt knight of the order.”

*Peter
takes the
fortreſs of
Nyenschan-
tantz.*

After the reduction of this fort, he reſolved to build the city of Petersburgh, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the gulf of Finland.

King Auguſtus's affairs were in an unproſperous way: the ſucceſſive victories of the Swedes in Poland had encouraged his enemies in their oppoſition; and even his friends prevailed on him to diſmiſs a body of twenty thouſand Ruſſians, with which his army had been reinforced. The motive they alleged was, that this ſacrifice would deprive the malecontents of any pretext for joining the king of Sweden: but enemies are diſarmed by force, and encouraged by indulgence. Thoſe twenty thouſand men, diſciplined by Patkul, did very great ſervice in Livonia and Ingria, while Auguſtus was loſing his dominions. This reinforcement, and eſpecially the poſſeſſion of Nyenschantz, enabled the czar to found his new capital.

*Peterſ-
burgh
founded.*

It was in the deſart and marſhy ſpot of ground before mentioned, which communicates but one way with the continent, that he laid the foundation of Petersburgh (H), in the

^f Hiſt. de Ruſſie, p. 215.

(G) On the 12th of May, on Whitſunday, the 27th of 1503. May, 1703.

(H) Petersburgh was founded

sixtieth degree of latitude, and the forty-fourth and a half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions at Nyenschantz, served for the first stones of this foundation. He began with erecting a small fort in one of the islands, which now stands in the midst of the city. The Swedes took no umbrage at this settlement, formed in a morass, and inaccessible to vessels of burden; but how great was their surprise, when they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronslot, situated over against it, changed, in 1704, into an impregnable fortress, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may safely ride at anchor!

An enterprize of this nature seemed to require peaceful times, yet was executed in the hurry and confusion of war; workmen of every sort were called together from Moscow, from Astracan, from Casan, and the Ukraine, to assist in building this city. Neither the difficulty of the ground, which he was obliged to drain and to raise, nor the distance of materials, nor the unforeseen obstacles which constantly arose in every branch of labour, nor lastly, the mortality which carried off a prodigious number of workmen, could shake the fixed resolution of the founder of this metropolis. In the space of five months a new town rose out of the ground. It is true, it was no more than a cluster of huts, with two brick-houses, surrounded by ramparts; but this was sufficient for a beginning; time and perseverance accomplished the rest. Petersburg had not been founded above five months, when a Dutch vessel came to trade there (C): the captain received some presents for his encouragement; and the Dutch soon learnt the way to this harbour.

While Peter was directing the foundation of this colony, he took care to render it inaccessible to the enemy, by making himself master of all the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel, named Croniort, having stationed his men on the river Seftra, from whence he threatened the growing town, Peter marched up to him with the two regiments of guards, defeated the colonel's detachment, and obliged him to re-pass the river. When he had thus provided for the security of the town, he repaired to Olonitz, to order a number of small vessels to be put upon the stocks, and returned to Petersburg on board a frigate, which had been built by his direction, together with six transports for present use, till the others could be finished.

A.D. 1703.

(C) In November, 1703.

Even

*Peter sends
assistance
to the king
of Poland.*

Even at this very juncture, he lent a helping hand to the king of Poland, by sending him a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, and three hundred thousand rubles in money. His annual revenue did not exceed five millions of rubles; a sum which the expence of his fleet, of his armies, and of his new establishments, was sufficient to exhaust. He had fortified Novogorod, Pleskow, Kiow, Smolensko, Asoph, and Archangel, much about the same time. He had been likewise employed in founding a capital. Yet he was still able to assist his ally with men and money. We read in Cornelius le Brun, a Dutch traveller, who was at that time in Russia, that the czar himself assured him of his having three hundred thousand rubles in his coffers, after all the charges of the war were defrayed.

To secure his new colony of Petersburg against any insult, he founded the coast, and fixed the spot on which the fort of Cronslot was to be erected: after having made a model of it in wood, he employed prince Menzikoff to carry it into execution. From thence he set out for Moscow, to pass the winter in that city, and gradually establish the several regulations and changes, which he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He likewise put his finances into new order; then he expedited the works undertaken on the river Woronetz, at Asoph, and in a harbour which he was building upon the Palus Mæotis, under the fort of Taganrock.

A.D. 1704.

The Porte, alarmed at these preparations, sent an ambassador to him with complaints; to which he made answer, that he was as much a sovereign in his own dominions as the grand signor was in Turkey; and that it could be no violation of the peace to render Russia respectable on the Euxine sea.

*He defeats
the Swedes
on the lake
Peipus.*

Upon his return to Petersburg, finding the new citadel of Cronslot, whose foundations had been laid in the sea, entirely finished, he provided it with numerous artillery. In order to establish himself in Ingria, and to wipe off the disgrace received before Narva, he esteemed it necessary to make himself master of that city. While he was making the preparations for the siege, a small fleet of Swedish brigantines appeared on the lake Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian half-gallies went out to meet them, a fierce engagement ensued, and the whole Swedish squadron, carrying ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was taken. After this victory the czar besieged Narva by sea and land; and, what is very extraordinary, he laid siege at the same time to Dœrpt in Esthonia; going in person incessantly from one

*Lays siege
to Narva
and
Dærpt.*

one to the other to forward the attacks, and to direct the different approaches.

Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, was at that time in the neighbourhood of Dœrpt, with about two thousand five hundred men. The garrison expected every moment he would attempt to throw succours into the town. But Peter prevented this design by a stratagem, worthy of more frequent imitation. He ordered Swedish uniforms, colours, and standards, for two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. The pretended Swedes attacked the trenches, and the Russians feigned a retreat; the garrison were thereby deluded to make a sally; the mock combatants joined their forces, and fell upon the Swedes, one half of whom were killed, and the other half got back to the town. Schlippenbach came up soon after with an intent to relieve it, but was entirely defeated. At length Dœrpt was obliged to capitulate (I), just as Peter was going to order a general assault.

*Dœrpt
taken by a
stratagem.*

At the same time the czar received a considerable check on the side of his new city of Petersburg; which did not, however, hinder him from going on with the buildings, nor from pressing the siege of Narva. We have already taken notice that he had sent a supply of men and money to king Augustus, whom Charles was stripping of his crown; but both these aids proved ineffectual. The Russians having joined the Lithuanians, who adhered to Augustus, were entirely routed in Courland by Lewenhaupt, the Swedish general (K). Had the victors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, they might have demolished the czar's new works, and baffled all his grand designs. Peter was every day undermining the out-wall of Sweden, and Charles did not seem to regard him; being engaged in a pursuit, less advantageous to his people, but more glorious to his arms.

*The Rus-
sians are
beat in
Courland.*

On the 12th of July, 1704, only a single colonel, at the head of a Swedish detachment, had obliged the Polish nobility, to proceed to the nomination of a new king on the field of election, called Kolo, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. The cardinal-primate, and several other bishops, submitted to the will and pleasure of a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff: in short, they were obliged to yield to a superior force. Every one knows the manner in which Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected; and how Charles XII. caused him to be acknowledged as sovereign, by a consider-

*Stanislaus
elected
king of
Poland.*

(I) On the 23d of July, 1704.

(K) On the 31st of July.

able

*Narva
taken by
assault.*

able part of the Polish nation. Yet Peter would not abandon his abdicated ally, but grew more liberal of his succours, as that prince became more unfortunate; and while his rival busied himself in making sovereigns, he employed his time in defeating the Swedish generals in Esthonia and Ingria, and in forwarding the siege of Narva, where things were now ready for an assault. There were three famous bastions, at least their names were such, being called Victory, Honour, and Glory. The czar carried them sword in hand. The besiegers forced their way into the town (L), where they fell immediately to plunder, and committed the most horrid barbarities; a practice but too common at that time both with the Swedes and Russians.

Peter set an example on this occasion capable of conciliating the affections of his new subjects. Seeing his men intent on slaughter and pillage, he ran from place to place to stop their fury, and rescued several women out of their barbarous hands. After having killed two of the brutes who refused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, whither great numbers of the citizens retired for shelter; and there laying his sword, reeking with blood, upon a table, "My sword (said he) is not stained with the blood of the inhabitants, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have shed to save your lives."

*Rise of
prince
Menzikoff.*

Peter being now master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province on Menzikoff, giving him, at the same time, the title of prince, and the rank of major-general. The pride and prejudice of other countries might find fault with a sovereign for raising a pastry-cook's boy to the post of general and governor, and to princely dignity; but Peter had accustomed his subjects not to be surprised at seeing him prefer men of abilities to persons who had nothing to recommend them but their high birth. Menzikoff happened, by a lucky accident (M), to emerge from

(L) On the 20th of August, 1704.

(M) Menzikoff's parents were vassals of the monastery of Cosmopoli; at the age of thirteen he went to Moscow, and was taken into the service of a pastry-cook. His employment was singing ballads, and crying puffs and cakes about the streets. One day, as he was following his occupa-

tion, the czar happening to hear him, and to be diverted with one of his songs, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his pies and his basket? The boy answered, that his business was to sell his pies, but he must ask his master's leave to sell his basket; yet, as every thing belonged to his prince, he needed only to lay his commands upon him. This answer

from his original obscurity when he was very young; and to be placed in the czar's family, where he learnt several languages, and qualified himself both for the cabinet and for the field; having had the art of ingratiating himself with his master by his wit and humour, he strengthened his interest by more important services. He used all possible diligence in forwarding the works at Petersburg; where, by this time, the czar had erected a great number of houses, of stone and brick, with an arsenal and magazines, and had likewise finished the fortifications. The palaces were not raised till some time after.

No sooner was Peter settled in Narva than he made an offer of farther succours to the king of Poland, who had been lately dethroned: he engaged to supply him with a fresh body of troops, besides the reinforcement of twelve thousand men, which he had already sent to that prince. Accordingly he gave orders for general Repnin to march from the frontiers of Lithuania with six thousand horse and six thousand foot. All this while he did not lose sight of his colony of Petersburg; the buildings went on, the navy was improving; and ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olonitz; these he took care to see finished, and brought them himself into the harbour of Petersburg.

It was generally his custom, upon his return to Moscow, to make a triumphant entry. In this manner did he now revisit his capital, from whence he made only one excursion, to assist at the launching of his first ship of eighty guns, upon the Woronetz, the dimensions of which he himself had drawn the preceding year.

As soon as the season approached for opening the campaign in Poland, he made haste to join the army, which he had assembled on the frontiers of Lithuania, in order to assist Augustus. But while he was thus endeavouring to support his ally, the Swedes had fitted out a fleet, which threatened the destruction of his new settlements of Petersburg

Peter sends farther succours to Augustus.

A.D. 1705.
Peter sets out for Courland.

was so agreeable to the czar, that he immediately ordered him to come to court, where he gave him at first a mean employment; but, being every day more pleased with his wit, he thought fit to place him about his person, and to make him groom of his bed-chamber, from whence he gradually raised him to the highest prefer-

ments. He was tall and well-shaped. At his first coming into the czar's service he enlisted into Mons. Le Fort's company, and acquired, under that general's instructions, such a degree of knowledge and skill, as enabled him to command armies, and to become one of the bravest and most successful generals in Russia.

and Cronstot. This squadron consisted of twenty-two ships of war, carrying from fifty-four to sixty-four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fire-ships. The land-forces on board the transports made a descent in the little island of Kotin. But a Russian colonel, named Tolboguine, having caused his regiment to lie flat on their bellies while the Swedes were landing, ordered them to rise up of a sudden, and they made so brisk and regular a fire as obliged the enemy to retreat (N) in the utmost confusion to their ships, abandoning their dead, with the loss of three hundred prisoners.

In the mean time the Swedish fleet hovered still upon the coast, and threatened Petersburg. The land-forces made another descent, and met with the like repulse. A body of troops were advancing at the same time by land from Wyburg, under the command of Meidel, the Swedish general; and had taken their route by Schlusselfburg. This was the most formidable attack that Charles XII. had yet made against the territories, either conquered or created by Peter the Great; but the Swedes were repulsed on every side, and Petersburg was saved.

The czar, on the other hand, was marching towards Courland, and wanted to penetrate as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles completed the reduction of Poland under the obedience of the new king. Peter continued still at Wilna in Lithuania, and marshal Scheremetow was approaching Mittaw, the capital of Courland; but there he met with Lewenhaupt, a general celebrated for many victories. The two armies engaged at a place called Gemauershoff, or Gemauers.

*They de-
feat the
Russians.*

In matters depending on experience and discipline, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had always the advantage; the Russians were entirely defeated, and lost all their artillery (O). However, Peter still retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

*Peter I.
takes
Mittaw.*

After the battle of Gemauers, he marched with a large army into Courland, sat down before Mittaw, made himself master of the town, and laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation (P).

The Muscovites at that time were famed for tarnishing their success by rapine and plunder, a practice of too great antiquity in all nations; but Peter had so changed this custom at the taking of Narva, that the Russian soldiers now appointed to guard the vaults in the castle of Mittaw, the

(N) On the 17th of June, 1705.
(P) On the 14th of September, 1705.

(O) July 28, 1705.

usual burying-place of the great dukes of Courland, finding that the bodies of those princes had been dragged out of their tombs and stripped of their ornaments, refused to undertake the charge, till they had sent for a Swedish colonel to examine the place, who gave them a certificate, acknowledging that the troops of his own nation had committed this outrage.

A report which was spread throughout the Russian empire, that Peter had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemauers, did him more mischief than the loss of the battle. The remainder of the ancient strelitzes in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this intelligence to revolt, murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send marshal Scheremetow, with a body of forces, to quell the insurrection, and punish the ringleaders.

*Rebellion of
the stre-
litzes at
Astracan
quelled.*

Every thing seemed now to conspire against the czar: Charles's good fortune and valour; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the rebellion of the ancient strelitzes; the murmurings of a people sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reformation; the disaffection of the nobility for being subjected to military discipline; and lastly, the exhausted state of the revenue, were circumstances extremely discouraging; yet he was no way dispirited. He soon quelled the revolt; then providing for the security of Ingria, and making himself master of the citadel of Mittaw, in spite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not a sufficient force to oppose him, he found himself at liberty to march an army through Samojitia and Lithuania.

Peter had now shared with Charles XII. the glory of triumphing in Poland. He advanced as far as Tikoczin, where he had an interview with king Augustus, whom he endeavoured to comfort under his misfortunes, promising to avenge his cause. At the same time he made him a present of a few standards, which Menzikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. From thence they went to Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, and staid there till the 15th of December. At their parting Peter presented him with both men and money, and, according to custom, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign, went to spend part of the winter at Moscow, to encourage the arts and sciences there, and give vigour to his new laws.

*Peter has a
second in-
terview
with Au-
gustus.*

He was no sooner returned to his capital, than he received advice, that Charles XII. had carried all before him, and was advancing towards Grodno, in order to attack the Russian forces. King Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and to retire precipitately towards Saxony, with four regiments of Russian dragoons; a step which

A.D. 1706.

*Charles
XII. ad-
vances
against the
Russians at
Grodno.*

both weakened and discouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the avenues to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

While he was assembling his scattered forces with great difficulty in Lithuania, the celebrated general Schulemburg, in whom Augustus had placed his last hopes, and who afterwards acquired such glory in the defence of Corfu against the Turks, was in full march towards Great Poland, with about twelve thousand Saxons and six thousand Russians, drawn from the body of troops with which the czar had entrusted that unfortunate prince. Schulemburg expected, with some reason, that he should be able to save Augustus from ruin: he perceived that Charles XII. was employed on the side of Lithuania, and that there was only a body of ten thousand Swedes under Renschild to interrupt his march. He therefore advanced with confidence towards the frontiers of Silesia, the usual passage from Saxony to Upper Poland. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of a little town, called Frauenstadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was come to give him battle.

The Swedes obtain a great victory over the Saxons.

A French regiment in the Saxon army, who had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hochstet, and obliged to serve under king Augustus, had the care of the artillery: being not only admirers of the heroism of Charles XII. but dissatisfied with their Saxon masters, they laid down their arms, as soon as they beheld the enemy (O), and desired to be admitted into the service of the king of Sweden, with whom they continued to the end of the war². This was only a prelude to a complete victory: out of the whole Russian army, hardly three battalions were saved; every soldier that escaped was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder were all slain. Norberg the chaplain pretends, that the Swedish word at this battle was, "in the name of God;" and that of the Muscovites, "kill all:" but it was the Swedes that slaughtered all in the name of God. The czar himself assures us, in one of his manifestos (P), that many of his soldiers who had been taken prisoners, as well Russians, as Cossacks and Calmuks, were murdered in cold blood, three days after the battle (Q). The irregular troops of both armies had

Their horrid cruelty after the victory.

² Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII. & Hist. de Russie, p. 234.

(O) On the 6th of February, in 1706.

(P) Published in the Ukraine in 1709.

(Q) La Motraye says, that this was done by the express command of Charles XII. who was within eighteen miles of Frauenstadt,

had accustomed the generals to these cruelties: greater were never committed in the most barbarous ages. M. de Voltaire says, that he had the honour of hearing the following anecdote from king Stanislaus himself. That in one of the skirmishes, which frequently happened in Poland, a Russian officer, who had been his friend, came, after the defeat of the corps under his command, to put himself under his protection; and that Steenbock, the Swedish general, shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

The Russians had now lost four pitched battles with the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's forces at Grodno were in danger of a greater disgrace, and of being entirely encompassed by the enemy; but he fortunately assembled the several parts of his army, and even strengthened them with new reinforcements. Being obliged to provide at the same time for these forces, and for the preservation of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered his troops to march eastward, under the command of prince Menzikoff, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

While his men were upon their march, he repaired to Schlusselburg, from thence to Narva, and to his colony of Petersburg, and put those places in the best posture of defence. From the Baltic he flew to the banks of the Dnieper (R), in order to march back into Poland by the way of Kiow; his constant aim being to prevent Charles from reaping any benefit by his victories. At this very time he had been meditating a new conquest, that of Wyburg, the capital of Carelia, on the gulph of Finland. Accordingly he laid siege to it (S), but met with a disappointment; for succours arrived at a seasonable juncture, so that he was obliged to desist from his enterprize. His rival, Charles XII. did not acquire a single province by gaining so many victories. At that time he was in pursuit of Augustus in Saxony: intent upon humbling him, and crushing him with his whole weight; but not at all solicitous about recovering Ingria, which had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

Peter besieges Wyburg, without success.

The terror of Charles's arms spread through Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of

Augustus negotiates privately with Charles XII.

Frauenstadt, where this battle was fought, and who was a little piqued that Renschild should have obtained such a

victory without his having any share in it.

(R) In August, 1706.

(S) In October.

the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for peace, chusing to surrender himself to the discretion of his conqueror, rather than into the arms of his protector. He was negotiating a treaty, which stripped him of the crown of Poland, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This treaty he was obliged to conceal from the Russian generals, under whose protection he was at that time in Poland; while Charles was prescribing laws in Leipzig, and trampling upon his electorate. His plenipotentiaries had already signed the fatal convention (T), by which he not only resigned the crown of Poland, but promised never more to assume the title of king: at the same time, he acknowledged the regal dignity of Stanislaus, renounced the alliance of the czar, his benefactor; and, to complete his humiliation, engaged to deliver up into the hands of Charles XII. John Kenold Patkul, the czar's ambassador, and general in the Russian service, who had been fighting in his defence. Some time before this transaction, he had ordered Patkul to be arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now he violated this law again, by surrendering him to his enemy. Much better would it have been for him to have died sword-in-hand, than to sign such a treaty; a treaty which not only robbed him of his honour, and of his crown, but likewise endangered his liberty; because he was then at the mercy of prince Menzikoff in Polesania, and the few Saxon troops he had with him were paid by the Russians.

*and basely
gives up
Paskul.*

Opposite to prince Menzikoff's quarters, lay encamped a Swedish army, reinforced by the Poles in Stanislaus's interest, and commanded by general Meyerfeldt. The prince not knowing that Augustus was in treaty with the enemies of Russia, proposed to attack them: and Augustus durst not refuse. The battle was fought (U) in the neighbourhood of Kalish, in the palatinate belonging to Stanislaus. This was the first time that the Russians gained a pitched battle against the Swedes; and the whole honour was owing to prince Menzikoff: four thousand of the enemy were killed, and two thousand five hundred and ninety-eight taken prisoners.

*The Rus-
sians defeat
the Swedes
in a pitch-
ed battle.*

*Unac-
countable
behaviour
of Augus-
tus.*

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed upon after this battle, to ratify a treaty, which deprived him of the whole benefit of so signal a victory. But Charles was triumphant in Saxony, where his very

(T). On the 14th of Sep-
tember, 1706.

(U) On the 19th of Novem-
ber, 1706.

name

name intimidated his enemies: besides, Augustus had little expectation of being steadily supported by the Russians: in short, the Polish party in his enemy's interest were so strong, and Augustus himself was so ill advised, that he signed this fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to Finckstein, his envoy, a letter more shameful than the treaty itself, in which he begged pardon for having obtained a victory, "protesting that the battle was fought against his will; that the Russians, and the Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to it; that with this design, he had made some movements to abandon Menzikoff; that Mayerfeldt might have beaten him, had he made a proper use of the opportunity; that he would deliver back all the Swedish prisoners, or break with the Russians; in short, that he would give the king of Sweden all proper satisfaction," for having dared to beat his troops.

This whole affair is most extraordinary and unaccountable, and yet exactly true^b. When we reflect, that, with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe, we plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline, of empires, are entirely owing to firmness of mind.

Two other circumstances completed the misfortunes of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and plainly shewed the ill use which Charles made of his success. The first was, his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus: the second was terrible; he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador, into his hands. All Europe knows, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at Casimir, in the month of September, 1707. Norberg acknowledges that the orders for his execution were written with Charles's own hand.

*Murder of
Patkul.*

There is not a civilian in Europe, nay there is not a slave, but must shudder with horror at this barbarous act of injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man, was his having made an humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who had been deputed by the whole state: he was condemned for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country according to her laws. So unjust a sentence fully restored him to a right, which all mankind derive from nature, that of chusing his country. As he was the ambassador of one of the greatest monarchs in the whole world, his person ought to have been sacred. The

^b Voltaire, *Hist. de Russie*, p. 240.

laws of nature and nations were inhumanly violated upon this occasion.

Charles was now triumphing at Altranstadt, in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. The protestant princes of the empire flocked from all sides to sue for his protection. Ambassadors from most of the powers in Europe courted his alliance. The emperor Joseph paid an implicit submission to his will. Peter then perceiving, that Augustus had renounced his protection, and the Polish throne, and that a part of the nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, began to listen to the proposal made to him by Yolkova, of chusing a third king.

*Poland
upon the
point of
having
three kings
at a time.*

Several palatines were proposed at the diet of Lublin: among the rest, prince Ragotski appeared upon the list, the same who had been long detained in prison in his youthful days by the emperor Leopold, and who was his competitor for the Hungarian throne, after he had recovered his liberty. The negociation was pushed very far, and Poland was upon the point of having three kings at a time. Prince Ragotski, not being able to succeed, Peter was inclined to confer the crown on Siniauski, grand-general of the republic, a man of power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king, nor the person elected by the contrary faction.

In the midst of these disturbances, there was, according to custom, some talk of peace. Besséval, the French envoy to the court of Saxony, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. The French government had a notion, that if Charles made peace with the Muscovites and Poles, he might possibly turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was offended, and to whom he had prescribed very severe terms, during his stay in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the czar in the city of Moscow. Upon this occasion it was that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to act the part of Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius."

The Russians were still in Poland, and even at Warsaw, while the person who had been raised to the Polish throne by Charles XII. was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time Charles was enriching his troops with the spoils of Saxony.

*Charles
XII.
leaves
Saxony.*

At length he began his march (X) from his head-quarters at Altranstadt, with an army of forty-five thousand

(X) On the 22d of August, 1707.

men;

men; and taking his route through Silesia, re-entered Poland.

This kingdom had been entirely ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and exposed to all sorts of calamities. Charles was advancing through Masovia, and chose the worst road he could take. The inhabitants fled into the morasses, being determined, at least, to make him purchase his passage. Six thousand peasants deputed one of their body to speak to him: this was an old man, of a very extraordinary size and figure, clad in white, and armed with two carbines. He addressed his discourse to Charles; but as the Swedes did not rightly understand what he said, they made no scruple to kill him in the presence of their king, and in the middle of his harangue. The peasants, in a rage, immediately withdrew, and took to their arms. The Swedes seized on as many as they could find, and obliged them to hang one another; the last was obliged to be his own executioner. All their habitations were reduced to ashes. This fact is mentioned by Norberg, who was an eye-witness; so that we can neither reject his testimony, nor help being struck with horror at such cruelty.

Marches through Poland.

Horrid cruelties of the Swedes.

Being arrived within a few leagues of Grodno, in Lithuania, Charles received intelligence, that the czar had fixed his head-quarters in that city; upon which he hurried away (Y) with only eight hundred of his guards, and marched directly to Grodno. A German officer, named Mulfels, who had the command of a body of troops at one of the gates of the town, making, no doubt, upon seeing the king of Sweden, but that he was followed by his army, immediately left the passage open. The alarm was instantly spread all over Grodno: every one imagined the enemy's whole force had entered the town; the few Russians who attempted to make a stand, were cut in pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers assured the czar, that a victorious army had made themselves masters of the place. Peter retreated beyond the ramparts, and Charles planted a guard of thirty men at the very gate, by which the czar had just retiredⁱ.

A.D. 1708.

Charles XII. narrowly misses taking the czar in Grodno.

Amidst this confusion, the Jesuits college having been allotted for the accommodation of the king of Sweden, as the handsomest structure in Grodno, some of those fathers repaired to the czar by night, and acquainted him with the whole truth. Peter, with about two thousand men, im-

ⁱ Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 246.

(Y) On the 6th of February, 1708.

mediately

mediately returned to Grodno, and forced the Swedish guard; an engagement ensued in the streets, and in the public squares; but at length the king's army arrived. The czar was then obliged to give way, and to leave the city of Grodno in the power of the victor, who spread a general panic throughout the whole kingdom of Poland.

Charles having augmented his forces in Livonia and Finland, Peter had great reason to be afraid, not only for his conquests on the side of Lithuania, but for his ancient territories, and even for Moscow itself. It was, therefore, necessary for him, by all means, to provide for the security of those provinces, which lay at so great a distance from each other. Charles could make no very rapid progress by marching eastward through Lithuania, in the depth of winter, and in a swampy country, afflicted with a mortality, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warsaw as far as Minski. Peter quartered his troops at the fords of the rivers; strengthened the principal posts, where the enemy were to pass, and did every thing in his power to stop their progress: having taken these precautions, he returned in all haste to Petersburg, in order to put things in a good posture of defence on that side of his dominions.

Though Charles was triumphant in Poland, yet he made no acquisition of territory: but Peter, by employing his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by taking and dismantling the town of Borgau, where he seized on a very considerable booty, was procuring real advantages to himself, and greatly distressing his enemy.

*Charles
XII. ad-
vances to-
wards
Russia.*

The king of Sweden, after having been detained by continual rains in Lithuania, at length reached the little river Berezhine, within a few leagues of the Dnieper. Nothing could withstand the rapidity of the victor; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the enemy, defeated the detachment that guarded the passage, and arrived at Hollowzin upon the Wabitz (Z). Here the czar had posted a considerable body of men, to stop the impetuosity of the Swedes. The little river Wabitz is no more than a brook in very dry weather; but then it was a deep, rapid stream, swelled with incessant rains. Farther on was a morass, behind which the Russians had thrown up an intrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large ditch, and with a parapet lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in

*His intre-
pid passage
of the
river Wa-
bitz.*

(Z) In the Russian language, Bibitsch.

these

these lines ; and the passage of the river was thought to be impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the custom of war, got their pontons ready, and erected batteries to favour their passage : but Charles did not wait for the pontons ; his military ardour would never suffer the least delay. M. de Voltaire says^k, marshal Schwerin, who had long served under that prince, assured him several times, that one day the king, observing his generals very busy about the order of battle, as they were just upon the point of engaging the enemy, reprimanded them in the following words : “ When will you have done with these trifles ? ” and so saying, advanced at the head of his guards : such was his behaviour also on this memorable day.

He threw himself into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. So numerous a body of men broke the force of the current ; but the soldiers were up to their shoulders in water, and could not make use of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been well served, and the infantry but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a single Swede would have escaped.

The king, having forded the river (A), passed the morafs on foot. As soon as the Swedish army had surmounted these difficulties, within sight of the Russians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the intrenchments seven times. The Russians did not give way till the seventh attack ; and then they lost but twelve field-pieces, and twenty-four cohorts, even by the testimony of the Swedish historians.

*Where he
defeats the
Russians.*

It was, therefore, evident, that the czar had at last succeeded in disciplining his troops ; and while Charles reaped so much glory from the victory of Hollowzin, he might easily have seen, what dangers he had to encounter, in adventuring upon an expedition to countries so remote, where there was no possibility of marching but in small bodies, through woods and morasses ; and where he should be obliged to fight his way every step : but the Swedes, being habituated to conquest, had no apprehension of danger or fatigue.

Charles at length reached the banks of the Dnieper, in the neighbourhood of a small town called Mohilo. There he was to learn, whether he should march eastward towards Moscow, or southward towards the Ukraine. His

^k Hist. de Russie, p. 249.

(A) On the 25th of July, 1708.

*Treachery
of Ma-
zeppa.*

troops, his friends, his enemies, expected he would direct his course towards the capital of Russia. Which way soever he determined, Peter was following him from Smolenskow with a powerful army. Little was it expected, that he would chuse the road towards the Ukraine. So strange a resolution was occasioned by Mazeppa, hettman of the Cossacks, a man seventy years of age, who, having no children, should naturally have chosen to end his days in quiet; and ought, from a sense of gratitude, to have been attached to the czar, to whom he owed his present greatness: but whether he had really some reason to complain of that prince; or was dazzled with the lustre of Charles's exploits; or whether, in fine, he was aiming at independence, he betrayed his benefactor, and entered into a private confederacy with the king of Sweden; flattering himself that he should prevail on the whole nation of Cossacks to revolt.

Charles was confident of subduing the Russian empire, as soon as his victorious bands could be joined by so warlike a nation. From Mazeppa he was to receive provisions and ammunition, with whatever artillery he should have occasion for: besides these powerful succours, he was to be joined by an army of seventeen or eighteen thousand men, who were upon their march from Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt, with a prodigious quantity of provisions and military stores. He did not enquire whether the czar was ready to fall upon that army, and to deprive him of so considerable a reinforcement: neither did he inform himself, whether Mazeppa was in a condition to fulfil his engagements, or was a person of such weight and interest, as to be able to change the principles of a whole nation, who seldom take any council but their own; or whether, in short, he should find resources for his army, in case he met with any disaster: as to these matters, he seemed quite easy; and if Mazeppa should happen to deceive him, or be unable to perform his promise, he depended on the bravery of his troops, and on his own good fortune. The Swedish army, therefore, advanced beyond the Dnieper, towards the Dezna, and between these two rivers he expected Mazeppa. The roads were excessive bad, and the flying parties of the Russians rendered his march extremely dangerous.

*Charles
XII. crosses
the
Dnieper.*

Menzikoff, at the head of some regiments of horse and dragoons, attacked the king's vanguard (B), threw them

(B) On the 11th of September, 1708.

into

into confusion, and killed a number of men; though with the loss of many more of his own. Charles rode up to the field of battle, and repulsed the Russians; yet not without great difficulty, and being long exposed to the danger of losing his life, by fighting with a party of the enemy's dragoons, by whom he was surrounded. All this while there were no news of Mazeppa; and provisions began to grow scarce. The Swedish soldiers seeing their king a partaker of all their perils and distresses, were not dispirited: but though they admired his courage, they could not help condemning his conduct.

Skirmish between his troops and the Russians.

The order which the king had sent to Lewenhaupt, for marching with the utmost diligence, and joining him with the convoy, was delivered twelve days too late; a great space of time at so critical a conjuncture. At length Lewenhaupt began his march. Peter suffered him to pass the Dnieper; but as soon as the Swedes had got between this river and the lesser streams in that neighbourhood, he crossed the Dnieper after him, and attacked the Swedish general with his united force; the different corps of the Russians having followed at equal distances from one another. The battle was fought between the Dnieper and the Soeza.

Peter attacks the Swedes.

Prince Menzikoff was upon his return with that same body of cavalry, which had distinguished itself in the engagement with Charles XII. he was followed by general Baur; and the czar himself commanded the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had been engaged with forty thousand Russians; and this was the general opinion for a long time, founded on the accounts received from them. But M. de Voltaire says¹, that according to the memoirs communicated to him by the court of Petersburg, Peter had no more than twenty thousand men, on that memorable occasion; a number not greatly superior to that of the enemy. But his vigour, his patience, his perseverance, together with the firmness of his troops, animated by his presence, determined the fate, not of that only, but of three different days, during which the action was successively renewed.

At first the Russians attacked the rear of the Swedish army (C) near the village of Lesnau, from which this battle takes its name. The first shock was bloody, without being decisive; Lewenhaupt retired to a wood, and preserved his baggage: the next day, the czar being deter-

And gains the famous victory of Lesnau.

¹ Hist. de Russie, p. 256.

(C) On the 7th of October, 1708.

mined

mined to drive the Swedes out of the wood, the action was renewed with more bloodshed, and with greater success. Peter, perceiving his troops in disorder, cried out to the rear-guard to fire upon the fugitives, and upon himself likewise, if he should be so cowardly as to turn his back. The Swedes were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion. At length, having received a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons, he fell upon the enemy a third time; when they retired towards a small town called Prospeck, where they were attacked once more; from thence they marched towards the Dezna, and were closely pursued. Yet they were never entirely broke; but lost upwards of eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty-four colours. The czar took fifty-six officers prisoners, with very near nine hundred common soldiers: and the great convoy of provisions, which had been designed for Charles's army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

This was the first time that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy, who had distinguished themselves by so many victories over his troops: he returned thanks to God for this success, upon hearing that general Apraxin had likewise obtained an advantage in Ingria, within a few miles of Narva: an advantage indeed less considerable than the victory of Lesnau; but this concurrence of fortunate circumstances enlivened his hopes, and infused fresh vigour into his army. Charles received advice of these disagreeable events, just as he was going to pass the Dezna in the Ukraine.

*Mazeppa
joins
Charles
XII.*

At length Mazeppa joined the king of Sweden. He had engaged to bring with him twenty thousand men, and a prodigious supply of provisions; but appeared with no more than two regiments, and rather as a fugitive who applied for succours, than as a prince that came to assist an ally. He had indeed begun his march with very near sixteen thousand men, to whom he at first declared, that he intended to lead them against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero upon his march; and that the czar would be under an eternal obligation to them for so signal a piece of service. But upon his arrival within a few leagues of the Dezna, he made them acquainted with his real design. They received the proposal with indignation, and refused to betray a monarch, of whom they had no reason to complain, for the sake of a Swede, who was marching with an armed force into their country, and who, after his retreat from thence, would be no longer able to afford them protection; so that they must be abandoned to the discretion of the angry Russians, and

of

of the Poles, once their lords, and always their enemies. In short, they returned to their respective homes, and acquainted the czar with the defection of their chief. There remained with Mazeppa no more than two regiments, whose officers were in his own pay. However, he was still master of some fortresses in the Ukraine, and particularly of Bathurin, the place of his residence, considered as the capital of the Cossacks, situated near the forests on the Dezna, but at a great distance from the field of battle, where Peter had defeated Lewenhaupt. A body of Russian troops was always quartered in those parts. The czar detached Menzikoff from the army, and he arrived there by a very long circuit. Charles could not guard all the passes; neither indeed was he acquainted with them all; he had neglected to make himself master of the important post of Starodub, which leads directly to Bathurin, by a forest near thirty miles long, through which the Dezna directs its course. The enemy had always the advantage of him, by their knowledge of the country. Menzikoff found no difficulty to push forward with prince Galitzin; upon their appearing before Bathurin, the town was taken (D) almost without resistance, plundered, and reduced to ashes. The Russians made themselves masters of a magazine designed for the king of Sweden, and of Mazeppa's treasures. The Cossacks chose another hettman, named Skoropasky, who was approved by the czar: and to make the people more sensible of the enormity of the treason, by some external form, the archbishop of Kiow, and two more prelates, were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa in public: then he was hanged in effigy; and some of his accomplices were broke upon the wheel.

The Russians take Bathurin;

and hang Mazeppa in effigy. Distressed situation of Charles XII. in the Ukraine.

Charles was still at the head of about twenty-seven thousand Swedes; who were joined by the shattered remains of Lewenhaupt's corps, together with two or three thousand men, under the command of Mazeppa. As he had always flattered himself with the hopes of making the whole province of Ukraine declare in his favour, he crossed the Dezna, at some distance from Bathurin, and in the neighbourhood of the Dnieper; although he was encompassed by the Russian troops, part of whom pursued his rear-guard, while the rest were drawn up on the opposite side of the river, in order to obstruct his passage. He directed his march through a country that was quite desolate, the villages having been all destroyed and burnt. The cold was so extremely intense in the month of December, that

(D) On the 17th of November, 1708.

upon

upon a particular march, near two thousand men dropped down dead in his presence. The czar's troops suffered less, because they had greater resources; but the Swedes, being almost naked, were more exposed to the inclemency of the weather. In this deplorable situation, count Piper, the Swedish chancellor, who always gave his master the most prudent advice, entreated him to halt, and to pass at least the severest part of the winter, in a small town of the Ukraine, called Romna, where he might entrench himself, and get a supply of provisions by means of Mazeppa: but Charles made answer, that it was beneath his dignity to shut himself up in a town. Piper then begged him to re-pass the Dezna and the Dnieper; to march back into Poland; to put his troops into quarters of refreshment, of which they stood so greatly in need; to get a reinforcement of Polish light horse, which was absolutely necessary to support the king he himself had raised to the throne, and to check Augustus's party, who were beginning to raise their heads. The king replied, that this retreat would be the same thing as flying before the czar; that the season would grow milder: that he must subdue the Ukraine, and march on to Moscow^m.

A.D. 1709.

*Where he
marches
forward
in a desert
country.*

The Russian and Swedish armies were detained some weeks in a state of inaction, by the intenseness of the cold in the month of January; but as soon as the troops were able to wield their arms, Charles attacked the several little posts, with which the enemy intended to obstruct his march. He was obliged to send detachments on every side in search of provisions; that is, to rob the poor peasants, for above fifty miles round, of their necessary subsistence. Peter, with great composure, observed his motions, while the Swedish army was mouldering away.

Charles at length crossed the Ukraine in the month of February, burning all the villages upon the road, except some few that had been set on fire already by the Russians. Advancing south-east, he reached those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains, which separate the Nogay-Tartars from the Don-Cossacks. Charles was therefore on the other side of the Ukraine, in the road which the Tartars take to Russia: but when he had penetrated so far, he was obliged to turn back for want of provisions. The inhabitants retiring with their cattle into caverns, would sometimes struggle hard with the soldiers, who wanted to deprive them of their sustenance: as many of those poor peasants as could be found, were put to death; which cruelty, ac-

^m Norberg, tom. i. p. 263, & Voltaire, Hist. de Russie, p. 262.

cording to the Swedish phrase, was the right of war. The reader will judge of the Swedes on this occasion, by the following letter in Charles's own hand-writing to one of his colonels: "Colonel, I am glad you have taken the peasants, who carried off a Swedish foldier: as soon as they are convicted of the crime, they must be punished with death, pursuant to the exigency of the case." Charles's chaplain, Norberg, gives us thisⁿ, as a proof of his master's strict regard to justice. Such are the sentiments of humanity shewn by a king's confessor! but if the peasants of the Ukraine had been able to hang the regimented peasants of East Gothland, who imagined they had a right to march into so distant a country, in order to plunder those poor people of the few provisions that were intended to keep their wives and children from starving, would not these Ukrainians have had equal reason to extol their justice^o?

Mazeppa was a long while negotiating with the Zaporavians, or Zaporog Cossacks, who are settled on both the banks of the Dnieper, and part of whom inhabit the islands situated in that river. These are a people, who have neither wives nor families, and subsist entirely by plunder. During the winter they collect a store of provisions, which they sell in the spring to the little town of Pultowa; the rest are scattered along the villages to the right and left of this river. The collective body of the nation chuse a particular hettman, who is subordinate to the officer of that name in the Ukraine. The person then at the head of the Zaporavians, had an interview with Mazeppa, when a horse's tail and a club were carried as ensigns of honour, before each of those barbarians.

*Mazeppa
treats with
the Zaporog
Cossacks,
and en-
gages them
in the ser-
vice of
Charles
XII.*

In order to give some idea of this hettman, and of his subjects the Zaporavians, it may not be beneath the dignity of history to mention in what manner the treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a grand entertainment, in a service of plate, to the Zaporavian hettman and his principal officers. As soon as those chiefs were intoxicated with brandy, they swore upon the Evangelists, that they would furnish Charles with men and provisions. Then they carried off the plate, and all the furniture used at table. But the steward pursued them close, and endeavoured to make it appear, that this behaviour was inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel, by which they had sworn. The domestics wanting to recover the plate, the Zaporavians assembled in a body, and went to Mazeppa, complaining of

ⁿ Norberg, tom. ii. p. 279.

^o Voltaire, p. 264.

the unparalleled affront done to a set of brave fellows; at the same time desiring, that the steward should be delivered up to them, in order to be dealt with according to justice. Their demand being complied with, the Zaporavians, in pursuance of their laws, fell upon the poor man; and after they had kicked him about like a foot-ball, plunged a knife into his heart.

Such were the new allies whom Charles XII. was obliged to receive. Part of them were formed into a regiment of about two thousand men; the remainder marched in separate bodies against the czar's Cossacks and Calmucks, who were distributed in those quarters.

The little town of Pultowa, with which these Zaporavians carry on a trade, abounded with provisions, and might have served Charles as a place of arms. It is situated on the river Workla, near a chain of mountains; which command it on the north; the east-side is a vast desert; but that to the westward is more fruitful and populous. The Workla empties itself into the Dnieper about fifteen leagues lower down. From Pultowa, there is a passage northward through the defiles, which communicate with the road to Moscow; a passage commonly used by the Tartars. It is of very difficult access; and the czar's precaution had rendered it almost impervious: yet nothing appeared impossible to Charles; and he made no doubt of marching to Moscow, after he should have made himself master of Pultowa. With this view he laid siege to that town in the beginning of May.

*Charles
lays siege
to Pultowa.*

*Peter's preparations
to meet him.*

There he was expected by Peter, who had disposed his different detachments, so as to be all ready to join, and to march in a body against the besiegers. This indefatigable prince had visited the countries which surround the Ukraine, namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Dezna, a river of some depth, even in this neighbourhood, and already celebrated by his late victory; the country of Bolcho, in which the Occa has its source; the deserts and mountains leading to the Palus Mæotis; and lastly, he had been in the neighbourhood of Asoph, where he caused the harbour to be cleansed, new vessels to be built, and the citadel of Taganroc to be repaired: in short, he had employed the whole time since the battle of Dezna, in preparing for the defence of his dominions.

As soon as he heard that the Swedes had laid siege to Pultowa, he assembled all his troops. His horse, dragoons, infantry, Cossacks, and Calmucks, advanced from their several quarters: his army was well provided with artillery and ammunition, as well as with provisions and medicines;

so that in this respect he had greatly the advantage of his rival.

On the 15th of June 1709, he appeared before Pultowa, with an army of about sixty thousand men. The river Workla was between him and Charles. The besiegers were to the north-west, the Russians to the south-east.

Peter advanced along (E) the river above the town, fixed his bridges, marched over with his whole force, drew a long line, and intrenched himself in a single night, within view of the enemy. This disposition being made, he posted his horse betwixt two woods, and covered them with several redoubts, lined with artillery. Then he went to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, in order to form the attack.

Several skirmishes had happened under the walls of Pultowa, between the Swedish and Russian detachments. In one of these Charles was wounded (F) by a shot from a carabine, which shattered the bone of his heel. He underwent the incisions of the surgeon with his usual fortitude; but was obliged to keep his bed for some days. In this situation he was informed, that Peter intended to attack him.

*Charles
wounded in
a skirmish.*

Thinking it inconsistent with his glory to wait for the enemy in his intrenchments, he drew out his troops, and he himself was carried in a litter. Peter acknowledges in his own journal, sent to M. de Voltaire by the court of Petersburg^p, that the Swedes made such a vigorous attack, that, in spite of all his resistance, and of a continual fire from his cannon, they became masters of two of those redoubts which covered his cavalry. Some writers say, that the Swedish infantry, upon this first success, cried out "Victory!" Norberg, the chaplain, who was at some distance from the field of battle, among the baggage, pretends, that this is a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out victory, or not, certain it is, they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts did not at all abate; and the Russians on every side defended themselves with a firmness equal to the vivacity of the assailants. They made no irregular motion. But the czar drew up his army with great readiness and order, before the intrenchments.

*The battle
of Pultowa.*

The troops were soon engaged on every side. Peter acted as major-general; the right wing of the Russians was commanded by general Baur; the left by Menzikoff; and the centre by Scheremetow. The action lasted two hours. Charles, with a pistol in his hand, was con-

^p Histoire de Russie, p. 272.

(E) On the 3d of July. (F) On the 27th of June.

The Russians gain a complete victory.

vayed from rank to rank, until one of his body-guards was killed by a cannon-ball, and the litter was shattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon pikes. Peter received several shot in his cloaths and in his hat. Both princes were in the midst of the fire during the whole action. At length, after a warm dispute of two hours, the Swedes gave way on every side, and fell into confusion; so that Charles was obliged to retire with precipitation before an enemy, whom he had hitherto held in great contempt. This very hero was mounted on horseback in the flight, though he had been unable to keep his saddle in the heat of the engagement; but necessity made him exert himself almost beyond his strength: in his retreat he suffered the most exquisite pain, which was increased by his concern for this irreparable defeat. The Russians reckoned nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four Swedes killed in the field; besides two or three thousand prisoners, chiefly cavalry, taken in the action.

Charles XII. flies towards Turkey.

In this precipitate flight, Charles was attended by only fourteen thousand men, with very little cannon, ammunition, or provisions. He directed his march southward towards the Dnieper, between the rivers Workla and Psol, in the country of the Zaporavians. Beyond the Dnieper are extensive deserts, leading to the frontiers of Turkey. Norberg affirms, that the victors durst not pursue Charles: yet he acknowledges, that Menzikoff appeared (G) on the eminences with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the Dnieper. Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these ten thousand Russians. This fatal capitulation was signed by general Lewenhaupt, who thereby delivered into the power of the czar those Zaporavians that had fought for his king, and had the misfortune of being in this fugitive army. Including the king's domestics, and other attendants upon the army, no less than eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty-six Swedes fell that day into the hands of the conqueror; and if we add the nine thousand two hundred and eighty killed in battle, and near two thousand that passed the Dnieper in the king's retinue, it appears plainly, that twenty-seven thousand effective men were under Charles's command on that memorable day. He set out from Saxony with forty five thousand men; and Lewenhaupt brought upwards of sixteen thousand with him from Livonia: but this flourishing army was no more. Out of a numerous artillery, he had been obliged to leave the

(G) On the 12th of July.

greatest

greatest part behind him, in his march through morasses; so that he saved only eighteen brass-cannon, two mortars, and twelve cohorns. With so inconsiderable a force did he undertake the siege of Pultowa, and venture to attack an army provided with a formidable train of artillery. Hence he is said to have distinguished himself more by his bravery than by his conduct, since his departure from Germany. On the side of the Russians, there were only fifty-two officers and twelve hundred and ninety-three common soldiers killed.

All the Swedish generals were presented to the conqueror; who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. Every body must have heard, that, upon drinking to those officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war;" but most of his masters, at least all the subaltern officers, and the common soldiers, were quickly sent into Siberia. No cartel had been settled between the Russians and Swedes: the czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa; but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops soon felt the ill effects of his inflexible temper. It was this unseasonable obstinacy that occasioned all his misfortunes in Turkey; and a series of adventures, more becoming an Orlando Furioso than a wise prince: for as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the grand visir, pursuant to the custom of the Turks; but he thought such a step beneath his dignity. The like obstinacy set him successively at variance with all the ministers of the Porte: in short, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to time or place.

*Charles
XII. takes
Belter
among the
Turks.*

The first advice of the battle of Pultowa produced a general revolution in Poland, Saxony, Sweden, and Silesia. When Charles was in all his glory, he had obliged the emperor Joseph to eject the catholics out of a hundred and five churches, in favour of the Silesians of the confession of Augsburg; but the catholics re-possessed themselves of the Lutheran temples, as soon as they were informed of the king of Sweden's defeat. The Saxons now determined to be revenged of a prince, who, in the height of his prosperity, had plundered that electorate, according to their accounts, of twenty-three millions of crowns. The king of Poland, their elector, immediately protested against an extorted abdication; and being reconciled to the czar, shewed an impatience to re-ascend the Polish throne. Sweden, in the greatest consternation, for a long time imagined her king was dead; so that the senate, under this uncertainty, were incapable of coming to any resolution.

Peter restores Augustus to the crown of Poland;

Peter determined to make the best use of his victory; and therefore ordered marshal Scheremetow to march into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province this general had so often distinguished himself. A large body of cavalry, commanded by prince Menzikoff, was dispatched with the utmost expedition, to second the efforts of the inconsiderable number of forces that had been left in Poland; to encourage the nobility who adhered to Augustus, to expel his competitor, who was now considered as a rebel; and to disperse a few Swedish troops still remaining in that kingdom, under the command of general Craffau.

Peter soon after set out in person, passed through Kiow, and the palatinates of Chelm, and Upper Volhinia, and at length arrived at Lublin, where he concerted matters with the general of Lithuania: he then reviewed the crown-troops, who took the oath of allegiance to king Augustus. From thence he proceeded to Warsaw; and at Thorn enjoyed the most glorious of triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he had restored to his crown. There he concluded a treaty against Sweden, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia. Their design was now to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of Russia to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania; and the king of Prussia to Pomerania. Thus the unprosperous valour of Charles XII. shook the whole edifice that had been erected by the successful bravery of Gustavus Adolphus. The Polish nobility flocked from all sides to renew their oath of allegiance to king Augustus, or ask pardon for their desertion; in short, almost the whole kingdom acknowledged Peter for their protector.

A.D. 1709.

which Stanislaus resigns.

A revolution so unexpected, and supported by so formidable an alliance, was a prodigious shock to Stanislaus; who finding himself unable to oppose the victorious arms of the czar, had no other choice to make but that of resigning the crown: accordingly he published a writing, called *Universalia*, wherein he declared himself ready to acquiesce if the republic required his abdication.

The czar, in person, makes a treaty with the king of Prussia.

Peter, having settled his affairs with the king of Poland, and ratified the treaty with Denmark, set forward directly, to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. It had not been yet the practice for sovereigns to perform the functions of their own ambassadors: Peter was the first who introduced this custom; but few have followed his example. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia,

Prussia, had an interview with the czar at Marienwerder. This was a small town built by the Teutonic knights in the western part of Pomerania, and on the borders of Prussia, which had been lately created a kingdom. The country indeed was poor, and of small extent; yet whenever the new king made a tour to it, he appeared with the utmost magnificence. With this splendor he received the czar Peter, when, on a former occasion, that prince withdrew from his imperial dominions; to search for knowledge and instruction in foreign countries. But the conqueror of Charles XII. was now entertained in a more pompous manner. Peter concluded only a defensive treaty with him, which afterwards completed the ruin of Sweden. Not a moment was lost: for the czar, after having proceeded with the utmost dispatch in his negotiations, contrary to the custom of ministers, who are apt to spin them out to too great a length, immediately joined his army before Riga, the capital of Livonia. He began with bombarding the town; then, knowing that it must certainly fall, he formed a blockade, and set out for his city of Petersburg, in order to forward the new buildings and the fleet; and having laid the keel of a fifty-four gun ship with his own hands, he returned to Moscow. Here he amused himself with the preparations of a triumph to be exhibited in that capital; the works were under his direction, the disposition was entirely his own, and he even had his share in the labour.

Lays siege to Riga.

Visits his buildings and fleet at Petersburg;

and repairs to Moscow.

The new year was ushered in with this solemnity, so necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with ideas of grandeur; and so agreeable to a people, who had been apprehensive of seeing their capital in possession of those very Swedes, that were now led through it in triumph. The artillery of the vanquished, their colours, and standards, their king's litter, the soldiers, officers, general, and ministers of the captive Swedes, all on foot, moved in solemn procession under seven magnificent arches, attended with the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets, volleys discharged from a hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an immense multitude of people. The victors on horseback, with the generals at their head, and Peter in his rank of major-general, closed the procession. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young noblemen, the sons of bojars, in a Roman dress, who presented the victorious monarch with a crown of laurel.

A.D. 1710.

Where he triumphs.

This public festival was succeeded by another ceremony, that afforded no less satisfaction than the former. In the year 1708 happened an accident, the more disagreeable to

*The czar's
ambassador
arrested at
London.*

the Russians, as Peter was at that time unprosperous in war. Matueof, his ambassador to the court of London, having obtained an audience of queen Anne, was arrested for debt, in the public street, by two bailiffs, at the suit of some tradesmen, and obliged to give in bail. The plaintiffs asserted that the laws of commerce were of a superior nature to the privileges of ambassadors: on the other hand, Matueof, and all the other foreign ministers who espoused his cause, maintained that their persons ought to be sacred. Peter, by his letters to queen Anne, strongly insisted upon satisfaction: but she could not comply with his desire; because, by the laws of England, the creditors had a right to sue for their just demands; and there was no law to exempt foreign ministers from being arrested for debt. The other foreign ministers, residing then in London, were obliged to be bound for Matueof; and all that the queen could do in favour of the czar, was to prevail on the parliament to pass an act, whereby it was no longer lawful to arrest an ambassador for debt: but after the battle of Pultowa, it became necessary to give a more public satisfaction to that prince. The queen, by a formal embassy, made an excuse for what had passed. Mr. Whitworth, who was pitched upon for this ceremony, opened his speech with the following words, "Most high and most mighty emperor." He told the czar, that the queen had imprisoned the persons who had presumed to arrest his ambassador. The acknowledgment was sufficient; and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given him before the battle of Pultowa, plainly shewed the degree of estimation to which he was now raised in Europe. This title had been already granted him in Holland, not only by those who had been his fellow-workmen in the dock-yards at Saardam, and seemed to interest themselves most in his glory; but even by the chief persons in the state, who unanimously styled him emperor, and celebrated his victory with rejoicings in the presence of the Swedish minister.

*Queen Anne
sends an
embassy
to the czar
on that oc-
casion:
and gives
him the title
of emperor.*

*He takes
Elbing;*

The reputation which the czar had gained by the victory of Pultowa, was greatly increased by the diligence with which he improved it. He began with laying siege to Elbing, a Hanse Town of Royal Prussia in Poland, in which the Swedes had still a garrison of nine hundred men. The Russians scaled the walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war (H). This was one of the great magazines of Charles XII. The besiegers found in it a hundred and eighty-three pieces of brass-cannon, with

(H) On the 11th of March,

a hundred

a hundred and fifty-seven mortars. The czar having immediately removed from Moscow to Petersburg, embarked under his new fortrefs of Cronstot, scoured the coast of Carelia, and, though he met with a violent storm, arrived with his fleet before Wiburg, the chief town of Carelia in Finland; while his land-forces advanced over frozen morasses. The capital of Livonia was once more closely blocked up; and upon making a breach, the garrison of Wiburg, consisting of about four thousand men, surrendered upon terms, but could not obtain the honours of war, for they were made prisoners contrary to the capitulation. Peter complained of several infractions of this kind on the part of the enemy; and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as the Swedes should give him proper satisfaction: but in this affair they were obliged to consult the king, who being still inflexible, the soldiers whom he might have set free, remained in captivity.

After the reduction of this capital, the siege of Riga was carried on in form, and with great vigour. The river Duna, which washes the north side of the town walls, being frozen over, it was found necessary to break the ice. A mortality which had raged for some time in those parts, insinuated itself among the besiegers, and swept away nine thousand men; yet the siege was not at all slackened. The garrison made a very good defence, and obtained the honours of war. It was agreed in the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and soldiers should remain in the service of Russia, as natives of a country which had been dismembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles XII. but the Livonians were restored to the privileges, of which they had been stripped by the late king of Sweden, and all the officers entered into the Russian service. This was the noblest satisfaction the czar could take for the murder of his ambassador Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death for defending those very privileges. Soon after this transaction, the citadel of Pennamunde was taken; and in the town and fort the besiegers found a most numerous artillery.

Before the Russians could be entire masters of Carelia, it was necessary they should have possession of the strong town of Kexholm, on the lake Ladoga, situated in an island, and considered as almost impregnable: it was bombarded, and soon obliged to surrender. The island of Oesel, in the sea bordering upon the north of Livonia, was subdued with the same rapidity.

On the side of Esthonia, a province of Livonia towards the north, and on the gulf of Finland, stand the towns of Pernau

with Pernau and Reval.

Pernau and Reval; the reduction of which was still wanting to complete the conquest of Livonia. Pernau surrendered after a siege of a few days; and Reval submitted before a single cannon had been fired on the town. But the Swedes found means to elude the conqueror, at the very time they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war; for some ships of their nation having entered the harbour by night, the garrison, and most of the citizens embarked, so that the besiegers were surpris'd to find the place deserted.

Stanislaus flies to Pomerania.

In Poland, Stanislaus finding his party quite demolished, took shelter in Pomerania, a province which still continued in the hands of Charles XII. Augustus resumed the government; and it was difficult to determine, who had acquired most glory, Charles in dethroning him, or Peter in restoring him to his crown.

The subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than himself; the mortality which had made such havock over all Livonia, penetrated into Sweden, where it swept away thirty thousand inhabitants in Stockholm only: it laid waste those provinces, that had been already too much depopulated; for, during the space of ten years successively, most of the able bodied men had quitted their country to attend their sovereign, and had perished in his service.

Singular treaty against Charles XII.

Charles's unlucky star pursued him also in Pomerania. His troops having retired into this province from Poland, to the number of eleven thousand men; the czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein, entered into a confederacy to render this army useless, and oblige general Crassau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm, hearing no news from their king, thought themselves very happy, in the midst of a mortality that ravaged the city, to sign this treaty, which seemed at least to remove the horrors of war from one of their provinces. The emperor of Germany favoured this extraordinary convention. It was stipulated, that the Swedish army then in Pomerania, should not march out of this province to defend their monarch in any other part of the world: nay, it was resolved in the German empire, to raise an army, with a view of seeing this most singular treaty executed. The reason of this stipulation was, that the emperor, being then at war with France, hoped to make the Swedish army enter into his service. This whole negociation was carried on while Peter was subduing Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia. Charles XII. who had been employing every engine at Bender,

Bender, to prevail on the divan to declare war against the czar, received the news of this treaty as one of the severest strokes of fortune. He could not bear that his senate at Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army; and, upon this occasion it was, that he wrote them word, he would send one of his boots to govern them.

He had been treated with great splendor and magnificence by the grand signor, and assured that he should be conducted to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men; but count Tolsty, the czar's envoy at the Porte, managed his matters so well, and was so greatly respected by the sultan, that this design was no longer talked of: he even ventured to demand old Mazeppa to be delivered up to him, as Charles had demanded the unfortunate Patkul, and would possibly have succeeded in this particular, had not the death of Mazeppa put an end to that affair. What mortified Charles more than any thing, was to hear that count Tolsty was served at his table by Swedes who had been made prisoners at the battle of Pultowa, and that great numbers more were daily sold as slaves in the public markets. But the grand vizir, who was strongly in the Russian interest, being deposed soon after, affairs took a different turn, and the sultan was prevailed upon, notwithstanding the remonstrances of count Tolsty, to allow Charles a considerable body of troops to reconduct him into Poland.

The new vizir, at the same time, embraced every opportunity of affronting the czar in the person of his envoy, and particularly in giving the French ambassador the preference. It was customary on the promotion of a grand vizir for all the foreign ministers to request an audience of congratulation; count Tolsty was the first who demanded that audience; but was answered, that the precedence had been constantly given to the ambassador of France; whereupon Tolsty informed the vizir, that he must be deprived of the pleasure of waiting on him at all; which declaration being maliciously represented as expressing the utmost contempt of his person, and the khan of Tartary being at the same time instigated to make heavy complaints against the conduct of the Russians on the frontiers, count Tolsty was immediately committed to the castle of the Seven Towers, war was immediately declared against the Russians, and the grand vizir, having made the necessary dispositions, put himself at the head of a numerous army at Adrianople, and advanced to the Danube.

Though the czar could not be properly informed of the transactions at Constantinople on account of the imprisonment of his minister, yet he learnt so much from private hands,

Charles XII. meets with great encouragement in Turkey.

A.D. 1711.

The Turks declare war against the czar.

Who augments his forces.

hands, as to be ready to take the field before the Turks. He dispatched admiral Vander Cruys, with a considerable reinforcement, for the protection of Asoph; and, leaving the command of his army to prince Menzikoff, he set out from Petersburg to Moscow, where he ordered such powerful levies to be made, that his army was soon augmented to a hundred thousand men. He likewise entered into a treaty with Apakas Taquin, prince of the Calmuck Tartars, to furnish him with twenty-five thousand men, for which the czar was to pay him a hundred thousand ducats.

The Tartars take the field.

In the mean time the khan of Tartary, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, his son with fifty thousand, and the palatine Potoczki at the head of ten thousand, composed of Poles, Swedes, Hungarians, Wallachians, and Cossacks, began their hostilities on the side of Asoph, and, having defeated a body of five thousand Russians, they advanced to Izzinns, ravaging the country round about. But their irruptions in the Ukraine were attended with still worse consequences; for they seized on Wolno, Mahivoloda, Noiviwoloda, Mercovi, Ternocka, and several other places, and penetrated as far as the river Samara, where they burnt a hundred and fifty vessels; but the snow obliging them to retire, they marched towards Precop with twelve thousand slaves, and a considerable booty: Potocky, together with sultan Galga, the khan's eldest son, afterwards marched along the Dnieper, and penetrated as far as Niemirow beyond Bracław, from whence, after having raised contributions, they retired to Bialowcerkiow, which they besieged, and made themselves masters of the town, after three assaults, attended with the loss of a considerable number of their men; but the citadel held out till the arrival of prince Galitzin, who having killed above five hundred of the enemy, obliged Potocky to retreat with the loss of all his slaves and booty.

In the mean time the grand vizir, who was no great adept in the art of war, advanced so slowly in his preparations, that his army was not ready to take the field till the latter end of April. But the czar being informed that the grand signor was equipping a powerful fleet in the Black Sea, gave immediate orders to take the same precautions; however, the waters of the Don being so low that the large ships became useless, nothing was done on either side.

Most of the Christian powers interposed their mediations to prevent the prosecution of this war, and to persuade the king of Sweden to conclude a peace; but he, imagining that by the assistance of the Turks he should yet triumph

over

over his enemies, refused to listen to any proposals of a pacific nature.

About this time the grand signor being informed that Brancovan, prince of Walachia, held a secret correspondence with the czar, and had promised to revolt to him with thirty thousand men, caused him to be deposed, and Demetrius Cantemir to be elected in his room; with a promise that no tribute should be demanded of him, nor any sum be paid on his entrance upon his new principality. But Cantemir soon finding that the Turks paid no manner of regard to these promises, resolved to go over to the czar. Having the direction of building a bridge over the Danube, at the expence of the Turks, he retarded the work as much as possible, to give the czar an opportunity of arriving before it was finished. But Peter, entertaining too great a diffidence of Cantemir's sincerity, and relying upon the promises of Brancovan, delayed his march too long to hinder the Turks from passing that river.

*Cantemir
elected
prince of
Walachi...*

*Revolts to
the czar.*

In June the czar arrived at Jazy, the capital of Moldavia, where prince Cantemir joined him, and where he expected the provisions promised him by Brancovan; but having some assurances of Brancovan's treachery, he saw, when it was too late, his error in giving such credit to his professions; being now in a country without provisions, magazines, or the least hopes of assistance; for though Cantemir continued firm, yet the Moldavians would not adopt his system, nor afford any succours to his ally.

*The czar
reduced to
great
straits.*

As soon as the grand vizir was informed of the czar's being at Jazy, he immediately decamped, and having crossed the Danube, advanced against the Russians, on the borders of the Pruth, with an army three times more numerous than theirs. The czar, however, having disposed his troops behind a line of chevaux de frize, made so strong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that all their endeavours to break in upon him proved ineffectual, and night coming on, they were obliged to retire out of the reach of his artillery. Next morning the battle was renewed, and the Turks were employed the whole day in attempting to force the Russian lines, but without success; on the third day general Poniatowski, seeing the distressed situation of the Russians, and that there was no possibility for them to escape, advised the vizir to reduce them by famine; and this advice he would most certainly have followed, had not the czarina, Catharine, who insisted upon following the czar in this dangerous expedition, hit upon an expedient to extricate him from his present difficulties. She prevailed upon

*Is sur-
rounded by
the Turks.*

*Where he is
saved by
the empress
Catherine,
and con-
cludes a
peace.*

upon her husband to send a letter to the vizir with proposals of peace, which she accompanied with a very considerable present of money and jewels; this stratagem had so good an effect, that the vizir was very willing to come to an accommodation, and accordingly a treaty was concluded, which, though greatly to the advantage of the Ottoman Porte, saved the czar from the inevitable necessity of surrendering at discretion. During this negociation an incident happened which greatly redounds to the honour of the czar; the first demand of the grand vizir was, that prince Cantemir should be delivered up, and the czar was strongly pressed by those about him to yield to it; but he peremptorily refused, saying, "I can resign to the Turks all the country as far as Curzka, because there are hopes of recovering it again: but I will by no means violate my faith, and deliver up a prince who hath abandoned a principality for my sake, because honour once forfeited can never be retrieved." After the treaty was concluded, the vizir sent several waggons of provisions to the Russian army, who decamped in good order, with drums beating and colours flying, after an expedition which had cost the czar some millions in money and jewels, and upwards of twenty thousand men.

When the news of this treaty reached Constantinople, the grand signor was so well pleased, that he ordered public rejoicings to be made for three days, and expressed his approbation of the vizir's conduct, by the most gracious reception, and several valuable presents. However, the king of Sweden, and his party, inspired him with such sentiments, that the peace was twice broken, and as often renewed, in the space of a few months.

*Returns to
his own
dominions.*

The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the czar quitted the borders of the Pruth, and returned towards his own dominions, in order to take from the Turks all subject of complaint, and to prevent their opposing his designs in the North; leaving to his generals the conduct of his troops that were to cross Poland, who having joined general Baur, entered Pomerania, with an intent to form the blockade of Stralsund. The czar went to Carelsbad to drink the waters of that place for the recovery of his health; which having taken with good success, and concluded a negociation with M. Kameke, whom the king of Prussia had sent thither to meet him, he departed from thence to Torgau, in order to be present at the nuptials of the czarowitz, his son, with the princess of Wolfenbottle.

The

The czarowitz had arrived two days before, and the queen of Poland had made great preparations for the wedding; which, however, was solemnized with very little ceremony, on the 25th of October. This was, strictly speaking, a marriage of convenience, or rather necessity; and a most deserving young lady, who merited a much better fate, was made the unhappy sacrifice. The czarowitz, from his fond attachment to vicious pleasures, had not the least inclination to marry, nor the smallest degree of regard for the princess. The indolence of his temper, the irregularity of his conduct, and his great aversion to foreigners, had created in the czar so bad an opinion of him, that he frequently hinted, that unless he soon gave some tokens of amendment, he must expect to have his crown shaved, and be thrust into a convent: the sole reason, therefore, that induced him to marry, was to prevent the danger he was in of forfeiting his succession to the crown.

The czarowitz married.

A few days after these disagreeable nuptials were celebrated, the new married couple took the route of Wolfenbuttle, and the czar set out for Elbing, where he arrived, with the czarina, on the 8th of November. But the French and Swedish factions, which now prevailed at the Porte, soon made it necessary for the czar to return to his own dominions. Therefore, departing from Elbing, he passed through Koningsburg, Memel, Riga, and Reval; at all which places he was received with great marks of affection and esteem: and having given the necessary orders for the reparation of the garrisons, and the cultivation of the country, he at length arrived at Petersburg, whither all the royal family had come to meet him.

The czar being now in peaceable possession of Livonia, and that province having formerly been looked upon as a fief of the empire, he offered to accept the investiture of it from the emperor Charles VI. provided he might be admitted a prince of the empire, and be allowed to send a minister to the general diet; and as the partiality with which the French ambassador had behaved to the Russians at Constantinople had extremely irritated the czar against that nation, he likewise offered to furnish his imperial majesty with twenty-five thousand men, to assist him in his designs against France. But these offers were declined; the emperor alleging, that though the czar was then master of Livonia, yet the restitution of it might become an article in some future treaty with Sweden; and that if this duchy should become a fief of the empire, it would be obliged

The czar offers to accept the investiture of Livonia from the emperor, but is refused.

obliged to take part in all the quarrels that might happen in Poland. This, however, was no more than a plausible pretext; the emperor being certainly afraid of having so powerful a member in the college of princes, as it afterwards plainly appeared; for when Livonia was ceded to the czar by treaty, though he repeated this request, he could not obtain it.

A.D. 1712.

*Alterations
at the
Porte in
favour of
Charles.*

The czar had actually given orders to his generals on the side of the Black Sea, to demolish the fortifications of Taganroc and Asoph, and was sincerely disposed to fulfil the late treaty in every other particular; but some fresh advices from Turkey made it necessary to suspend the farther execution of these designs. The grand vizir, when this treaty was signed, had agreed that the king of Sweden should quit the Ottoman territories; and indeed he did all in his power to perform this agreement; but Charles, and his faction, endeavoured to be beforehand with the vizir, and to persuade the sultan that he had betrayed the interest of the empire. The vizir, having intelligence of these designs, not only placed a guard upon all the roads between Bender and Constantinople, but gave the king to understand, that it was expected he should immediately depart. Upon Charles's returning him a very haughty answer, the vizir immediately stopt his daily pension; and quartered a detachment of his army at Bender as a guard upon the Swede. But this face of affairs was soon changed; for Charles having found means to inform the French ambassador of his situation, that minister made such good use of his interest with the sultan, that the vizir was soon afterwards deposed and banished, and the bashaw Jusuf, aga of the Janissaries, appointed in his stead.

*The Turks
threaten
a new
rupture.*

This new vizir, in concert with the khan of Tartary, persuaded the sultan to declare war again with the czar. Accordingly circular letters were wrote to all the vizirs and bashaws of the empire, to assemble their forces, and repair to the imperial camp at Isfaktze on the Danube. The Russian hostages at the Porte, perceiving this new war ready to kindle, endeavoured to prevent it; and, in several conferences with the vizir, assured him, that the czar had already begun, and was determined to proceed in the execution of the late treaty. The vizir having insisted on the immediate surrender of Asoph, and the demolition of Taganroc, articles which were immediately performed, a fresh negociation was begun between the two powers; but, by the machinations of the French and Swedish factions, it was not concluded till April following.

On

On the 20th of February, the czar's marriage with the czarina Catharine, which had been declared in private before, was publicly solemnised at Petersburg with great magnificence; and on the 16th of April a new treaty of peace between the Turks and Russians was concluded.

The czar is publicly married to Catharine.

This treaty consisted of eight articles. By the first, the czar was obliged to withdraw his forces from Poland within thirty days, and not to return thither on any pretence, except the king of Sweden should return to his own dominions, join with the Poles, and attack Muscovy on that side. By the second article, the Porte was at liberty to procure the king of Sweden's return to his dominions, at such time, and in such manner, as the grand signor should think proper; but in case he should march through the Russian territories, the Turkish troops that attended him should commit no ravages or other acts of hostility. By the subsequent articles of this treaty it was stipulated, that the czar should remain in possession of Kiow and the Ukraine, with their ancient liberties, and renounce all pretensions to the country of the Cossacks on this side the Dnieper. That no fortrefs should, for the future, be erected between the two frontiers of Asoph and Ciranski; nor at Camenski or Savar; and that the peace should continue twenty-five years.

New treaty between the Turks and Russians.

This treaty was concluded and signed on both sides with great appearances of sincerity; and the sultan communicated the contents of it to the king of Sweden by letter; but that prince, being prepossessed with an opinion, that the influence of the English and Dutch ministers had chiefly contributed to the conclusion of the treaty, talked of it in a very indifferent manner, and soon after induced the sultan to infringe the articles.

The king of Sweden not satisfied with it.

In the mean time, prince Menzikoff, at the head of thirty-six thousand men, had marched into Pomerania, in order to join the Danes and Saxons. Ten thousand of the Russians formed the blockade of Stetin, and the others lay before Stralsund, which was also, in some measure, blocked up by land. Soon after this junction, the czar, the czarina, and the czarowitz, arrived in Pomerania, where Peter had several conferences with king Augustus on their future operations, in which it was agreed to make a previous attack upon the island of Rugen, because, in being masters of that place, they could hinder the Swedes from throwing succours into Stralsund. In consequence of this resolution, the two monarchs went to reconnoitre the island, and gave orders to their generals to make the necessary preparations for executing this enterprize: but the Swedes having,

The czar enters Pomerania.

*Visits the
king of
Prussia at
Berlin.*

in the mean time, landed ten thousand men on the island, it was judged most prudent to postpone the attack to a more favourable opportunity; and the czar, having left king Augustus to command the army, went a second time to Carelsbad, to drink the celebrated waters of that place, from whence he paid a visit to the king of Prussia, at Berlin.

*Cessation of
arms be-
tween the
Swedes and
Augustus.*

*The czar
departs
from
Berlin.*

*The Swedes
defeat the
Danes.*

During the czar's absence, count Steinboeck, who commanded in Rugen, headed a detachment of his forces at Stralsund, and from thence marched to Mecklenburgh, where he levied most exorbitant contributions, under pretence that the inhabitants had furnished the enemies of Sweden with forage, and other provisions, in the two preceding campaigns. Mean while, Augustus, with his troops, marched towards Gustrow, which he surprised, and waited there till the Danes should join him, with an intent to attack count Steinboeck; who, having but a small tract of land to subsist on, began to consider the danger of his situation, and the consequences of hazarding a battle with an army greatly superior to him in numbers, and therefore proposed a cessation of arms for three months; to which Augustus too readily agreed.

The news of this transaction reached the czar while he was at Berlin, and proved very disagreeable to him, as he began to suspect Augustus of carrying on a private treaty with the Swedes: this suspicion induced him to make all possible haste to Mecklenburgh, to join the king of Denmark; who, being equally jealous of Augustus's conduct, had, by precipitate marches, advanced as far as Gadobusch: but, before this junction could be accomplished, the Swedes fell upon the Danish army, and, though they occupied a very advantageous situation, and had been joined by a body of Saxon troops, entirely defeated them. After this action, the Saxons, who had taken no part in it, immediately joined the Russians, that they might together be able to oppose the victorious Swedes, who, it was more than probable, would take the route of Pomerania, to penetrate into Poland, and facilitate the return of their monarch; but Steinboeck, instead of taking that way, which seemed by far the most eligible, advanced towards Jutland, in order to take up his quarters in Holstein, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the regency at Stockholm. The czar, thereupon, deliberated some time whether he should attack Steinboeck on his march: but finding this design attended with some difficulties, he continued his route to Pomerania; where, in concert with the king of Denmark,

he

he agreed to open the next campaign with the attack of Rugen, and the siege of Stralsund.

In the mean time new troubles were daily fomenting in Turkey, where the French and Swedish ministers, who could by no means relish the late peace, endeavoured to persuade the sultan, that it was extremely prejudicial both to his honour and his interest. In consequence of these cabals, Grudzinski, at the head of four thousand men, was ordered to make an irruption into Poland; and accordingly penetrated as far as Pisdry, then occupied by general Baur's regiment of Russians, commanded by general Gordon, who, not being in the least apprehensive of any hostilities from that quarter, were entirely cut to pieces. Another party of Grudzinski's detachment marched to Schudrin, beyond Posenania, where the Russians had a magazine, which was guarded by three hundred men; who, after an obstinate defence, were at last obliged to surrender. As soon as general Baur was informed of this irruption, he left Pomerania, and flew with all speed to Posenania, where, hastily assembling a body of four thousand Russians, and being joined by eight companies of the crown army, he attacked Grudzinski, and forced him to retire in great confusion. Baur pursued him closely day and night, and at last came up with him at Kruterschein; whereupon he and his officers immediately retired into Silesia, and the abandoned troops surrendered themselves without opposition.

The Turks break the peace,

and enter Poland,

where they gain some advantages,

but are defeated.

This infraction of the treaty afforded the czar just grounds of complaint, and induced marshal Scheremetow to publish a declaration, wherein he warmly remonstrated against this manifest violation of the late peace, and against the conduct of the nobility of Cracovia, Saradia, and Calish, who had favoured the invasion, and assisted the enemies of his master. He concluded with giving notice to the Poles, that if they did not behave with more moderation, or took the least step in favour of Stanislaus or the Swedes, the czar would immediately re-enter Poland with all his troops. This declaration the king of Sweden and his party did not fail to make good use of; loudly exclaiming against the czar, who said they had first broke the treaty by still keeping an army in Poland, and pursuing some Cossacks quite into the Turkish territories. Hereupon great debates arose in the divan; and the sultan, suffering himself to be prevailed upon by the khan of Tartary, the French ambassador, and the Swedish minister, seemed inclinable to break the peace on that single pretence; though it could not be denied but that the czar had punctually observed the treaty in every other respect.

The czar remonstrates;

but to no purpose.

*The Turks
declare
war a-
gainst the
czar.*

The sultan, however, was desirous of being satisfied whether the czar had really any forces in Poland or not, and for that purpose sent an aga into that kingdom, to make the proper enquiries; but this officer being entirely in the Swedish interest, made such a report as he was intrusted to do. The sultan having about this time private intelligence of the grand visir's being bribed to the Russian party, immediately deposed him, and gave the seal to Solyman bashaw; after which step, thinking he had sufficient grounds to justify his conduct, he declared war against the czar, and ordered the two Muscovite ambassadors, with all their retinue, to be imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers. Orders were likewise dispatched to all the bashaws to assemble their troops with the utmost expedition; and the sultan, with his whole court, removed to Adrianople, in order to put himself at the head of his army. There he was informed that a solemn embassy from king Augustus and the republic of Poland, consisting of near three hundred persons, with the palatine of Massovia at their head, was approaching. Being now determined to conduct king Charles into Sweden in a very grand manner, and to place Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, he ordered the whole embassy to be seized on the road, and conducted to prison.

*An accom-
modation
takes place.*

Notwithstanding these vigorous preparations, Ali Comourgi, the sultan's favourite, being in the czar's interest, and king Augustus having, by a secret correspondence, brought over the khan of Tartary, public affairs seemed to take a different turn; and they having convinced the sultan, that the aga, whom he had sent into Poland, had been bribed by the Swedish faction to make a false report, he seemed disposed to hearken to proposals of accommodation. After several negotiations, the czar's plenipotentiaries undertook, that their master's troops should really evacuate Poland. On the other hand, the sultan agreed, that the king of Sweden should be immediately sent out of the Turkish dominions; but stipulated, that the Russian and Polish ambassadors should be responsible for the safety of his person, and that he should raise no commotions in his passage. The serasquier of Bender was ordered to acquaint the king of Sweden with this resolution, and to signify to him, that his immediate compliance with it was expected. Charles, determined not to depart, told the bashaw, he must first have wherewithal to pay his debts, and provide for his journey; and the bashaw asking how much would be requisite; the king replied at random, a thousand purses (A). The bashaw, having informed the

*The king of
Sweden
refuses to
depart
from Turkey.*

(A) About 100,000*l.* sterling.

Porte,

Porte of his demand, had twelve hundred purses remitted to him, but with express orders not to deliver them until the moment of the king's departure : but Charles, and his treasurer Groteufen, having found means to prevail upon the bashaw to deliver the money, he still persisted in his resolution of continuing where he was. The khan of Tartary, who was to conduct him on his journey, had received the same orders as were given to the bashaw, with respect to delivering the money ; so that both of them were obliged to write to the Porte in their own exculpation. They received a positive order to drive Charles out by force, or to bring him dead or alive to Adrianople ; but he continuing obstinate in his resolution, they were obliged to put their orders in execution, and this service occasioned the famous action of Bender, wherein the king of Sweden exhibited greater proofs of rashness than bravery, by opposing an army of twenty-six thousand men, with only the officers of his household, and about three hundred Swedes, as we have related more particularly in the history of Sweden.

*His unaccountable
behaviour
at Bender.*

These negotiations with the Turks, did not, however, impede the military operations in the Swedish provinces in Germany. The Saxon troops made several motions, as well to inclose the Swedes, as to facilitate the junction of the Danes and Russians ; and the czar pursued general Steinboeck as far as Altena, which place he had laid in ashes, in revenge for Stade which the Danes had destroyed. From thence he sent general Baur with four thousand men to attack a body of Swedes, who defended the bridge of Høllingstادت. The Swedes made an obstinate resistance ; but at length the Russians drove them back into the village, took some prisoners, and afterwards destroyed the bridges. Steinboeck began now to be sensible of his error in taking the route of Holstein, and in order to prevent the worse consequences, intended to repass the Eyder and get into Pomerania ; but receiving intelligence that the Russian cavalry was in full march against him, he changed his design, and entrenched himself between Frederickstادت, Husum, and Tonningen. The czar, unwilling to lose the present favourable opportunity, put himself at the head of five battalions of his guards, and a few dragoons, and on the 12th of February attacked the Swedes in the entrenchments they had thrown up before Frederickstادت : the contest was warm, and for a long time doubtful ; but at length the Swedes were obliged to retire to the main body of the army, and the garrison of the town fled with great precipitation.

*Operations
in Germany.*

*The czar
sets out for
Russia.*

The czar continued the pursuit ; and having taken part of their baggage with about three hundred prisoners, returned to Fredericstادت, where he remained all that night, with an intent to attack the whole army as soon as he could be properly reinforced : but Steinboeck, being apprehensive of this attack, obtained leave to march his army into Tonningen, a motion which immediately put an end to the campaign ; it not being a proper season of the year either to besiege or bombard the place. The Russian troops went into quarters, which were so properly chosen, that they could easily prevent the Swedes from passing the Eyder.

*Equips a
great fleet,
makes a
descent on
Finland,*

The czar's presence being now become necessary at home, he left the command of the army to the king of Denmark, assuring him that he was going to find employment for the Swedes on the side of Finland ; and having in his journey had interviews with the elector of Hanover, and the king of Prussia, he at length arrived at Riga, where he found the czarina delivered of a princess, to whom he gave the name of Maria Petrowna. After a short stay there, the czar set out for Petersburg, where having assembled a fleet of about three hundred ships, he embarked in the beginning of May with thirteen thousand men, and landed at Helsingfos, on the coast of Finland. A body of Swedish troops under the command of general Lubecker, were posted there ; but not daring to oppose the czar's landing, they contented themselves with setting fire to the barracks, and retiring to Abo. Peter, not thinking himself strong enough to attack them, established a large magazine at Bergo, and soon afterwards returned to Petersburg, to procure a sufficient reinforcement to enable him to push his conquests in that province.

While the czar was thus employed, the vice-admiral put to sea with an intent to destroy some Swedish ships that lay before Helsingfos, and greatly obstructed Peter's communication with his army by water : but the admiral's ship striking on a sand, he was obliged to set it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy ; and the other captains having also managed but badly, the enterprize proved unsuccessful. This miscarriage, however, did not deter the czar from returning with his reinforcement. He put to sea with twenty frigates, and sailed in quest of the Swedish Squadron ; but being informed that they were so advantageously posted as to render it difficult to attack them with any probability of success, he readily abandoned this design, and proceeded to join his army which was then at Schrendo, about five leagues from Helsingfos. The Russians, being now augmented to twenty thousand foot,
and

and four thousand horse, provided with a good train of artillery, forced the passage of Carelflow (I), which was defended by eight hundred Swedes, and in a few days arrived at Abo, which they found totally abandoned. A large quantity of provisions which the enemy had left behind was of service to the Russian troops: but what the czar esteemed a great booty, was a considerable number of books, which he immediately sent to the library he was forming at Petersburg, whither he himself repaired soon after, leaving orders with his generals to follow the Swedish army which had retired to Thavastus.

*and takes
Abo.*

Though this was not a place of any great strength, the Swedes defended it for some time very bravely, and after quitting it, and throwing some of their artillery in the water, they took possession of Pulkona. The Russians still continued the pursuit; but on reconnoitring this post, and considering the great difficulty of forcing it, they endeavoured to attack the enemy in their rear. To this purpose they made several floats of timber, got together a great number of boats and pontons, and with about seven thousand men, commanded by generals Apraxin, Butterlin, and Czernichew, crossed several deep morasses which the Swedes had deemed impassible. The Swedish general Arnfeldt, having notice of their design, sent a detachment to oppose their passage; but a thick fog aiding their operations, they luckily accomplished it. Prince Galitzin then attacked the Swedish horse, and after an obstinate engagement the Russians were driven back almost into the water; but their other wing charged the enemy's infantry with such fury that they were obliged to retire: by this time the remainder of the Russians were come up, when they altogether returned to the fight, and having driven the Swedes from their entrenchments, obliged them to retreat with great precipitation to Noreft and Tammerfort. This victory cost the czar a great number of men; and the season of the year being now pretty far advanced, he ordered Thavastus to be properly fortified, to prevent the enterprizes of the Swedes, till he should have a better opportunity of pursuing his conquests in that country.

*The battle
of Pulkona,*

*in which
the Swedes
are de-
feated.*

While the Russians were thus employed in Finland, the troops in Holstein and Pomerania were equally successful. The king of Denmark had blocked up Tonningen; and general Steinboeck was at last forced, through hunger and want, to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war. The Danes had likewise, in conjunction with the Russians and

*Affairs of
Holstein.*

*General
Steinboeck
surrenders.*

(I) In the beginning of September:

*Rugen
taken by
the Danes.*

Saxons, made themselves masters of the isle of Rugen, with very little loss, and were now preparing to form the siege of Stralsund. On the other hand, prince Menzikoff had for some time blocked up Stetin with an army of twenty-four thousand men; but as the king of Prussia seemed very desirous of having that town, the prince and he came to an agreement that Stetin and the rest of Upper Swedish Pomerania should be sequestered in his hands. The czar was not satisfied with this treaty at first; but the king of Prussia gave him such good reasons for it, that he soon acquiesced.

*Fruitless
congress at
Brunswick.*

The emperor and the other belligerent powers at last agreed to hold a congress at Brunswick, and the regency of Stockholm had also consented to send plenipotentiaries to treat of a general peace; but the czar, who desired nothing more ardently than such a peace as might confirm his conquests, foreseeing the little success that this important undertaking was likely to be attended with, and adhering to the well known maxim of making peace sword-in-hand, took all necessary measures during the winter to pursue his designs upon Finland.

*Petersburg
peopled and
improved.*

In the mean time, Peter was very assiduous in establishing his new city of Petersburg. He had transplanted thither upwards of one thousand families from Moscow, and offered very great advantages to all foreigners who would settle there: he likewise published an order through all his dominions, declaring that all goods which had been usually sent to Archangel, should, for the future, be sent to Petersburg, paying the accustomed duties. At the same time, the more effectually to secure and increase the trade and commerce of his subjects, he published a declaration, that if the regency of Sweden should stop any vessels coming to his dominions, he would prevent all ships from entering any of their ports; to which end he ordered a great number of galleys to be equipped at Cronstot, Petersburg, Reval, and other places.

A, D 1714.

*The Russians
complete
the conquest
of Finland*

Prince Galitzin continued to harass the Swedes after the battle of Pulkona, and drove them from place to place, till he had laid the greatest part of Finland under contribution. At length their general, Arnfeldt, having recruited his army with a great number of peasants, entrenched himself near Laplar, within a quarter of a mile of the Wasa. There the Russians attacked him again, and the Swedes sustained the first onset so bravely, that the assailants were repulsed; but they no sooner rallied and returned to the charge, than the peasants took to their heels, and drew most of the Swedish soldiers after them. By this victory the czar became master

master of the whole province of Finland ; soon after which acquisition, he published a manifesto, setting forth, that as he had often proposed an equitable peace to Sweden, and that crown had continually rejected his offers, they could blame no body but themselves, for any part of their calamities.

In the beginning of June, colonel Schubajoff, governor of Wiburg, in Finland, was ordered with a detachment of one thousand men, and a sufficient train of artillery, to attack Nysslot, the capital fortress of the province of Savolaxia. In obedience to this order he appeared before the place on the 8th of June, and posted his troops on a little island called Malm, from whence he drove a body of Swedes who had lodged themselves there to dispute his passage. Having erected proper batteries, he began on the 20th to fire upon the works, and continued so to do till the 28th, when, a sufficient breach being made, he summoned the Swedish governor to surrender. This last, considering that the approach to the town was defended by a very rapid stream which ran close by the walls, declared he would hold out till the last extremity ; but when he saw the Russians preparing floats for passing the river, and that they seemed determined to conquer the place, whatever it might cost them, he at last agreed to a capitulation, and the next day *Nysslot attacked, and taken.*

The Swedes being apprehensive that the Russians would make a descent upon the isle of Oeland, sent admiral Walrang to oppose them. The forces under his command gained several advantages on the coast of Abo, where they sunk some Russian vessels, took about two hundred prisoners, and seized on the port of Teverivin. The Russian fleet was then at Reval, and consisted of thirty ships of the line, several frigates, and yachts, and about one hundred galleys, which the Swedes intended to destroy in that port : but the czar, who acted as rear-admiral, receiving intelligence of this design, desired admiral Apraxin to send him with twenty-five galleys to reconnoitre the enemy. He accordingly observed the Swedish admiral Walrang, with six ships of the line and three frigates, stationed on the coast, and the vice-admiral Lillis with several bomb-vessels steering towards the south-west, in order to accomplish the destruction of the Russian fleet at Reval. The czar sent immediate notice of this motion to his admiral, who thereupon joined him early the next morning.

After some deliberation, it was resolved to detach twenty galleys under the commodore Ismaiowitz, to endeavour to pass behind the enemy's fleet as near the coast as they could navigate.

navigate. This scheme was immediately executed, though the Swedish admiral kept a very hot fire upon them all the time; but the galleys were at such a distance, that the enemy's shot could not hurt them. Fifteen other galleys steered the same course immediately after, with the like success; upon which Walrang made a signal for the vice-admiral to return and join him; but the Russians, determined to force their way through the enemy's fleet, bore down upon them, with such good order and success, that they lost but one galley in this hazardous enterprize.

*The Russian
fleet obtains
a victory
over the
Swedes,*

All the fleet having thus passed, commodore Ismaïowitz gave notice that he had blocked up the enemy's rear admiral Ehrenschild; whereupon admiral Apraxin formed the line of battle, summoned the Swede to surrender, and upon his refusal attacked him so briskly that the Russians obtained a complete victory; the Swedish admiral, and all his ships being taken or destroyed.

*and take
the island
of Oeland.*

The first consequence of this victory was the reduction of the island of Oeland, where the czar landed with sixteen thousand men. He intended likewise to transport thither his forces which were encamped near Abo, in order to attack Stockholm; but the season of the year not permitting him to execute so important an enterprize, he took the route of Reval; and from thence returned to Petersburg, where he made a triumphal entry. Soon after, the czar went on board his own sloop, where he hoisted the flag of a vice admiral, and having received the compliments of the nobility on this occasion, he accepted of a magnificent entertainment at the palace of prince Menzikoff; and after dinner took particular notice of his prisoner M. Ehrenschild, saying to the company present, "Here you see a brave and faithful servant of his master; who hath made himself worthy of the highest reward at his hands, and who shall always have my favour as long as he is with me, though he has killed me many a brave Russian. I forgive it you (added he to the admiral with a smile), and you may depend on my good will."

*The king of
Sweden
returns to
Stockholm.*

Such was the situation of affairs when Charles XII. returned to his dominions, where he was complimented by all the neighbouring princes, who were desirous to bring him, if possible, to listen to terms of peace: but he declined giving any answer to their proposals, which were, that he should confirm the treaty for the sequestration of Stetin, and forbear all hostilities against the Danes and Saxons in the empire; whilst his Prussian majesty should engage on his part, that the kings of Poland and Denmark should not attack Swedish Pomerania. His silence herein was looked upon as a plain

a plain indication of his intending to renew the war in Lower Saxony, in order to recover the duchy of Bremen, which the king of Denmark had lately ceded to the elector of Hanover, and to restore the ducal house of Holstein; in the prosecution of which design he was assisted with money by the French, and with troops by the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on account of that prince's son having married the princess Ulrica Eleanor.

The king of Prussia assembled his forces, in order to be in readiness to secure Stetin, and preserve the peace of Lower Saxony, in concert with the house of Brunswick and other princes interested therein: while, on the other hand, the czar declared, that as he had withdrawn his troops from Pomerania upon the pressing instances of the king of Prussia, he was now determined to send a powerful army to assist his allies in reducing the fortrefs of Stralsund and Wismar, and driving the Swedes entirely out of Germany, unless king Charles would accept the propositions which had been made.

*All parties
prepare for
war.*

In the midst of these military preparations, the great reputation of the czar brought an ambassador to his court from the khan of the Usbeck Tartars, who arrived at Petersburg on the 27th of May. Next day he had an audience, and, after the accustomed ceremonies, opened his commission, which consisted of three articles: first, his prince and master, the khan Hadgi Mahemet Bahadir, rejoiced at the success of his czarish majesty, and recommended himself to his protection. Secondly, he desired the czar would enjoin his vassal, the Tartarian khan Ajuga, to live in peace and good neighbourhood with him; instead of which he seemed inclinable to stir up the Tartars, of China, and others his neighbours, against him; for which interposition he offered to furnish the czar with five thousand soldiers, who should be always ready to march, when and where he pleased. And thirdly, as a farther testimony of his friendship for the czar, he offered him a free passage through his dominions for the yearly caravans to China, and proposed a treaty of commerce. This last article was particularly advantageous to the Russians, as their caravans had hitherto been obliged to traverse the whole extent of Siberia, and took up a year in their journey; whereas, by this permission, they could accomplish it through good roads, in about four months.

*An ambaf-
sador ar-
rives from
the Usbeck
Tartars,*

*with several
advan-
tageous of-
fers.*

After the audience, the czar invited the ambassador to dine with him next day at Cronslot, and directed his great chancellor, the count Golostkin, to accompany him on board a snow, while the czar went in his own yacht, called the

the

The ambassador in great danger by a storm.

the Catharine. They accordingly set sail early in the morning with a gentle breeze; but had not proceeded above two leagues, when, by the unskilfulness of the Russian captain, the snow got among the flats, and soon after struck on the sand. The mariners worked incessantly till seven in the evening, in order to get her off, but a violent storm which arose rendered their attempts utterly ineffectual; and the storm continuing, all their boats were beat to pieces, and every one looked upon their destruction as inevitable. Towards morning, however, the tempest abated, and the vessel being towed gently out of the flats, came at last to an anchor; to the infinite satisfaction of the ambassador, who had never beheld such a scene before, and also of the czar himself, who, during the whole night, had expressed great concern for the Tartar.

The czar makes great improvements at Petersburg.

About this time a scheme was proposed for building a bridge over the Neva, in order to join Petersburg with the continent of Ingria, to which there was no passage but with boats and oars: but the czar was so far from approving this project, that he even prohibited the use of oars, and strictly ordered that no person should cross that river but with sails. Though this order occasioned the loss of many lives, yet it answered the great designs of the czar, in teaching his subjects the art of navigation. He employed a great part of his time this year in fortifying the citadel, erecting public edifices, and making many other improvements in his new city of Petersburg: he ordered that all the houses should be built with bricks and covered with tiles; and, to procure the best artificers from all parts of Europe, he offered them houses rent-free, and an absolute exemption from all kind of taxes for fourteen years.

Institutes the order of St. Catharine.

Towards the latter end of this year, he instituted the new order of St. Catharine, in honour of his royal consort; and to perpetuate the memory of her love to him in his distressed condition on the banks of the river Pruth. He invested her with full power to bestow it on such of her own sex as she should think proper. The ensigns of this order are, a broad white ribband wore over the right shoulder, with a medal of St. Catharine adorned with precious stones, and the motto, "Out of love and fidelity."

A.D. 1715.

And reforms many abuses in the state.

The czar now made it his study to discover the causes of several disorders, which, during his absence, had crept into the public administration, whereby his army had suffered greatly, many thousands of his artificers were reduced to the greatest misery and distress, the trade and commerce of his dominions had very sensibly decayed, and his revenues were in the utmost confusion. To this end,

in

in the beginning of the year 1715, he established a grand court of inquisition under the direction of general Dolgorucki, which affected most of the great men in the kingdom, who were now obliged to render a very strict account of their conduct. The great admiral Apraxin, prince Menzikoff, M. Korsakoff, vice-governor of Peterburg, M. Kikin, president, and M. Sinawin, first commissioner of the admiralty; Welkonski and Aponchin, two of the principal senators, with an incredible number of other officers of inferior rank were summoned to the tribunal. Apraxin, Menzikoff and Bruce, alleged in their defence, that as the commands of his majesty, and the exigencies of public affairs, had obliged them to spend the greatest part of their time in the field, they were so far unable to account for the conduct of their unfaithful servants, that they were almost wholly ignorant of the transactions of their own private families; and, as this excuse appeared very probable, the czar, out of personal esteem for them, punished them only in their purses, by mulcting them severely for the faults that had been committed in their several departments. The rest of the delinquents, whose conduct could not be justified, underwent much greater punishments; Korsakoff, Wolkonski, and Apouchin, publicly suffered the knout; and had, besides, red-hot irons drawn across their tongues: some, of an inferior rank, were chastised with batogs; and others were banished into Siberia, and other remote places, after having forfeited their estates. This severity was productive of very beneficial consequences, and shewed the czar to be a man of no less genius and sagacity in discovering the corruption of his ministers, than of justice in punishing them for it, and love to his subjects in preventing the bad effects of its longer continuance.

The armies having now taken the field, the king of Prussia published a manifesto to justify the sequestration of Swedish Pomerania, and the march of his army to prevent the danger that threatened his new dominions, and the whole German empire. In the mean time, the count de Croissy arrived at Berlin, to offer the French king's mediation for reconciling the differences between the kings of Prussia and Sweden; but the czar declared, that he would not on his part accept of any other mediation for the peace of the North, than that of the king of Great Britain and the states general. In consequence of this declaration, the French king's offer was rejected, and each party prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Prussians and Swedes take the field.

The

The northern allies having sent their forces into Pomerania, the czar, towards the latter end of June, sailed with his fleet towards Gotland, with an intent to shut up the passages from Stockholm into that province, in which enterprize he happily succeeded: for the army that was in Finland, having made a shew of marching to the north of Sweden, the troops in the neighbourhood of Stockholm remained near the capital, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the czar's operations. Having accomplished this design, the Russian fleet sailed about the middle of September from Gotland to the coasts of Sundermanian, and landed fifteen thousand men at Jemel, about eight leagues from the Swedish army, whilst a body of horse from Finland went round the Bothnic gulf, to penetrate into the northern provinces of Sweden, an invasion which threw the whole kingdom into a terrible consternation. Mean while the czar dispatched general Scheremetow with fifteen thousand men into Pomerania, in order to strengthen the allied army, and put an end to the tedious siege of Stralsund, which accordingly surrendered about the latter end of December; the king of Sweden having narrowly escaped being taken, by getting off in a small bark, with only ten persons, and landing at Isted, in Scandinavia, from whence he went to Carelskroon, where he continued all the winter, making new levies to reinforce his army. Prince Galitzin had likewise great success in Finland, having surprised the fortress of Ula, and obliged the Swedish troops to pass the Kimi and Torno; so that there remained but about four hundred Swedes in the whole province, and they were shut up in the castle of Cajaneberg, situated on an inaccessible rock.

*Stralsund
surrenders
to the czar.*

*The wife
of the
czarowitz
delivered
of a son.*

*The cza-
rina deli-
vered of a
prince.*

The czar having returned to Petersburg from his naval expedition, devoted his whole attention to the finishing the fortifications and improvements of that city. On the 22d of October he had the satisfaction of seeing a son born to the czarowitz: but the joy on this happy occasion was soon damped by the death of the amiable and illustrious princess that bore him; for, what with the brutal behaviour of her husband, and the unskilful treatment of those who attended her, she languished about six days after her delivery, and then died; having taken a very tender and affectionate leave of the czar, and recommended her two infant children to his care and protection. The day after her interment, the czarina Catherine was also safely delivered of a prince; and the public rejoicings on this occasion were celebrated for eight days successively with the utmost splendor and magnificence.

In

In the beginning of the next year, the czar, being apprehensive the Tartars might, at the instigation of the Turks, intermeddle in the affairs of Poland, thought proper, by way of precaution, to order general Wieselbach, with six regiments of dragoons, to march to Woronetz on the Don, in order to watch their motions. On the 14th of January, the czarina-dowager Marava Matweowna, relict of the late czar Theodore Alexowitz, died at Petersburg, and was buried with great funeral pomp: on which occasion the czar first abolished the ancient custom of immoderate weeping and vociferous lamentation. She had, indeed, been generally reported dead for many years; because she never stirred from her apartments, after the premature death of her consort, to whom she had been married but one month, and was seldom seen by any but her own servants.

A.D. 1716.

The Swedes having repassed the Baltic, after the loss of Stralsund, and threatened to make the king of Denmark's dominions the seat of the northern war, the czar found his presence necessary in Lower Saxony, in order to concert measures for the assistance of that prince. Having, accordingly, set out from Petersburg with the czarina, his consort, in the beginning of February, they arrived at Dantzic on the 29th of that month, where they continued till the latter end of April. While the czar remained in this city, he concluded a marriage between the princess Catharine, his niece, and duke Charles Leopold, of Mecklenburg Schwerin, which was solemnised on the 19th of April with great pomp and splendour. A few days after these nuptials, the czar set out for Konigsberg, the capital of Prussia, where he gave audience to the famous Persian ambassador, who had lately arrived there from France. During the czar's absence from Dantzic, he ordered certain articles to be exhibited to the magistrates of that city, prohibiting all commerce between them and Sweden, and insisting on their furnishing him with four privateers of twelve guns and fifty men each, and maintaining them during the war, or paying him two hundred thousand rixdollars in money. These articles met with great opposition: but the czar signified, that, unless they were agreed to, he should declare against the city, and treat its inhabitants as enemies. However, by the mediation of the king of Poland, the rigour of these articles was mitigated to a prohibition of all commerce with Sweden during the war, the payment of one hundred thousand rixdollars, and the maintenance of four ships which his Polish majesty undertook to furnish. This matter being settled, the czar set
out

*The czar
arrives at
Dantzic.*

*Goes
to Stetin.*

out for Stetin, whither the king of Prussia had gone privately to meet him, in order to confer on the present situation of affairs in the North, and particularly on the side of Denmark. These two princes agreed in opposing the progress of the Swedish arms in the dominions of the Danes, but did not think proper to assist the king of Denmark to make conquests on the Swedes, because, as they were already so much weakened by the loss of Finland, Livonia, and Pomerania, it was to be feared that, in case any farther attempts should be made against them, other powers would arm in their defence. From Stetin the czar went to Stralsund, and from thence he passed into Mecklenburg, where the allies had pushed the siege of Wismar with so much vigour, that it at last capitulated. He had formed a design of putting the duke of Mecklenburg in possession of that fortress, that the Russians might thereby always have a safe retreat for their ships on that side of the Baltic Sea; and had actually ordered a body of twenty-six hundred troops to advance that way: but before they could arrive, the place surrendered, and the czar's intention was defeated; a circumstance which so greatly chagrined him, that from hence may be dated the epoch of several memorable events, and particularly the misunderstanding that afterwards happened between him and the court of Hannover.

*The allies
take Wis-
mar.*

*The czar
arrives at
Copenha-
gen.*

Soon after this event, the czar had an interview with the king of Denmark at Hamburgh, when it was agreed to make a descent upon Schonen, in order to oblige the king of Sweden to quit Norway, into which kingdom he had already penetrated with an army of twenty thousand men, and was advancing with all expedition to Christiana the capital. The czar seemed very forward in this expedition, and having promised to join the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, he assembled forty-five galleys, and a body of eight hundred men. Taking the command of the fleet upon himself, he sailed for Lubeck, and arrived in the road of Copenhagen on the 17th of July. The king of Denmark received the czar and czarina with great magnificence, and during their stay there, which was near three months, entertained them with all manner of diversions. About this time the English and Dutch squadrons under the command of Sir John Norris, and rear-admiral Grave, arrived at Copenhagen; whereupon several councils were held, in which it was proposed that they should join the Russian and Danish fleets in the intended attack upon Schonen, and that the czar should have the chief command of the expedition. These proposals being agreed to, the czar hoisted his impe-
riak

rial flag on the 16th of August, and after having received a royal salute from the whole fleet on this occasion, he gave the signal for sailing: but being soon afterwards informed that the Swedish fleet was gone to Carelsbroon for provisions, he returned to Copenhagen. There several councils of war were held, in which every necessary disposition for this important enterprize was settled, and the troops ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark; when, on a sudden, these orders were countermanded, and this grand project, which had for some time been the general object of speculation, was laid aside; the czar having declared that he thought the season too far advanced to attempt it, and that it would be more adviseable to postpone it till the ensuing spring. This strange alteration in the czar's sentiments and conduct could not fail of being highly disagreeable to the king of Denmark, who immediately published a memorial, stating the several facts and circumstances relating to this intended expedition, and flatly charging the czar with being the sole occasion of its delay. Peter did not think fit to make any answer; but having re-embarked his forces, and given them orders to march through Pomerania into Poland, he took leave of the Danish court, and proceeded with the czarina to Lubeck.

His conduct there.

He departs from thence.

The czar's behaviour in this affair appears at first sight very unaccountable, as the enterprize was certainly well projected, and, had it been carried into execution, must have reduced the king of Sweden to the necessity of making peace upon such terms as the allies might have proposed: but as we have already seen how far he intended to act in behalf of the king of Denmark, by the conference between him and the king of Prussia at Steutin, so he was induced to act in this manner from a still stronger motive. Baron Goertz, who was now become the prime minister and chief favourite of the king of Sweden, had projected a strange revolution in the affairs of Europe, by concluding a separate peace between the czar and that prince, upon a plan extremely flattering to their mutual ambition. As Goertz was sensible that the czar could not be brought into this scheme, without being permitted to keep all the provinces he had conquered on the north-east sides of the Baltic, that minister endeavoured to persuade the king his master, that he would be amply recompensed for the loss of those places which he was not then in any condition to recover, by having the honour to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, setting the crown of England on the head of the pretender; and restoring the duke of Holstein to the possession of his inheritance; in short, that there was scarce

Project of baron Goertz.

any enterprize, however arduous, which might not be undertaken and accomplished by the united forces of Russia and Sweden. As the height of Charles's ambition was to become sole arbiter of Europe, nothing could be more plausible for attaining that point than the present scheme; and as the czar had lately taken great disgust at the allies on account of his disappointment in the affair of Wismar, Goertz, with the assistance of prince Menzikoff, and doctor Arkhine, the czar's physician, found it not difficult to bring this monarch into his project; though Peter afterwards took great pains to clear himself of any such imputation.

*Intestine
broils in
Poland.*

During these transactions, the affairs of Poland fell into great confusion: a new confederacy was set on foot by Gurinski, lieutenant of the palatine of Sandomir, who insisted upon the dismissal of the Saxon troops, and declared they would listen to no accommodation till that step should be taken. This declaration obliged Augustus to request the mediation of the czar, who having appointed prince Dolgorucki for that purpose, he, after several skirmishes between the contending parties, at last brought them to a treaty, and several congresses were held to compromise the differences, but to no purpose. Peter then sent general Ronne into Poland, with a considerable body of troops, to support that party which should seem most inclinable to peace. But the arrival of these troops served only to create fresh disturbances, the Poles positively declaring that they would not enter into any treaty, till prince Dolgorucki should order the Russian forces to retire out of the kingdom. The prince answered, that these troops had marched into Poland in consequence of an agreement made at Dantzick, that the czar should be at liberty to send forces into Poland, in order to act against such as should disturb the public tranquillity; and that as the Poles had chosen the czar for a mediator, it did not become them to prescribe laws to him, but they ought to conform to such measures as he should think most expedient for the establishment of peace, which he advised them to conclude without farther delay; promising, that, so soon as the treaty should be signed, he would immediately order the Russian troops to withdraw. The confederates replied, that a mediator ought not to make use of arms, but rather to hear with patience the allegations of the contending parties, and endeavour to reconcile them. They were then given to understand, that though what they had alleged might hold true with respect to private parties, yet that princes in arms generally adopted far different maxims; and Dolgorucki declared in plain terms, that his master's troops should continue in Poland

*The czar
is chosen
mediator.*

till

till a treaty was actually concluded. Several warm debates arose, and the deputies of the confederacy absolutely refused to proceed any farther in the treaty, until the prince should put an order into their hands for the retreat of the Russians; which he declining to do, the conferences broke up: but by the interposition of the imperial ambassador and the pope's nuncio, the contending parties met again next day, when, after much altercation, the deputies were prevailed upon to desist from their demand, and to accept a declaration from Augustus that he would use his utmost endeavour with the czar for the retreat of his forces immediately after the conclusion of the peace. Prince Dolgorucki then communicated a plan for the suspension of arms; but it not being approved of, king Augustus declared he would immediately set out for the army. This resolution alarmed the confederates, who, after some difficulty, agreed to the suspension, which was accordingly published. These previous obstacles being thus removed, the negotiation went on apace, and it was at length agreed by all parties, that the king might, if he pleased, be out of the kingdom for three months in the year; that the Saxon ministers should no ways intermeddle with, or concern themselves in the affairs of Poland; that the king might keep a Saxon guard, who were not to exceed the number of twelve hundred men, to be maintained at his own expence; that the commander of this guard should take an oath of fidelity to the king and the republic; and that no foreign troops should be brought into the kingdom, nor the Saxon guard be augmented by any new levies on any pretence whatsoever. Thus these intestine commotions, which had subsisted so long, were at last amicably adjusted, and the Poles promised themselves a lasting series of tranquillity from this treaty of pacification.

And at last accommodates the differences.

From Lubeck the czar proceeded to Hamburgh, and from thence to the Hague, where he continued till the 4th of April. During this time a discovery was made in England of the intrigues of baron Goertz and count Gyllemburg, in order to excite a rebellion in Great Britain, in favour of the pretender to that crown. Gyllemburg was arrested at London, and Goertz at the Hague. By their papers which were seized, it appeared that the project was to have been executed in March, and that the king of Sweden was to make a descent in England with ten thousand foot, four thousand horse, a large train of artillery, and arms for twelve thousand men more: it likewise appeared that the czar had been made acquainted with this design by the means of doctor Areskine his physician; and that the

A.D. 1717.

The czar goes to the Hague 1

Swedes were in great hopes of procuring his assistance. This last part of the discovery occasioned the czar to send a long memorial to the court of Great Britain, wherein he endeavoured to remove the suspicions which that court had entertained of his conduct in this affair, and gave them the strongest assurances of his friendship. As there was no positive proof to contradict this memorial, the king of Great Britain contented himself with answering it in general terms: though it cannot be denied, that if the enterprize had not been so opportunely discovered, the czar would, in all probability, have been very deeply concerned.

*and from
thence to
France.*

From Holland, the czar set out for France; not so much to gratify his curiosity and boundless thirst after knowledge, as to accomplish certain political views which he entertained at this time, it must be confessed; and which were not strictly agreeable to his engagement with his allies. To this purpose he offered to send a numerous army into the heart of the empire, if the French king would pay him certain large subsidies for so doing: but however agreeable this proposal might be to the court of France, they found it impracticable, without breaking the treaty of alliance concluded with Great Britain so lately as the 4th of January in this year; and therefore it was rejected. But before the czar's departure from Paris, he entered into a treaty of friendship with France, wherein the king of Prussia was included, and in consequence of which the czar promised to withdraw his forces from Mecklenburg. King George I. notwithstanding what had passed in relation to the Swedish conspiracy, was very desirous of preserving a good understanding with the czar, and therefore ordered admiral Norris and Mr. Whitworth to wait upon him at Amsterdam, in his return from Paris, to assure him that his intention in withdrawing his troops out of the empire had afforded his Britannic majesty great satisfaction, and that he was willing to resume the treaty of commerce which had lately been proposed, and to facilitate the conclusion of it to the utmost of his power. But the czar having, as a preliminary article, insisted on a British squadron of fifteen men of war being sent to act against the Swedes, under the order of the Russian admirals, which the court of Great Britain did not think proper to comply with, the proposed treaty proved abortive.

*Where he
concludes a
league of
friendship
with Lewis
is XIV.*

Soon after the czar's return to Amsterdam, baron Goertz was set at liberty, and had several conferences with the Swedish resident at Lutphen, who was admitted with great secrecy to an interview with the czar and his minister

at

at Loo; and as he undertook to accommodate the differences between the Russians and the Swedes within three months, the czar engaged to suspend all operations against the king of Sweden for that time.

A cessation of arms between the czar and the king of Sweden. The czar returns to Petersburg.

The czar being now resolved to return home, departed from Amsterdam, and having passed through Berlin and Dantzick, arrived at Petersburg on the 17th of October, after an absence of sixteen months. Here he found the popular clamour so loud against the public administration, that he devoted the whole of his time to enquire into, and redress the several disorders which had arisen in his absence, and assisted at the senate every morning by four o'clock, to hear and examine the accusations and defence of the parties concerned: but finding that a great length of time would necessarily be taken up in the conviction of those who stood accused of male-administration, and that their crimes in general were of a much blacker nature than what he at first imagined, he established an extraordinary court of justice for the trial and punishment of these offenders, which was directed to pronounce sentence without favour or partiality, and to ground its decisions upon the known principles of equity and common sense.

In the month of December, Mr. Webber, the British resident, arrived at Petersburg, and signified to the Russian ministry, that the king his master could not help being alarmed at the czar's interview with baron Goertz at Loo, and at the appearances of his having employed that nobleman to effect a separate peace with the king of Sweden. They, at first, stiffly denied the interview, but, by a chain of concurring circumstances, were at length obliged to acknowledge it. About this time the duke of Ormond arrived at Petersburg, with one Jernigan, an English Roman catholic. His design was, not only to negotiate a marriage between the pretender to the crown of England, and the princess Anne Petrona, one of the czar's daughters; but also to conclude a peace between the czar and the king of Sweden, that the latter might be more at leisure to turn his thoughts on settling the pretender on the throne. These views were, however, both frustrated; the one by Goertz's procuring the princess for the duke of Holstein, and the other by Charles's refusing the duke of Ormond admission into Sweden, in quality of the pretender's minister.

In January, 1718, an express arrived from the Ukraine, with advice, that the Cuban Tartars were marching in great numbers towards the frontiers of Russia: whereupon the necessary orders were given for opposing them; and the grand signor, to remove all suspicion of his

Irruption of the Cuban Tartars.

Unsuccessful expedition to the Caspian Sea.

conniving at this irruption, sent the czar a letter, written with his own hand, wherein he promised, in case these robbers should be defeated, and take refuge in his dominions, he would drive them out by fire and sword, as a proof of his readiness to discharge, in every respect, the obligation he owed to so faithful a neighbour. Sometime before this period, the czar had sent prince Alexander Bekowitz, at the head of three thousand men, to take possession of a river in the Caspian Sea, where he had been told there was plenty of gold-dust, and to discover certain mines in the mountains of Great Tartary. His troops landed without opposition; but, upon their penetrating farther into the country, the Tartars and Calmucks assembled, to the number of fifty thousand, and refused the czar's presents; though they promised to supply the Russians with water and provisions. of which they were in great want, on condition that they should separate, and return home. Injudiciously trusting to this promise, they began their march in separate bodies, when the enemy fell upon them, thus weakened by famine, and divided by stratagem, and destroyed both the prince and all his men.

Proceedings against the czarowitz Alexis.

When the news of this misfortune reached the czar, it was not doubted but that he would take the first opportunity of punishing the barbarians, and accordingly great preparations were made for that purpose; but this, and all other undertakings, were suspended for a while, to make way for an affair which the czar had more at heart, and which may be looked upon as one of the most extraordinary events that has been recorded in history. This was, to enquire into the crimes, and to punish the disobedience of his son and heir apparent, the czarowitz Alexis, who, during his absence, had left Russia, and thereby incurred the penalty of the law, which made it high treason for any one to travel into foreign parts without the czar's permission. While the sieur Tolstoy was dispatched to Naples, where the czarowitz then was, in order to bring him back to Moscow, Peter thought proper to publish a declaration, setting forth his reasons for proceeding in so extraordinary a manner, and justifying his conduct in an affair of so uncommon and delicate a nature.

After having in this manifesto recapitulated many instances of his son's disobedience, profligacy, worthlessness, and incapacity, he concluded it to this effect: "Now, as we should pity our states and our faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were in, so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our empire,

empire, any of our subjects may disinherit a son, and give his succession to such other of his sons as he pleases; and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to our throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us. And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter, though yet very young, having no successor that is older. We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession; and we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and agreeably to this our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy Gospel, kissing the cross. And all those who shall ever at any time oppose this our will, and who, from this day forward, shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance. Given at Moscow, the 3d of February, 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal.

PETER."

On the 11th of February the czarowitz was brought to Moscow, and the same evening waited on his father, with whom he had a long conference. Next day, a great council was held; and on the 14th, early in the morning, the guards and all the garrison of Moscow surrounded the castle, and an order was issued to all the czar's ministers, bojars, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall of the castle, and to the prelates to assemble in the cathedral at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the hall, and being come into his father's presence, threw himself in tears at his feet, and presented a writing containing a confession of his crimes. This the czar delivered into the hands of baron Schaffiroff the vice-chancellor, and raising up his son, asked him, what was his request? Alexis replied, that he only implored his majesty's mercy to save his life. The czar granted this; but at the same time told him, that as he had deprived himself of all hopes of succeeding to the crown, he ought solemnly to re-

The czarowitz is brought to Moscow;

*and re-
nounces the
succession.*

nounce the same : to which intimation he answered, that he was ready to conform himself to the czar's pleasure. The czar then questioned him concerning the motives of his disobedience, and who had advised him to elope out of the kingdom ; and upon the prince's whispering the czar in the ear, they both retired into an inner chamber, where it is imagined he made a discovery of the persons who had persuaded him to that rash action. The czar and czarowitz having returned into the hall, the latter signed an instrument, by which he declared himself incapable of governing, and renounced all right to the crown ; whereupon the foregoing manifesto was read aloud in the midst of the assembly, and the right of succession thereby vested in Peter was publicly recognized, and confirmed by an oath taken by all the ministers and grantees then present, and ordered to be taken by every individual subject in the empire.

It was generally thought, that this formal renunciation of the succession would have been the only punishment inflicted on this unhappy prince : but the czar, having some reason to suspect that he had been fomenting discord and division between him and his subjects, in order to excite them to a rebellion in his own favour ; thought it necessary, for his own safety and the public welfare, to make some farther enquiry into the motives of his conduct. He therefore declared to him, that if he would truly and faithfully discover the particular circumstances of his elopement, who were his advisers, and every thing that related to it, and give a full answer in writing to such questions as he should propose, without the least disguise, restriction, or reserve, he would freely pardon him : but that if such discovery was not full and open, and all his accomplices were not particularly named, the promise of pardon should be void and of no effect.

The czarowitz promised to make an ample confession, and accordingly gave a minute account of his escape in answers to a series of questions which were put to him on this subject : but notwithstanding the important condition upon which this confession was made, it was far from being sincere ; as it appeared from the papers of the czarowitz which had been seized, and from the examination of several of his accomplices, that he had omitted many things of great consequence, and had actually formed a design of usurping the throne even in his father's life-time. The czar finding all his efforts of reformation fruitless and ineffectual, began to look upon his son as an enemy, who would absolutely destroy the power and elevation of the
empire ;

empire, and defeat the intent of all his industry and labour; and the czarowitz, on the other hand, seeing it impossible to pursue his favourite manner of life, considered his father as his worst enemy. Thus the two were of necessity at perpetual variance; and Peter being possessed of the power, resolved to exercise it to the full extent: he only sought to save the appearances of humanity under the colour of justice.

To this purpose he established a high court of justice for the trial of his son, which being opened on the 13th of June, 1718, the czar expressed himself to this effect:

*The trial of
the czarowitz.*

“ Though the flight of the czarowitz Alexis, and part of his crimes, be already known to the world by the manifesto published at Moscow, on the 3d of February; yet there are now discovered such unexpected and surprising attempts, as plainly shew with what baseness and villany he endeavoured to impose upon us his sovereign and father, and what grievous perjuries he hath committed against Almighty God, to prevent an enquiry into his bad practices, or a discovery of his pernicious intrigues; all which shall now be laid open before you with perspicuity and order.”

Accordingly the several letters from the czar to the czarowitz, and his answers, his several confessions, and the examinations of divers persons who were his accomplices, having been read to the court, the czar addressed the tribunal again in these terms: “ You have now heard a very ample narrative of the almost unprecedented crimes which my son has committed against his father and sovereign: though, according to all laws, civil and divine, and especially those of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers over their children, we have a full and unlimited power to judge our son for his crimes according to our pleasure, without asking the advice of any person whatsoever: yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and partiality in their own affairs than in those of others, and as the most eminent and expert physicians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the advice and assistance of others; so we, under the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending him, in like manner make known our disease, and apply to you for a cure; being apprehensive of eternal death, if, ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should attempt to cure ourselves; and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should declare to me the truth. And though he has forfeited the benefit of this promise by concealing the most important circumstances of his rebellious

lious designs against us ; yet that we may not in any thing swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness and attention, and report what punishment he deserves without favour or partiality either to him or me ; for I swear to you by the great God and his judgments, that you have nothing to fear on this head. Neither let the reflection of your being to pass sentence upon the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice without respect of persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine too by doing any thing which may injure your country, or upbraid your consciences in the great and terrible day of judgment." The czar afterwards harangued the clergy, who were assembled at Peterburg on this occasion, to the same purpose, adding, " Though his affairs fall not within the verge of the spiritual, but of the civil jurisdiction, and we have this day referred it to the impartial decision of the secular court ; yet, remembering that passage in the word of God, which requires us on such occasions to consult the priests and elders of the church in order to know the will of heaven, and being desirous of receiving all possible instruction in a matter of such importance ; we desire of you, the archbishops, and the whole ecclesiastical estate, as teachers of the word of God, not to pronounce judgment in this case, but to examine and give us your opinions concerning it, according to the sacred oracles, from whence we may be best informed what punishment my son deserves ; and that you will give it us in writing under your hands ; that being properly instructed herein, we may lay no burthen upon our conscience. We therefore repose our confidence in you, that, as guardians of the divine laws, as faithful pastors of the Christian flock, well affected towards your country, you will act suitable to your dignity ; conjuring you by that dignity, and the holiness of your function, to proceed without fear or dissimulation."

In consequence of these declarations, both the ecclesiastical and secular assemblies proceeded in this great business ; the first to search the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the constitution of the empire, and the military laws for pertinent authorities that might be applied to the present case, in order to judge what pains and penalties the czarowitz had deserved ; and the other, to examine the legal evidence which arose against him from his own confession, and the depositions that had been taken in the course of this affair. Accordingly, the clergy, a few days after, laid before the senate several extracts from the scriptures, and the particular laws and constitutions of the empire, which being duly considered, they, on the 24th of June, pronounced the following sentence :

“ By

“ By virtue of an exprefs ordinance ifſued by his czarish majeſty, and ſigned with his own hand, on the 13th of June, for the trial of the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, in relation to his crimes and tranſgreſſions againſt his father and ſovereign; the undernamed miniſters, ſenators, eſtates military and civil, after having aſſembled ſeveral times in the regency chamber of the ſenate of Petersburgh, and having heard recited the original writings and teſtimonies given againſt the czarowitz, as alſo his majeſty’s admonitory letters to that prince; and his answers to them in his own hand writing, and other acts relating to the proceſs; and likewise the criminal informations, declarations, and confeſſions of the czarowitz, partly written with his own hand, and partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and ſovereign, before the ſeveral perſons undernamed, conſtituted by his czarish majeſty’s authority to proceed with the preſent trial; do acknowledge and declare, that, though according to the laws of the Ruſſian empire, it belongs not to them, the natural ſubjects of his czarish majeſty’s ſovereign dominions, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which for its importance, depends ſolely on the abſolute will of the ſovereign, whoſe power, unlimited by any law, is derived from God alone; yet, in ſubmiſſion to his ordinance who hath given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, obeying the dictates of their conſciences without fear, flattery, or reſpect of perſons, having nothing before their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the preſent caſe, the canons and rules of councils, the authority of the holy fathers and docters of the church; and taking alſo for their rule the inſtructions of the archbishops and clergy aſſembled at Petersburgh on this occaſion, and conforming themſelves to the laws and conſtitutions of this empire, which are agreeable to thoſe of other nations, eſpecially the Greeks and Romans, and other Chriſtian princes; they have unanimouſly agreed and pronounced the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz to be worthy of death for his aforeſaid crimes and capital tranſgreſſions againſt his ſovereign and father, he being his czarish majeſty’s ſon and ſubject: and that, notwithstanding the promiſe given by his czarish majeſty to the czarowitz, in a letter ſent by M. Tolſtoy and captain Romanzoff, dated from Spa, the 10th of July, 1717, to pardon his elopement if he voluntary returned; yet he hath forfeited and rendered himſelf unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former tranſgreſſions, as is fully ſet forth in his majeſty’s manifeſto of the 3d of February in this preſent year. And although his majeſty did, upon the arrival of the czarowitz at Moſcow, and his humbly confeſſing his crimes,
and

Sentence pronounced againſt him.

and asking pardon for them, take pity on him, and promise him pardon if he would declare without reserve or restriction all his designs, and who were his advisers and accomplices ; yet the answers and confessions of the czarowitz were delivered without any sincerity ; he not only concealing many of his accomplices, but also capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions ; particularly his rebellious design of usurping the throne even in the life-time of his father ; flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favour : all which hath been since fully discovered by the information taken in the criminal process. Thus it is evident, from the whole conduct of the czarowitz, that he was not disposed to wait till the succession should come to him according to equity, and the order of nature which God has established ; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of a foreign army which he had actually requested. The czarowitz has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor his father ; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have been proved by testimonies and writings ; but even such as have been convicted of an intention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the throne ; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity ; a father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarowitz from the cradle with more than paternal care and tenderness ; who earnestly endeavoured to form him for government, and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application, to instruct him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire : with how much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death ? It is therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as subjects and servants, pronounce this sentence ; considering that it belongs not to us to give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce sentence against the son of our most precious sovereign lord the czar. Nevertheless, it being his pleasure that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and Christian conscience, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God. We submit,

mit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the sovereign power, the will, and merciful revival of his czarish majesty, our most merciful sovereign."

This sentence was signed by all the members of the court, to the number of a hundred and eighty; and on the 6th of July it was read to the czarowitz. Next day, early in the morning, advice was brought to the czar, that the violent agitation of the czarowitz's mind, joined to the terrors of approaching death, had thrown him into violent convulsions; about noon, another messenger arrived, with an account, that the prince's life was in great danger; and in a few hours, a third came to inform the czar, that the prince being now past all hopes of surviving the evening, earnestly desired to see him. Hereupon the czar, with some of his principal courtiers, repaired to the fortress where the czarowitz was confined. The prince, upon sight of his father, burst into tears, and earnestly besought him to remove the curse he had laid upon him at Moscow, to forgive him all his heavy crimes, to impart to him his paternal blessing, and to cause prayers to be put up for his departing soul. The czar returned a very pathetic answer; and, after having represented to him in a few words the heinousness of his crimes, pardoned and blessed him in so moving a manner, that the whole company melted into tears. About five in the evening, a fourth messenger was sent to the czar, to inform him, that the prince begged to see him once more; but just as the czar was upon the point of complying with this last request, another arrived, with advice that the prince was dead.

He dies in prison.

Though it may be reasonably imagined that the czar was but moderately afflicted with this event; yet he was not wanting in performing his funeral obsequies with due pomp and solemnity. He ordered the body to lie in state two days in the church of the Holy Trinity, from whence it was removed to the new church of the citadel, and interred in the imperial tomb there; the czar and czarina, with all their court, and the principal nobility of the empire, being present at the funeral.

After all, the greatest crime of the czarowitz, seems to have been a want of spirit, ambition, and capacity, to proceed in the career which his father had so happily begun. By his indolence and aversion to war and conquest, he incurred the contempt of Peter, who was moreover incensed at that sullen reserve in his son, which he could not but interpret into a disapprobation of his own conduct. The czar had some tenderness in his nature, but not enough to counteract the more violent passions by which he was impelled; and

and therefore, the tribunal, for their own sakes ; paid very little regard to his professions and adjurations when he charged them to act impartially, without respect of persons. The reader will perceive that an abject strain of adulation runs through the sentence which they pronounced.

*Various
opinions
concerning
his death.*

The sudden death of this unhappy prince occasioned much speculation, and various reports were spread concerning it ; some affirming that the czar sent him a poisonous draught, and strictly charged the person who carried it, to see it taken ; while others pretended, that the czar obliged him to read his own sentence in open court, and that the paper being poisoned, the fumes ascended to his brain and occasioned his death : certain it is, he died so critically, that, all things considered, it is no wonder that the czar incurred some such suspicion. He judged it necessary to vindicate his character from so vile an aspersion, and therefore caused circular letters to be wrote to the several courts of Europe, setting forth his reasons for commencing this criminal prosecution against his son, the several proceedings therein, and the particular circumstances relating to the prince's death.

*The czarow-
witz's ac-
complices
punished.*

As to those accomplices whom the czarowitz had named, they, being arrested, and put to the torture, accused others ; these again informed against more, so that great numbers of almost every rank, age, and sex, were found guilty, and abandoned to the utmost severity of the law ; some were beheaded, some hanged, some impaled, some broke upon the wheel, others punished with the knout, a great many were banished into Siberia, and a few imprisoned for life, among whom were the mother of the unfortunate prince, and the czar's own sister, the princess Mary ; both of whom being convicted of having a hand in this iniquitous affair, the former was shut up in a convent upon the borders of the lake Ladoga, and the other was confined in the castle of Schusselburg.

*A confer-
ence opened
at Oeland.*

This affair, and the business of the grand inquisition concerning the intestine disorders of the government being finished, the czar had leisure to turn his thoughts to foreign affairs, and to attend to the conferences which were opened between his ministers and those of Sweden, in the isle of Oeland. The subject of these conferences was a peace between the two powers. Each party seemed to entertain the most sanguine expectations from this event ; baron Goertz, the Swedish minister, flattering the czar with the hopes of keeping all the conquests he had made during the war, and at the same time persuading the king his master to consent to such a cession, in consideration of the successes with

with which the czar was to furnish him, whereby he would be able to re-establish Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and to recover those dominions which were now possessed by the kings of Great Britain and Denmark.

In order to influence this important negotiation, the czar sailed with his fleet to Abo, that he might the more expeditiously furnish his ministers with the necessary instructions; but when the finishing stroke was ready to be put to it, the hopes of both parties were totally blasted by the death of the king of Sweden, which happened in the night between the 29th and 30th of November, 1718, by a shot from a battery in the town of Frederickshall, in Norway. This sudden and unexpected event quite changed the face of affairs in the North; baron Goertz was arrested in his way to join his master at the siege of Frederickshall. Having drawn upon himself the hatred of the whole Swedish nation, by the pernicious counsel he had given the king, and the haughty and imperious manner in which he had treated the nobility, he fell a sacrifice to their resentment, and was soon afterwards beheaded by the hands of the common hangman.

*Death of
the king of
Sweden.*

*Its conse-
quences.*

By the death of this minister, the czar saw all his projects of peace entirely defeated and overthrown, unless the Swedish nation, intimidated by the prospect of continuing a war which had already been too long and bloody, should consent to receive such terms as he was willing to prescribe. He therefore signified to Ulrica, the new queen of Sweden, an earnest desire that the negotiations begun at Oeland might go on; and she having appointed baron Lilienstadt to supply the place of Goertz at the congress, the czar ordered M. Osterman, his minister there, to repair to Petersburg for fresh instructions.

The czar being afterwards informed that a treaty was concluded between the emperor, the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, and the king of Poland, was so much offended with the latter of these princes, that he wrote him a very severe letter, upbraiding him with the blackest ingratitude, in endeavouring to incite the emperor of Germany, the Ottoman Porte, the khan of Tartary, and other powers to take up arms against him, and suffering false reports to be spread, that he intended to dismember the duchy of Courland, and several other provinces from the protection of Poland. Augustus answered this letter, and recriminated upon the czar, that he had caused copies of it to be dispersed over the whole kingdom of Poland before the original was delivered, contrary to custom and the nature of true friendship: he justified that part of his

A.D. 1719.

*Difference
between
the czar
and the
king of
Poland.*

his conduct which the czar had condemned, and desired to be treated by him with more respect, or he should look upon his indecent behaviour as hostile, and be forced to take notice of it in a proper manner; since no body could blame him for endeavouring to maintain his own prerogatives and the rights of his kingdom. He assured the czar, that the person he had sent to Constantinople was not charged with any public negotiation, but went thither only to purchase necessaries for his household: that he never endeavoured to excite the Ottoman Porte against him, nor had his ministers in their late conference at Warsaw, with the the Tartarian envoy made any proposals relative to an invasion of the Russian dominions. Augustus farther assured the czar, that he never had done, nor ever would do any thing prejudicial to his interest, or contrary to their mutual friendship, provided he would on his part reciprocally fulfil all the conditions expressed in the conventions between them; particularly if he would restore the provinces of Courland and Livonia, withdraw all his troops from Poland, make full satisfaction for the injuries which his ministers had complained of, pay the many millions stipulated by treaties, which remained unpaid, restore whatever had been extorted from the city of Dantzic, and forbear to excite any differences or animosities between him and the states of the republic. On these conditions Augustus told the czar, that nothing should be dearer or more acceptable to him than his friendship, and a strict union between the two crowns.

*The czar
deserted by
his allies.*

Though by this answer of the king of Poland, and the engagements he had entered into, the czar might plainly perceive that the allies had deserted him; yet, when M. Osterman returned to the congress at Oeland in the month of April, it was less to negociate with them than to menace the Swedes, he being ordered to declare, that unless they accepted the conditions proposed, within two months, they must expect a visit from forty thousand plenipotentiaries, who would treat with them sword in hand. But the death of Charles, whose ambitious valour gave too much umbrage to his neighbours, had changed the dispositions of all the European powers with regard to that desolated kingdom; and they began seriously to deliberate how far it would be consistent with their respective interests, to permit the czar to over-run Sweden, and deprive it of its best provinces. The famous quadruple alliance was concluded about this time, by which it was expressly stipulated, that the enemy of any one of the contracting powers should be deemed so to all the rest; for which reason

reason the court of France took great pains to reconcile the king of Great Britain with the queen of Sweden, and happily succeeded therein. The Lord Carteret was appointed his Britannic majesty's minister at that court: this nobleman arrived at Stockholm in the month of June. Having previously adjusted the affairs of commerce and navigation between the two crowns, he entered into a double treaty with the Swedish ministry; the first containing a renovation of the alliance between Great Britain and Sweden, and the other between her Swedish majesty and the elector of Hanover. By these treaties it was agreed, that Bremen and Verden should remain in the hands of the king of Great Britain, for a million of crowns to be paid upon the ratification; and that in case the Northern war should continue, his Britannic majesty should not only pay to Sweden an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns, but act against the czar with his forces, in order to procure the restitution of the Swedish provinces, and the estates of the duke of Holstein. The king of Prussia likewise followed the example of England; and for the cession of Stetin and its districts, entered into a treaty with the queen of Sweden to much the same purport, engaging himself as soon as possible to procure the peace of the North.

*Treaty between
England
and Swe-
den.*

Thus the czar not only saw himself abandoned by his allies, but those very allies acting in concert with his enemy; who, greatly encouraged by this alteration in affairs, paid very little regard to Osterman's menaces at the congress of Oeland. The czar, still farther chagrined by the arrival of an English squadron in the road of Copenhagen, under the command of Sir John Norris, meditated a descent upon Sweden; and while this design was carrying into execution, he published a laboured manifesto, tending to justify his own conduct, and to lay the blame of the war wholly upon the Swedes. To this queen Ulrica replied, that the allegations therein contained were entirely groundless, calculated to breed discord and discontents among her subjects, who, she persuaded herself, were fully convinced of her inclinations to procure the safety and repose of her kingdom by a good peace. She declared, what had hitherto prevented it was, that, by the conditions proposed to her, the czar reserved to himself all his conquests except Finland, and, upon that footing, offered to enter into friendship with her, although he himself had first undertaken the war, and even while the negotiations for peace were going on, had burnt and plundered many places, as well before as after the arrival of the plenipotentiary Osterman,

with a design to depress the courage of her subjects: she, therefore, left them to judge what they were to expect from the proximity of such a neighbour, who was even then penetrating into the very heart of the kingdom with his furious arms; and whether it would not be more honourable for them, as brave patriots, to follow the steps of their valiant ancestors, than suffer themselves to be amused by the vain promises of an enemy, and draw upon themselves a yoke which, in the end, would prove more insupportable than death itself.

The czar makes a destructive descent on Sweden.

It must be confessed that it was high time for the Swedes to defend themselves against an enemy who had planned, and was in the actual execution of a most destructive expedition; for admiral Apraxin had burnt and destroyed no less than six principal towns, eleven brick palaces, and one hundred and nine of wood, belonging to the chief nobility, eight hundred and twenty-six villages and hamlets, three mills, ten magazines, two mines of copper, and five of iron. Major-general Lesly likewise reduced to ashes two towns and twenty-five castles, five hundred and thirty-five villages and hamlets, forty mills, sixteen magazines, and nine mines of iron, to save only one of which the Swedes offered in vain three hundred thousand rix-dollars. All the corn and cattle which the enemy could not carry off were destroyed, and eighty thousand bars of iron were thrown into the sea, besides what they put on board their ships.

Generous the proposals for peace, which are rejected.

The czar's design in all this devastation was only to bring Sweden to conclude a peace upon his own terms; for which purpose he sent Osterman in a public character to the court of Stockholm; but the regency not thinking proper to admit him into the capital till they were informed of his errand, sent deputies to meet him within two miles of that city, to enquire into the nature of his instructions. They found that, agreeable to the projected peace of Oeland, the czar demanded nothing less than the absolute surrender of Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, with the towns of Reval, Wyburg, Narva, and Kexholm, and the cession of Livonia for forty years; in return for which he only offered to restore the province of Finland. These propositions being rejected with scorn, the congress of Oeland broke up, the ministers retired, and the English squadron, which had remained till then in the road of Copenhagen, sailed towards the ports of Sweden, but found that the Russian fleet had retired to their own harbours eight days before. This retreat was generally imagined to be owing to the approach of the united fleets of Great Britain and Sweden; but

but the czar, in order to obviate such a conjecture, which reflected greatly upon the glory of his arms, published a very long and circumstantial account of that step, endeavoured to shew that it was not owing to any dread or apprehension of the approach of his enemies that he withdrew his ships, but at the pressing instances of the queen of Sweden, joined to the advanced season of the year, which suspended his operations, and rendered it necessary to bring back his forces into his own ports.

On the 8th of September Mr. Berkeley, son of lord Berkeley of Stratton, set out from Stockholm with letters from lord Carteret and admiral Norris, to the czar, and offers of his Britannic majesty's mediation for a peace between him and the queen of Sweden; but when Mr. Berkeley shewed these letters to the Russian plenipotentiaries before their departure from Oeland, they would neither undertake to deliver them to the czar, nor give Mr. Berkeley a passport to Petersburg for that purpose. General Bruce took upon himself to answer the letter from lord Carteret, to whom he represented, that the contents thereof, and of the letter from sir John Norris, were of so singular a nature, and so little agreeable to the friendship and alliance which still subsisted between his czarish majesty and the king of England, that he could not possibly comply with his desire, until he had first received the czar's orders on that head. In consequence of this refusal the sieurs Jeffries and Weber, the British ministers at Petersburg, were immediately ordered to leave that city and retire to Dantzick. This being looked upon as a sufficient indication of the disposition of the court of London, and the czar being likewise informed that admiral Norris had received orders to join the Swedish fleet, and oppose the future operations of the Russians, Peter caused all the English merchants in his dominions to be arrested, and threatened to confiscate their effects, if the British nation should declare war against him. At the same time Weselowski, the Russian resident at London, presented a very warm memorial to that court, charging king George I. with a notorious violation of treaties, and a manifest breach of friendship. His majesty answered this writing, both as king of Great Britain and as elector of Hanover, in such a manner, as drew from the resident a reply couched in such disrespectful terms, and filled with so many injurious reflections upon the British ministry, that he was ordered to depart out of the kingdom.

*Rupture
between
the czar
and Great
Britain.*

With the new year the czar began to make extraordinary preparations for the ensuing campaign, as he saw himself reduced to the necessity of maintaining the war alone against

A.D. 1720.

*Great preparations of the czar.**The Poles demand satisfaction for damages done them by the Russians.*

Sweden, who was supported by an English fleet, favoured by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and ready to make peace with Poland. He therefore assembled a very considerable army on the side of Finland, and intended to sail with a powerful fleet to make himself master of the Bothnic gulf.

In the mean time the palatine of Mazovia arrived at Petersburg, as ambassador from the republic of Poland, to demand satisfaction for certain damages done to the provinces of that kingdom by marches and countermarches of the Russian troops, and the heavy contributions, and other exactions, they had made on the inhabitants. The czar, who had some pretensions on Poland, which he did not chuse to relinquish, and who, on the other hand, was sensible of the interest which the emperor took in the affairs of king Augustus, was obliged to act with great caution in this matter, lest the Poles should unite with Sweden against Russia, and insist upon the restitution of Courland and Livonia; he, therefore, left the conduct of this important negotiation to prince Dolgorucki, who had long been his ambassador in Poland. This minister gave the deputies of the diet to understand, that the czar, his master, was very willing to enter into an union and good understanding with the republic; but desired to know, first, whether the letters that were sent in answer to his, were approved off by them; for that they were couched in such terms as looked like a declaration of war: and secondly, whether the treaty concluded at Vienna, between the emperor and the king of Poland, was made with the consent of the republic. He afterwards demanded, that the city of Dantzic should be obliged to execute the treaty concluded with the regency, by which she had engaged to furnish a certain number of frigates to join the naval forces of the czar. To the first question the deputies answered, that when the public deliberations were transferred from Grodno to Warsaw, it was resolved, that the king, the primate in the name of the senators, and the grand-maistral in the name of the nobility, should write to the czar; that these letters contained nothing like a declaration of war, but only a necessary remonstrance, that if the Russian troops still continued in the kingdom, contrary to the repeated promises of their being recalled, the republic would be obliged to take proper measures to prevent the entire ruin of so many provinces; that they were bound to protect the city of Dantzic, which the czar had laid under such heavy contributions; and that they could explain themselves no otherwise, in regard to the affairs of Courland, than by representing the ancient

right

right of the crown, which they were resolved to maintain. To the second question it was briefly answered, that the republic had no knowledge of the treaty concluded at Vienna; and, as it was made since the diet of Grodno, they could have no share in it; but that, if the king, as elector of Saxony, had concluded any particular treaty, he had a right so to do, without rendering any account to the republic. With regard to the czar's demand relating to the city of Dantzic the deputies observed, that as the kings of Poland had always left them in the full possession of their liberties and privileges, and as the republic had maintained no naval force, nor ever obliged the subjects of maritime towns to arm any vessels for them, they could not oblige the citizens of Dantzic to make any armament for the czar. To these answers of the deputies, the Russian ambassador made a very short and categorical reply, telling them, that his master could by no means renounce his pretensions to Courland, nor yield up Livonia to the republic; that the city of Dantzic must execute the convention made with the Russian generals; and that the council of finances should examine into what was due from the czar to the republic, and from the republic to the czar.

During these transactions a treaty of peace between Prussia and Sweden was signed at Stockholm; another treaty was on the carpet between Sweden and Denmark; and the queen of Sweden, by an act of singular generosity, resigned her crown to the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, her royal consort. The king of Great Britain also, being as firmly united with the regent of France as with the court of Sweden, had engaged the former to pay to the Swedes the subsidies that were due to them from the most Christian king; so that at the time when Sweden was at the lowest ebb of credit, she received six hundred thousand crowns from the court of France, and assurances that the subsidy should be regularly paid for the future. This succour, joined to those of England and Hanover, excited fresh courage in the drooping Swedes, and shewed the czar, that he was not to expect peace but by force; wherefore he redoubled his efforts to take the field before his enemy.

*Alterations
in favour
of the
Swedes.*

As soon as the season of the year would permit, the English fleet weighed anchor from Copenhagen, and arrived in the Sound, to support the mediation which his Britannic majesty had again proposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the new king of Sweden; but Peter was still as averse to this offer as be-

fore, and chose rather to enter into an immediate treaty with that prince himself, than to accept the mediation of any power whatever. An opportunity soon offered to pave the way for such a treaty : the Swedish minister to the court of Petersburg, sent to notify the accession of the new king to the throne, taking occasion to assure the czar, in a short speech, which he made at his first audience, that the king, his master, earnestly desired to conclude a firm and lasting peace with him, and to maintain a constant friendship and good neighbourhood ; the czar, in his answer, expressed the same inclinations ; but detained the Swedish minister some time at Petersburg, to let him see the vast preparations that were making for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

*The Russians de-
fect them
at sea,
and ra-
vage
Swedish
Lapland.*

On the 7th of August the Swedish vice-admiral in the Baltic, approaching with his squadron to reconnoitre the Russian fleet commanded by prince Galitzin, and apprehending it to be less powerful than it really was, ordered an attack to be made, which proved very unsuccessful ; the aggressors being obliged to retire with the loss of four frigates, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and nine hundred men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The czar celebrated this victory by a naval triumph at Petersburg, caused a medal to be struck to perpetuate the glory of the action, presented prince Galitzin with a sword set with diamonds, and distributed a large sum of money among the officers and sailors, who had given such signal proofs of their valour. Nor were his land-forces less active, or less successful ; for they burnt the new town of Uma in Swedish Lapland, and, penetrating into that country, destroyed forty-one villages, with a great number of magazines, store-houses, and other buildings.

*Overtures
for a peace
between
the Rus-
sians and
the
Swedes.*

During these hostilities, the czar, in order to return the compliment he had received from the king of Sweden, sent general Romanzoff to Stockholm, to congratulate that prince on his accession to the throne, and assure him that his czarish majesty had always entertained the highest esteem for his person, and earnestly wished to find him as much disposed to peace as he himself was. Besides this commission, M. Romanzoff had instructions, if he found a favourable opportunity, to propose an exchange of prisoners, and a suspension of arms : but though the court of Sweden did not seem willing to close with either of these overtures, yet Romanzoff made count Horn, the Swedish prime-minister, so sensible of the czar's pacific disposition, that prince Misserki, who succeeded him, found very little difficulty in obtaining the cartel, which had formerly been
refused

refused. In short, the Swedes were at length convinced of the czar's sincerity in his repeated offers of peace, as he could have no reason to dissemble in that respect, at a time when his arms were victorious, and he was continually gaining advantages over them. The truth is, that Peter's greatness of soul was not to be confined within the common maxims of state-policy: he plainly perceived, that, in the midst of his conquests, his subjects wanted peace, and, therefore, resolved to procure it; justly thinking, that there could be no meanness in suing for what would confer happiness even upon his enemies. He, therefore, accepted the mediation proposed by France; and plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides to meet at Nystadt, where a peace was concluded, by which Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia, were ceded to Russia.

While this negociation was carrying on, Peter received the agreeable news, that his minister at Constantinople had changed the last treaty concluded with the Porte into a treaty for a perpetual peace, which he immediately ratified. About the same time he took occasion to examine into several disorders that had crept into his treasury, and made such a reformation therein, as produced an annual saving of upwards of one hundred thousand rubles. In this interval, also, the general tariff was prepared, which was afterwards established in all the ports of Russia. But nothing engaged his care and attention so much as the intended communication between the river Wolga and the Baltic sea, by means of the canal already began below Ladoga, which, falling into the Caspian sea, afforded him hopes of opening a trade with China, India, and Persia, and of supplying those nations with European commodities. For this purpose he sent several able mathematicians to take an exact survey of the Caspian sea, of which they brought back an accurate chart.

Both the Russians and the Swedes had been so long distressed by the late bloody war, that they were equally glad to see it ended, and seemed to vie with each other in their rejoicings on this happy occasion. The czar immediately set at liberty all the Swedish prisoners, granting to such as chose to enter into his service, the same rank as they had held among the troops of their own country. He then appointed a day of public thanksgiving, which was observed by all ranks and degrees of people with the greatest solemnity and devotion. In the morning of that day, the czar and czarina, with all the court, attended divine service in the great cathedral; where, after the Liturgy, the treaty of peace was publicly read in the presence of all the

Peace prolonged with the Turks.

Farther reformations in the state.

*The czar
takes the
title of
emperor.*

foreign ministers: then the senate, advancing in a body, count Golofkin, the great-chancellor, made a speech to the czar, and desired he would be pleased to accept the title of Peter the Great, Father of his Country, and Emperor of all Russia. The czar, at first, affected to decline this honour; but at the repeated instances of the senate he accepted it: whereupon the whole assembly echoed their applause in repeated acclamations; and the public rejoicings at Petersburg, on this occasion, continued for fifteen days. The vice-chancellor, baron Schaffiroff, soon afterwards notified this new title to all the foreign ministers at the court of Petersburg; and orders were likewise dispatched to all the Russian residents at foreign courts to the same purpose: so that, in a short time, the czar was acknowledged Emperor of Russia by all the European powers, except the king of Denmark.

*The seat of
trade re-
moved
from Arch-
angel to
Peterf-
burg.*

The peace of Nyftadt having removed all obstacles to Peter's design of transferring the principal mart of his empire from Archangel to Petersburg, he now renewed the orders he had formerly given for that purpose; and to put a stop to all the complaints from the merchants, on account of their being forced to change their settlements, he ordered the commissioners of trade to prepare convenient store-houses and habitations for them in that city.

*Peter
makes a
triumphant
entry into
Moscow.*

Having made these and some other very useful and necessary regulations, his imperial majesty resolved to share part of the public joy with his faithful subjects at Moscow, and to enter this his ancient city in triumph. Accordingly, on the 21st of December, he set out from Petersburg, with the empress and his whole court, attended by all the foreign ministers, and the principal nobility of the kingdom; and on the 29th of the same month made a most magnificent entry into Moscow, at the head of the Preobazinki guards, followed by the lieutenant-colonels prince Menzikoff and M. Butterlin, the second regiment of guards, and the four regiments of Ingria, Astracan, Le Fort, and Bouturki. He was received under a general discharge of the artillery. Having passed through the first triumphal arch, he was complimented at the second by the archbishop of Novogorod, at the head of the clergy: at the third he stopped a considerable time, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, who expressed every possible demonstration of joy; and at the fourth he was received by the whole body of the magistrates and merchants, whom he very graciously assured of the continuance of his favour and protection.

Notwith-

A.D. 1722.

Notwithstanding the feasts, balls, and other public diversions that were made on this occasion, Peter was no ways inattentive to the affairs of the state. He held frequent councils; and being desirous, as his second son Peter Petrowitz was dead, to settle the succession on a prince who would follow his maxims, and prosecute the great designs which he had began for civilizing his people, he ordered public notice to be given, on the 23d of February, to all his subjects inhabiting the city of Moscow, to repair the next day to the Castle church. There printed papers were delivered to them all, signifying, that it was his imperial majesty's pleasure, that every man should swear, and give under his hand, that he would not only approve the choice his majesty should make of a successor, but acknowledge the person he should appoint as emperor and sovereign. An order was likewise published a few days after at Petersburg, requiring the magistrates, and all other persons, to subscribe the same declaration; and all the grandees of the empire were commanded, on pain of death and confiscation, to repair to Moscow by the latter end of March for that purpose, except those inhabiting Astracan and Siberia, who, living at too great a distance, were excused from giving their personal attendance, and permitted to subscribe before their respective governors. This oath was readily taken by all ranks and degrees of the people, who were well assured that their emperor would make choice of one who was every way worthy of the succession, and capable of supporting the dignity intended for him: but they were still in the dark as to the identical person, though it was generally believed to be prince Nariskin, who was nearly related to the emperor, and allowed to have all the qualities requisite for his successor; however, a little time shewed them, that this conjecture was groundless.

*The people
swear to
approve
his choice
of a suc-
cessor.*

Perer, having so far settled this important point, began to prepare for new conquests, which the late peace with Sweden, and certain troubles that now arose in the East, gave him a fair opportunity to make. Several Russian merchants having been robbed and massacred by the Leshians, a people of Persia; and the Russian caravan from China having been treated in the same manner by the Uzbeks, who were the allies of Myrr Maghmud, known in Europe by the name of Myrr-Weis, who had raised himself to absolute power by obliging his prince, Schah Hussein IV. to declare him his prime minister and protector of Persia; the emperor thought proper to complain of these outrages by his ambassador, who, upon his entering Persia,

*Troubles
in Persia.*

Persia, found that kingdom in the utmost confusion. He, therefore, went directly to the camp of Myrr Maghmud, of whom he obtained an immediate audience, and declared to him the subject of his commission; remonstrating, that as his troops, joined with the Usbecks, had, without any reason, plundered and massacred the subjects of Russia, the emperor his master could not help looking on such violence as contrary to the law of nations, and, therefore, demanded satisfaction.

To these remonstrances the rebel returned a very insolent answer; advising the czar, if he intended to send any more caravans to China, either to make an alliance with the Tartars, and stipulate for the liberty of passing through their country, or to escort his caravans with a good body of troops; for that he could not prescribe laws to the Usbecks, his allies. Peter was no sooner informed of this answer, than he sent orders to all the eastern provinces of the empire to assemble his troops. Having armed the Cossacks and Calmucks, he ordered several barks, galleys, and other vessels, to be built at Astracan, and along the Wolga, for an intended expedition into the Caspian sea. It was not the contempt shewn by Myrr Maghmud in sending back the ambassador, nor the massacre of the Russians in Persia, that alone excited Peter to this undertaking, though they were powerful incentives to it; but the design of establishing an extensive and useful commerce, which he had always considered as the basis of his power and grandeur, and which was the chief motive of all his enterprises. It was with this view that he built the city of Petersburg; with this view that he retained the provinces of Livonia and Carelia; with this view that he travelled over the greatest part of Europe; and with this view that he founded the coasts of the Caspian sea.

Before his imperial majesty left Moscow, to set out on this expedition, he was attacked by a violent fit of the colic, a disease he was frequently subject to; and apprehending it might be attended with fatal consequences, he caused his will, which he had written entirely with his own hand, and wherein he had particularly named his successor, to be lodged among the archives of the empire; he likewise changed the presidents of several of the colleges, established a council of regency, in which prince Menzikoff presided, and made many other necessary regulations. At length, having recovered from his indisposition, he set out with the empress from Moscow, on the 24th of May, for Colomna; whither he had sent before him the grand-admiral Apraxin, lieutenant-general Buterlin,

*Peter sets
out on an
expedition
against
Persia.*

lin, prince Trubetskoi, the hospodar Demetrius Cantemir, and the privy-counsellor Tolstoi.

The Turks took umbrage at the great military preparations that were making at Astracan, and throughout all the eastern provinces of the Russian empire; for the bashaws who commanded on the frontiers of Persia, in Gurgistan, or Georgia, had sent advice to the Porte, that the emperor of Russia had formed a design of subduing the last mentioned province, and of making himself master of the Caspian Sea; in which case, upwards of four hundred thousand Mussulmans would inevitably fall into slavery. The grand vizir having communicated these advices to the Russian minister at Constantinople, sent an aga to his imperial majesty to dissuade him from the enterprize: but Peter took care to satisfy both the Turks and the Persians, of his real designs, in a manifesto which he published and distributed along the borders of the Caspian Sea, wherein he declared, that he came not upon the frontier of Persia with an intention of reducing any of the provinces of that kingdom to his obedience, but only to maintain the lawful possessor of them on his throne; and to defend him powerfully, together with his faithful subjects, against the tyranny of Myrr Maghmud, and to obtain satisfaction from him and his Tartars, for the robberies and mischiefs which they had committed in the Russian empire. Besides, the unfortunate Schah Hussein had sent three successive expresses to his imperial majesty, imploring his assistance on terms too advantageous to the Russians for so wise a prince as Peter to refuse.

The Turks are alarmed at his preparations.

In the course of this expedition, the rebel Myrr Maghmud did every thing in his power to oppose the designs of the Russians: he engaged the neighbouring Tartars to harass them in their march, and advanced towards Ghilom, with a strong body of troops: but the generals whom the czar left at Derbent, having assembled such of the Calmucks, Cossacks, and Tartars as were near, and supporting them with the regular troops, fell with such fury upon the wearied army of the rebels, that they were soon put to flight. This victory was followed by the surrender of the towns of Derbent, Terki, and Baku, the most considerable places on the coasts of the Caspian Sea, together with the provinces of Dagestan and Schirvan.

Over whom he gains several advantages.

And makes considerable conquests.

A.D. 1723.

The power of the Russians, in subduing so great a part of the country, began somewhat to dismay Myrr Maghmud. He had a great many enemies in the heart of the kingdom, who now saw through the veil of his hypocrisy; and the Persians, always faithful to their kings, could not forgive

*Myrr
Maghmud
applies
to the
Turks for
assistance.*

forgive him his behaviour to Hussein, whose fate they were still ignorant of: some said he was dead; others, that he was concealed in a strong castle; and some, that he had been taken prisoner. In short, this rebel, perceiving that he could no longer confide in the Tartars, who disapproved of his ambitious designs, endeavoured to procure the assistance of the Turks: he sent an ambassador to Constantinople, to remonstrate, that both the glory and religion of the Mussulmans were interested in opposing the Russian conquests; that as they had already subdued so considerable a part of Persia, it was not likely they would stand still in the midst of such success, but would certainly carry their arms into Georgia, where there were several Christian princes who would assist them, in order to withdraw themselves from the dominion of the Turks; and lastly, that he had been credibly informed, that the Russians had entered Persia at the desire of Hussein, who had promised to yield to them whatever they should conquer on the borders of the Caspian Sea. The Persian ambassador acquitted himself extremely well of this commission; especially as he was loaded with magnificent presents for the Turkish ministers. The janissaries had for a long time breathed nothing but war; the musti was a professed enemy to the Russians; and old Dowlet Gerhai, who was just seated on the throne of Crim Tartary, longed for an opportunity of shewing the hatred he bore to Peter: in short, none but the grand vizir were pacifically inclined, and he durst not express himself openly, for fear of irritating the opposite party.

*They pre-
pare for
war.*

Upon the strength of these representations all imaginable preparatives were made for declaring war against the Russians, and in the mean time an ambassador was sent to the czar, to be informed of his real designs, and whether he intended to extend his conquests any farther than the Caspian Sea. Peter answered, that the Porte had already approved of having recourse to arms for the insults offered, and the injuries done to him and his subjects by the rebel Myrr Maghmud, and his allies: that he had undertaken nothing against the dominions of the grand signor; but was sincerely disposed to a faithful observance of the last treaty of peace. Though this answer was pretty well received at first, yet, to comply with the importunities of the prince of Dagestan, who had lately thrown himself under the protection of the Porte, the grand signor caused a manifesto to be published, threatening to declare war against the czar if he did not immediately restore that prince to the possession of his dominions. In order to shew that this was
his

his real intention, he endeavoured to sound the inclinations of the emperor of Germany, concerning a war with the Russians, and whether in that case he was under any engagement to take up arms in their favour. The emperor Charles did a very seasonable service to the Russian monarch on this occasion, by assuring the Turk that his interests were so strongly united with those of Peter, that if he was attacked he should be obliged to march with an army to his assistance; and the grand visir, who, as we observed before, was very averse to a war against the Russians, made good use of his declarations, by endeavouring to moderate the precipitancy of those who had already prepared for that event: but even his credit would not have been sufficient to counterpoise the scale in favour of the Russians, had not the French ambassador, M. de Bonac, interposed his good offices to prevent the impending rupture. This minister represented to the sultan, that he had no just ground of complaint against the emperor of Russia, since it was with his approbation that he had marched to the frontiers of Persia, to revenge such insults as no sovereign prince could suffer with impunity; that he had done nothing to infringe the treaty of peace subsisting between him and the sublime Porte; that the prince of Dagestan was a tributary of Persia, and a partizan of Myrr Maghimud, and had not claimed the protection of the Porte till after he was driven out of his country for his infidelity; and lastly, that if the Porte took any umbrage at the emperor's conquests in that kingdom, he was sincerely disposed not to push them any farther, though he had already a considerable body of troops assembled on the frontiers, to succour Schah Hussein, his ally, who had implored his assistance against a faithless and rebellious subject.

*But are
pacified by
the media-
tion of the
French am-
bassador.*

These assurances seemed to satisfy the divan, and they appeared inclinable to suspend the commencement of hostilities, upon the immediate restitution of Derbent. But while the necessary negotiations were carrying on for that purpose, the people of Ghilan, a province of Persia, bordering on Schirvan and the Caspian Sea, had implored the protection of Russia, and of their own accord submitted to his imperial majesty. This event, the news of which were transmitted to Constantinople, by the astonished bashaws, who commanded in the neighbouring provinces, had well nigh overturned all that M. de Bonac had been endeavouring to accomplish: but an ambassador arriving at the same time from the dethroned Schah Hussein, to implore the protection

protection of the Porte against the usurper Myrr Magh-mud; and the Russian ambassador having confirmed the assurances given by the French minister, the Porte not only resigned all thoughts of a war against Russia, but soon made use of the preparations for that purpose against Persia itself, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover what the Turks had formerly possessed beyond the Eu-phrates.

The vice-chancellor Schaffiroff condemned to death.

Peter, upon his return to Moscow, after an absence of twelve months, found that many disorders had crept into the administration of public affairs; and that several of the principal members of the regency, which he had established, were guilty of the most atrocious crimes. The chief of those was one of his great favourites, the vice-chancellor Schaffiroff, who being publicly tried, was convicted of having given his brother a character and appointments unknown to the emperor and the senate; of signing and issuing orders without the consent of the senate, or even causing them to be registered; of having, by his own authority as director of the posts, augmented the postage of letters, and reserved the money to himself; of having concealed two hundred thousand ducats in specie, and jewels to the value of forty thousand more, belonging to prince Gagarin, though he himself had signed the emperor's order, commanding every one to discover what they knew of the effects of that criminal; and lastly, of having used opprobrious language to some of the senators in full senate, a practice which was forbid on pain of death.

But afterwards banished.

For these offences Schaffiroff was condemned to lose his head; but at the instant when this sentence was on the point of being executed, the emperor was pleased, on account of his former services, to change it into that of perpetual banishment into Siberia, and confiscation of all his effects.

Peter's care to improve his marine.

After this and some other examples were made, to prevent the like offences for the future, the emperor set out from Moscow for Petersburg, where he had no sooner arrived than he took care to inquire into the condition of his navy. Having found several ships that had been taken from the Swedes in the last war, he distributed them among the cities of Petersburg, Riga, Reval, and Wyburg, that they might be constantly employed in trade: and, to accustom his people to navigation, he ordered that twelve men should be constantly kept in pay on board each ship, eight of whom were to be furnished by himself, and the other four

four by the magistrates, who were to maintain the whole number: but in case any of these ships were to be lost, or become unfit for service, the magistrates were to provide a new ship in lieu thereof, of the same force and burden.

In the beginning of September, an ambassador from Schah Tahmas, or Tahamased, son of the deposed Schah Husein, arrived at Petersburg. This minister, sensible of his master's danger from the Turks and the rebel Myrr Maghmud, solicited Peter very warmly for a quick and powerful succour. He was a man of spirit, perfectly well acquainted with the interests of both empires, and justly concluded that he should never be able to obtain the alliance he demanded, and the succours which his master wanted, but upon very advantageous conditions; he therefore concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the towns of Derbent and Baku, with the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Asterban, were ceded to Russia for ever. The grand signor was not at all pleased with this treaty; but looked upon the czar's thus uniting with Schah Tahmas, as an oblique declaration of war against the Porte: but the French and Russian ministers at Constantinople giving Peter immediate notice of the disposition that appeared in the divan to declare against him, he formally communicated to the Porte the treaty he had concluded with the young Schah, and invited the sultan to accede to it; declaring that he would religiously observe his treaties with the sublime Porte; and that he had no other view in what he had done, than to assist an unfortunate prince, who was insulted and persecuted by a rebellious subject. This declaration had the desired effect; and the divan was at length brought to a convention between the two empires, in regard to the affairs of Persia, by which their several conquests were confirmed to them, and the Turks put in possession of the provinces of Erivan, Tauris, and Casbin.

Peter, having thus established peace on every side of his extensive empire, resolved to accomplish a design he had long formed, of rewarding the virtues and merit of his beloved Catherine with the imperial crown. To this end he published a declaration, wherein he drew many examples from ancient history, of the custom of crowning the consorts of princes, and laid down his reasons for bestowing that honour upon the empress, whose wife counsels had been of infinite service both to the state and to him. All the foreign ministers and chief nobility were then desired to follow him to Moscow, where this august ceremony

Peter concludes an advantageous treaty with the Persians.

At which the Turks are offended.

A.D. 1724.

The empress Catherine crowned.

mony was performed on the 18th of May, in a most magnificent manner. Next day she received the compliments of the whole court; and the emperor on this occasion made several considerable promotions, and conferred the order of St. Andrew on many persons of distinction.

A.D. 1725.

*The czar
taken ill.*

Some short time before this ceremony Peter was attacked with a severe fit of illness; and though he was now somewhat better, yet his health was far from being thoroughly established; nor, indeed, did he take the necessary precautions for that purpose, but delivered himself entirely up to the affairs of state. His activity seemed to increase as his strength decayed, and every day produced some new monument of his glory. The city of Petersburg, of which he was the founder, and, in a great measure, the architect, began to be, through his care, one of the handsomest and most considerable capitals of Europe; it already contained upwards of fifty thousand houses, and several noble palaces. An observatory was building, by his order, on the model of that of Paris; numbers of useful books augmented daily a library of his forming; and he had several curious cabinets filled with the choicest productions of nature and art. Russia now possessed a sufficient number of men of genius and learning to compose an academy, the rules and institutes of which the emperor himself drew up; but he had not time to put the finishing hand to this fine establishment. His health decayed, and death, with hasty strides, approached this hero, who had, indeed, lived long, if we may measure his days by what he did. At the ceremony of blessing the waters, on the feast of Epiphany, he caught a violent cold, which, added to a severe fit of the gout, and an obstinate strangury, warned him that his end was near. Still great and undaunted, he uttered not a sigh or a complaint to the last moment of his life. The chief persons of the nation assembled, by his order, in his chamber, where he enjoined them to acknowledge, as soon as he should be dead, the empress Catherine for their sovereign, and received their oaths accordingly. He then gave directions for the administration of justice, by one of which all law-suits were to be determined within eleven days; and signed these edicts, with orders to publish them immediately in all the tribunals of his empire. He desired that the mourning for him might continue no longer than three months; with his last words he recommended to the empress the interests of the duke of Holstein, and expired on the

*Death of
Peter the
Great.*

the 28th of January, in the fifty-third year of his age (K).

As soon as the emperor's death was made known, the senate and synod assembled, and, in obedience to the last orders of their dying sovereign, unanimously declared Catherine Alexowna empress of all Russia. About eight o'clock in the morning they were introduced to the empress by prince Menzikoff, when they presented her with the act of their submission in writing, and took the usual oaths of fidelity. She received them very graciously, and assured them that she would be a mother to her country, as the emperor had been its father. The general grief which appeared among all ranks and degrees of people on this occasion is not to be expressed; even the soldiers were dissolved in tears, and would not be comforted till they were informed that the empress Catherine was proclaimed their sovereign, which they no sooner heard, than they flocked in crowds to the palace to take the accustomed oaths, crying out as they went, "If our father is dead, our mother still lives!"

Catherine declared empress.

The first care of her imperial majesty was to pay the last duties to her husband's ashes, with a pomp becoming the greatest monarch that Russia, or perhaps any other country had ever known; and though there is no court of Europe where splendor and magnificence is carried to a greater height on these occasions than in that of Russia; yet it may with great truth be said, that she even surpassed herself in the funeral honours paid to her great Peter. She purchased the most precious kinds of marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors of Italy to erect a mausoleum to this hero, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of his great actions to the most distant

She bestowed great funeral honours on the emperor.

(K) He had several children by his first wife Ottokeza Fedorowna Lapuchin, whom he repudiated; but none of them lived to years of maturity, except the unhappy czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, whose fate we have already mentioned, and who left behind him a son, afterwards emperor. The empress Catherine was mother of two princes, Peter and Paul, who died before their father; and of three princesses who survived him; namely, Anne Pe-

trowna, born the 5th of February, 1708, who was afterwards married to the duke of Holstein Gottorp; Elizabeth Petrowna, born the 10th of March, 1713, who afterwards ascended the imperial throne; and Natalia Petrowna, born the 20th of August, 1718, who died while the funeral solemnities were preparing for the emperor her father, and was interred at the same time with him.

ages (L). After the particular detail we have given of Peter's personal and political conduct, it may be superfluous to observe, that his character was one of the most original that ever appeared upon record, a surprising mixture of philosophy and passion, of culture and barbarity.

(L) Mottley gives us the following as the czar's epitaph :

Here lieth,
 All that could die of a Man immortal,
 PETER ALEXOWITZ:
 It is almost superfluous to add,
 GREAT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA:
 A Title!
 Which, instead of adding to his Glory,
 Became glorious by his wearing it.
 Let Antiquity be dumb,
 Nor boast her Alexander, or her Cæsar.
 How easy was Victory
 To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes ?
 And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
 At being thought less vigilant than their Generals ?
 But He,
 Who in this Place first knew Rest,
 Found Subjects base and inactive,
 Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
 Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of Danger ;
 Creatures, with the Names of Men ;
 But with Qualities rather brutal than rational !
 Yet, even these
 He polish'd from their native Ruggedness ;
 And, breaking out like a new Sun,
 To illuminate the Minds of a People,
 Dispelled their Night of hereditary Darkness ;
 And, by Force of his invincible Influence,
 Taught them to conquer
 Even the Conquerors of Germany.
 Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies ;
 This Commander created them.
 Blush, O Art ! at a Hero who owed thee nothing.
 Exult, O Nature ! for thine was this Prodigy.

C H A P. LXXXI.

The History of the Kingdom of Hungary.

THE modern Hungarians are descended from the ancient Hunns, whose origin and emigrations are related in the Ancient History. Though the Hunns were entirely subdued by Charlemagne, yet they were not utterly extirpated by that conqueror, as some authors pretend; on the contrary, he gave orders to spare the common people^a; many of whom, in order to be free from paying tribute, consented to become Christians^b; for whose service he caused a church to be built, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, without the walls of the city of Buda. Their country, indeed, during the long continuance of the war, was greatly depopulated, their nobility and princes destroyed, and their chief taken prisoner; so that this once flourishing nation, which formerly possessed all the countries from the east part of Germany to Thrace and the Euxine sea, and from the Adriatic gulf as far north as Sarmatia, was then reduced within the limits of the present kingdom of Hungary, which is bounded towards the south by the river Drave; on the north by the Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland and Russia; on the east by Transylvania and Walachia; and on the west by Stiria, Austria, and Moravia. The river Danube runs through the middle of the country, and divides it into two provinces, called the Upper and Lower Hungary. The counties in the whole kingdom are reckoned fifty-seven; many of which were formerly subject to the dominion of the Turks; but, by the conquests of prince Eugene, the emperors have again recovered almost the whole kingdom. There are here very few cities, and these but thinly inhabited; but the kingdom abounds with villages and towns as large as cities, and full of people.

So far was this nation from being extirpated by Charlemagne, that we find they rebelled against his son Lewis the Pious, who, when he was holding an assembly of the states at Aix la Chapelle, was informed, that Lindeutus had prevailed with the people of Lower Hungary to revolt. Lewis, immediately dismissing the assembly, went with an army to the Danube, and, marching along that river, en-

*The Hungarians;
from whom
descended.*

*The bounds
of the
kingdom.*

*The Hungarians
rebel against the
descendants
of Char-
lemagne.*

^a Sax. Crantzii, lib. ii. cap. xvi.
p. 90.

^b Ibid. lib. x.

^b Bonfinius, dec. i. lib.

A. D. 889.

A. D. 893.

A. D. 902.

*They in-
vade Lom-
bardy.*

gaged and defeated Lindeutus, whom he afterwards pursued to the mountains of Transilvania, whither the rebel had retreated. Lindeutus, finding himself unable to resist the arms of the emperor, sued for peace, which he obtained, and was generously pardoned. We do not read of any expedition of the Hungarians after this till the reign of the emperor Arnolphus, who is said by Luitprandus to have introduced them into Germany and France; though Bonfinius affirms, that they rebelled against Arnolphus^d, and while the Franks were weakened with intestine divisions, over-ran Germany, sparing no age or sex, burning their cities, and pillaging the churches of their wealth. Afterwards they invaded France, where they committed the like ravages; and, returning with their spoil through Bavaria, defeated the emperor, Lewis III. near Augsburg. Four years afterwards we find them assisting Leo, the emperor, at Constantinople, against the Bulgarians^e. In the year 902, the Hungarians hearing of the divisions in Italy between the two contending sovereigns, Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido, duke of Spoleto; they entered the country by the pass of Friuli, and ravaged that part of Lombardy. Luitprandus relates, that not thinking themselves powerful enough to engage the numerous forces of Berengarius, they quitted Italy, and wintered in Pannonia; from whence many of their countrymen having joined them, they returned in the spring, and, having, defeated Berengarius, who endeavoured to oppose them, they took Aquileia, Padua, and Verona, without any resistance, and marched as far west as the river Tisino. But Berengarius having again assembled a numerous army, prepared to oppose them; upon whose approach the barbarians, thinking themselves unequal to the Italian forces, retreated precipitately over the Adda, and sent to Berengarius, offering to deliver up all their booty, provided he would allow them to march home in safety; which request being denied, they continued their retreat to the river Medoaccus, where, being again refused the liberty of marching home in safety, their despair drove them to the resolution of attacking the Italians; and, dividing their forces into three bodies, they surprised Berengarius, and entirely routed his army. Being thus a second time masters of that part of Italy, they took and plundered Treviso, and, having suddenly built some boats, they likewise made themselves masters of Venice; but failing in their attempt upon the island of Claudia, they retired to their camp at Padua; and Berengarius

^d Bonif. dec. i. lib. x.

^e Baronii Ann. vol. x. p. 634.

consenting to pay them a large sum of money, they quit-
ted, for that time, Italy.

A few years after the Hungarians were again invited
into Italy by Albericus, prince of Etruria; who, though
he had repulsed the Saracens from Naples and Calabria,
had been expelled from Rome by a faction of the nobles.
The Hungarians, upon his invitation, immediately col-
lected an army, and entering Italy by Friuli, marched from
thence to the Flaminian way, pillaging and destroying the
towns through which they went; but, instead of march-
ing to Rome, they turned aside into Etruria, which they
miserably ravaged with fire and sword, carrying off with
them an infinite number of people into slavery; and having
thus learned the way into Italy, for several years after they
invaded it annually for the sake of booty; till Berengarius
II. desirous of freeing Italy, his country, from those incur-
sions, concluded an alliance with them.

*They are
again in-
vited into
Italy by
Albericus.*

The Hungarians having made a peace with the Italians,
turned their arms against Germany; and the Chronicle of
Minden makes mention of their incursions into Saxony, in
the year 908. Arnulphus, duke of Bavaria, having led
them towards the Rhine against the emperor Conrad I.
who had formerly taken his duchy of Bavaria from him,
and obliged him to fly with his family into Hungary^f. In
the year 916, they again invaded Germany, and, among
other ravages, burnt the church of Bremen^g. Henry the
Fowler, in the beginning of his reign, to secure his domi-
nions from the incursions of these barbarians, made a truce
with them for nine years, and consented to pay them a sum
of money annually. About this time Berengarius II. hav-
ing been expelled his kingdom by Rodolphus of Burgundy,
whom the discontented Italians had called in to their assist-
ance, fled to the Hungarians, his allies, and begged their
help to recover Lombardy. Berengarius having continu-
ed in exile three years, at last returned to Italy with a
Hungarian army, under the command of Salardus, who,
wherever he marched, ravaged all with fire and sword;
and having made himself master of the city of Pavia, which
was then the royal residence, and very populous, he gave
it up to be plundered by his army; and afterwards setting
fire to it, of all the inhabitants only two hundred were
saved, who redeemed their lives by paying eight bushels of
silver, picked up from the rubbish of the houses, and forty-

A. D. 908.

*They in-
vade Ger-
many.*

A. D. 916.

A. D. 924.

*They make
an irrup-
tion into
Italy, and
burn
Pavia.*

^f Meib. Rer. Ger. Script. vol. i. p. 558. Sax. Crant. lib. iii.
cap. iii. ^g Adam. Brem. lib. i. cap. xlvi. Barqn. Ann. vol.
2. p. 694.

three churches which were destroyed. Berengarius dying this year, the Hungarians quitted Italy, and, crossing the Alps, with intention of going into France, they were enclosed in a valley, and cut off by Rodolphus of Burgundy, and Hugh, prince of Arles^h. Some years afterwards, the truce made with the emperor Henry being expired, the Hungarians, some say to the number of a hundred thousand, invaded Germany, and, leaving one half of their army to besiege Jechebourg, they marched with the rest into Saxony: but Henry assembling an army, and hearing the Hungarians were encamped at Merzburg, marched against them, and taking the advantage of a fog, fell upon them unexpectedly, killed thirty-six thousand of them on the spot, and drove several thousands of them besides into the river. Those who were left at the siege of Jechebourg being informed of this defeat, retreated immediately in great confusion, but were mostly cut off by the country peopleⁱ. This expedition of the Hungarians is variously related by several authors; but they all agree, that at Merzburg they received a signal defeat; in consequence of which Germany was freed from their incursions for several years after. In general, the Hungarian history, during that period, is very obscure and uncertain; there is no mention made of the internal government of their kingdom, or who were their princes or rulers; they are only known to exist by their incursions upon their neighbours the Germans, French, Italians, and Bulgarians; no enemy having penetrated into their own kingdom for more than a century, it remained a quiet nursery for those roving warriors.

A. D. 933.

*They are
entirely
routed in
Germany.*

A. D. 937.

*They in-
vade Italy,
but are de-
feated near
Capua.*

The Hungarians, notwithstanding their defeat in Germany, four years after invaded Italy, marching down as far as Capua, without meeting with any resistance. Having ravaged that country, from thence they went to Beneventum and Nola, plundering and destroying all before them; and having burnt the monastery of Casinum, they obliged the monks to redeem themselves by parting with their most valuable effects, which they had concealed, an enumeration of which is given by Leo Ostiensis. The Hungarians returning again to Capua, encamped for twelve days on the banks of the Liris, or Garigliano, and, loaded with booty, went from thence into the territories of the Marfi and Pelligni, by whom they were surpris'd, and almost entirely

^h Barr. Ann. vol. x. p. 707. ⁱ Ibid. vol. x. p. 719. Luitprand. lib. ii. cap. viii. & ix. Meib. Rer. Ger. Script. vol. i. p. 247. 641, & 648. Sax. Crant. lib. ii. cap. viii. Bonf. decad. i. lib. x. p. 107.

cut in pieces, the few that remained marching with precipitation out of Italy. The same year another body of Hungarians invaded France, where they committed great devastations, and, carrying off many prisoners, returned to their own country ^k.

The next expedition of the Hungarians that history mentions, was in the year 949, when, under the command of their king Toxis, the father of Geyfa, their first Christian king, they entered Italy. Berengarius III. not being then in a condition to oppose their arms, sent his son Albert to Toxis, to offer him a large sum of money, provided he would leave the kingdom. Toxis agreeing for ten bushels of silver, Berengarius, by a capitation-tax, raised that sum from his subjects, which the barbarians receiving marched out of Italy^l. Some years afterwards, the Hungarians being informed that the emperor Otho was engaged in reducing his rebellious son Ludolphus, they entered Germany, and pillaging and burning the country as they went, they passed the Lech, and besieged Augsburg, which then was very weakly fortified. Otho, who had conquered and pardoned his son, was at this time in Saxony; but being informed of the invasion of the Hungarians, he immediately assembled an army near Augsburg, and, attacking the enemy, after an obstinate dispute, he totally routed them, and pursued them to the river Lech, where great numbers were drowned. The following days he continued the pursuit, and surrounding the villages, whither they had fled in small bodies, he cut them all off; few, or none, of the great multitude that had invaded Germany, returning to their own country. After this signal victory, the emperor returned to Ratisbon; where, as a terror to future invaders, he caused three of the Hungarian princes, whom he had taken prisoners, to be hanged^m: and going afterwards to Rome, he was crowned with great solemnity by pope Leo VIII. and among other titles assumed that of king of Pannonia.

The Hungarian forces were so weakened by this defeat in Germany, that we read of no other expedition under the reign of their first king Toxis, who died not many years after, and was succeeded by his son Geyfa, a lover of peace and justice, who was converted to the Christian religion by St. Adalbert, the bishop of Prague. In the beginning of

A.D. 949.

A.D. 955.

Toxis the king of the Hungarians invades Germany;

but is defeated near Augsburg.

A.D. 989.

Geyfa the son of Toxis, is converted to Christian religion.

^k Leo Ostien. lib. i. cap. 58.

^l Bonf. dec. i. lib. x. p. 109.

Bar. Ann. vol. x. p. 755.

^m Bonf. ibid. p. 109. Bar. Ann. vol.

x. p. 766. Sax. Crant. lib. iv. cap. vi. Meib. Rer. Ger. Script. vol. i. p.

240, & 657.

ⁿ Baron, Ann. vol. x. p. 232. Bonf. ibid. p. 112.

Geyſa's reign, the Hungarians were in poſſeſſion of Auſtria: but the emperor Henry II. giving that province to Leopold, duke of Suabia, who had married his ſiſter, on condition that he conquered it from them, Leopold, accepted the condition, and aſſembling an army, defeated the Hungarians near Mellicum upon the Danube; after which defeat, Geyſa ſurrendered that province, and concluded a peace with the Germans, being more intent upon propogating the Chriſtian faith in his kingdom than ſeizing the dominions of others. Though it is ſaid, that ſome of the Hungarians bordering on Germany, had already privately embraced the Chriſtian religion, yet Geyſa, in converting his kingdom, met with great oppoſition from the nobles, who thought nothing glorious or worthy of their attention but invaſions and ravages of their neighbours; and accusing their king of neglecting the adminiſtration of the kingdom, by omitting to declare war, and ſuffering the youth to live idly, they at length ventured in ſome meaſure to oppoſe his proceedings. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, Geyſa ſtill continued his endeavours to civilize his people, and in order to ſtrengthen his authority, made an alliance with ſome of the princes of Germany; the Bavarians, Saxons, and Suabians, willingly ſupplying him not only with money, but with auxiliary troops^o. In the year 997, Geyſa died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Stephen, then very young, but who had been declared king by the ſtates, the year before his father died; which title, with the addition of that of Apoſtolic, four years after was confirmed to him by pope Sylveſter II. Stephen, at that time, ſurrendering his kingdom to the church. This Stephen is reckoned the firſt of the kings of Hungary, for his predeceſſors were kings more by authority and power than by ordinary title. He is greatly celebrated for his piety, and unwearied ſtudy in converting his heathen ſubjects. In the beginning of his reign, his nobles, who were greatly addicted to their ancient idolatry, deſpiſing the tender years of the king, raiſed a rebellion againſt him, which was headed by one Cupa, who wanted to marry the widow of Geyſa, in hopes of poſſeſſing the throne. The rebels, after deſtroying the poſſeſſions of many of thoſe that had embraced the new religion, laid ſiege to the city of Veſperin. But Stephen, truſting the command of his army to ſome experienced Germans, marched againſt the rebels, whom he defeated; and Cupa being killed, his body was quartered and expoſed in four of the principal cities of

A.D. 997.

*His ſubjects
rebel a-
gainſt him,
on account
of the new
religion,
but are re-
dared.*

^o Bonf. *ibid.*

Hungary,

Hungary. The authority of the king being established by this victory, many ecclesiasticks flocked into his kingdom, which was, at this time, divided into ten bishopricks, all of them richly endowed by the king, who was not contented with building churches only in his own kingdom, but likewise founded and endowed a monastery at Jerusalem, and built a church at Constantinople, and another at Rome.

Hungary did not long enjoy the fruits of peace; for we find Giula, prince of Transylvania, in the year 1002, infested the province next to him, with design to oblige the young king his nephew to return to the religion of his ancestors. But Stephen marching against him with an army, in a few months made himself master of Transylvania, and took his uncle Giula, with his wife and two children, prisoners. Soon after this, Hungary was invaded by the Bulgarians, under the conduct of Cea; but Stephen having repulsed the invaders, pursued them into their own country, where he gained a signal victory, and returned loaded with booty. Towards the end of his reign, the emperor Conrad II. having conquered some provinces from the Poles and Bohemians, turned his arms against Hungary; but finding Stephen in a condition to oppose him, he renewed the peace^p. History makes no mention of any other expedition of Stephen: he married two wives, both named Guylla; the first was the sister of the emperor Henry II. and remarkable for her piety: by her he had one son, named Emeric, who died before his father without any issue, leaving his wife a virgin, and was canonized after his death. The second wife of Stephen is said to have been a daughter of William of Burgundy, and of a character very different from that of his first wife. Four years after the peace concluded with Conrad, Stephen died, and was buried at Albe Royal, or Sleulweiffenburg, being succeeded in his kingdom by his nephew Peter.

Peter was surnamed the German, on account of the favour he shewed to those of that nation, upon whom he bestowed many of the chief posts in his kingdom; and despising his own subjects and countrymen, he introduced Germans into his council, and appointed them for governors in his cities. By these proceedings, he became extremely odious to his subjects, who conspired against him, and chusing one Aba, by others called Ovo, they conducted him to the camp, where he was approved of by the soldiers, and declared king^q. Peter then flying into Bavaria, left

A.D. 1002.

The Bulgarians invade Hungary, but are defeated by Stephen.

Peter.
A.D. 1034.

Is deposed on account of his favour to the Germans.

^p Garluil. in Vita St. Steph. cap. ix. x. xi.
^{xi} p. 130.

^q Baroni. vol.

*Aba in-
vades Ba-
varia and
Austria.*

*He becomes
hateful to
his subjects
on account
of his cru-
elty.*

A.D. 1044.

*Peter is a-
gain resto-
red.*

A.D. 1047.

*But conti-
nuing still
to favour
the Ger-
mans, his
subjects a-
gain rebel
against
him.*

his ministers to the fury of the opposite faction, who put many of them to death, and annulled all his decrees. Aba had not long possessed the throne, when he heard that the emperor Henry III. was preparing to assist Peter to recover his kingdom; upon which information, he immediately assembled an army on both sides of the Danube, and invaded Bavaria and Austria; and returning to Hungary with great booty, he ordered another army to invade Carinthia, which returning likewise loaded with spoil, was intercepted and cut off by Gothofred. In the spring following, Henry advanced with an army as far as Raab, with an intention of restoring Peter; but Aba giving him a large sum of money, and promising to restore the captives which he had made in his former incursions, the emperor retired without any action. Aba now thinking himself secure in the possession of the throne, gave himself up so much to insolence and cruelty, that he soon became more odious than his competitor; and having put fifty of the nobles to death upon the discovery of a conspiracy, the rest fled to the emperor; who was prevailed upon by their entreaties to assist Peter in recovering his kingdom. Accordingly, being joined by Brelislaus, marquis of Moravia, he attacked Aba near Raab, and after a most obstinate dispute, in which so many of the Bavarians were slain, that they gave a name to the field, he at last gained the victory; Aba flying to the village of Scoeb, not far from the river Tibisc, where he was slain, and buried in the neighbouring church, but was afterwards dug up, and interred in a monastery, near the Saar, built by himself. Peter being again re-established in his kingdom, banished the three princes of the blood-royal, and thinking himself secure from any rival, he continued as formerly to give the command of his cities to Germans and Italians, and to do every thing by their advice; which so provoked his subjects, that many of them formed a conspiracy against him, and conceived an aversion for the religion of those foreigners: so that recalling two of the exiled princes, Andrew and Leventa, the other having married the king of Poland's daughter, they promised them to kill Peter, and drive out the Germans and Italians, provided they would allow them to follow their old religion, and destroy the churches. The princes finding that they could not obtain

^r Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. lib. vii. p. 50. Avent. Ann. Boii, lib. v. p. 403. & 416. Baron. Ann. vol. xi. p. 177. Bouf. dec. ii. lib. ii.

the kingdom without granting their request, at last gave their consent. Immediately the people, assembling in great bodies, fell upon those who still continued Christians, killing them by various torments, especially those who were of the German or Italian nation. The churches and monasteries were likewise plundered of their wealth and burnt, and many of the monks and bishops stoned to death. Peter, finding that the whole nation had deserted him, and gone over to the party of the banished princes, endeavoured, with a great body of Germans, to escape into Austria; but the passes being seized, he was prevailed upon to return, under the pretence of a reconciliation. He had not marched three days when the Hungarians endeavoured to surprise him, and take him prisoner; however, being assisted by the Germans, he defended himself for two days, till his friends were slain. Being at last taken, his eyes were immediately put out, and afterwards he was conducted to Albe Royal, where in a few days he died.

Andrew, by the death of his rival, was no sooner in full possession of his throne, than he ordered the churches to be rebuilt, and all his subjects to profess the Christian religion. About this time Wratisslaus, the second son of Brelisslaus, king of Bohemia, being driven from Moravia by his brother Spiligneus, retired to Hungary, where he was honourably entertained by Andrew, who gave him his only daughter Adelhard, (Dubravius¹ says his sister) in marriage; which Spiligneus being informed of, recalled him home, and again put him in possession of his marquisate. Andrew is said, by the Hungarian annals, in the beginning of his reign, to have reduced Austria². This is not mentioned by the German writers; on the contrary, they affirm, that Andrew paid homage and yearly tribute to the emperor Henry III. However, it is certain, that in the year 1051, a peace was concluded betwixt him and Aldebert of Austria; soon after which he invited his brother Bela to come into Hungary with his family, his other brother Leventa having died in the first year of his reign, and he himself being without children. Upon Bela's arrival, he divided Hungary into three parts, two of which he reserved to himself, and, with the universal consent of the states, gave the third to his brother; but afterwards marrying Agmunda, the daughter of the duke of Russia, he had by her two sons, Solomon and David, which marriage was afterwards the occasion of civil dissensions, on account of the succession. This year the emperor Henry III. invaded Hungary, but it is uncer-

A.D. 1051.

Andrew
reduces
Austria,

¹ Dubr. lib. viii. p. 58.

² Bonf. dec. ii. lib. ii.

Henry, III. invades Hungary, but marching too far into the country, is obliged to conclude a peace.

tain upon what account; however, his fleet meeting with a misfortune on the Danube, he was obliged to raise the siege of Presburgh, and return into Germany. The year following, he again enter Hungary, and advanced with his army within twenty-five miles of Buda; but Andrew, and his brother Bela, driving off the cattle from the countries through which he was to pass, and burning the forage and provisions; his fleet likewise, which was to have followed him upon the Danube, returning to Germany, in consequence of a counterfeited order from the Hungarians, the army of the emperor was reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, and he was obliged to conclude a peace, by which he promised to give his daughter Sophia to Andrew, who was at this time a widower^w. Some years after, Andrew, in order to secure the succession to his son Solomon, caused him to be crowned, though then only five years of age; which giving offence to his brother Bela, he retired into Poland; and, the year following, returned with an army to make good his pretensions to the throne^x. Andrew, having received assistance from the emperor Henry, to whose care he had committed his children, marched against his brother, whom he engaged near the Tibisc, or the Theysse, but was entirely defeated and killed in the pursuit.

*A.D. 1059.
Bela.*

Bela being settled in the throne, immediately pardoned all those who had taken the part of his brother; and applying himself to the administration of the kingdom, he lessened the taxes, established fairs, and coined gold and silver money. In order likewise to settle the affairs of religion, he commanded out of every town two elderly men to assemble, against a certain time; at Albe Royal. But when the day appointed arrived, not only those who were summoned appeared, but an infinite number of others; who, having chosen chiefs to themselves, sent them to the king, demanding to be allowed their ancient religion. Bela told them, that he would give them an answer in three days; and in the mean time, having assembled an army, when the chiefs returned, he ordered them to be cut in pieces, and the mob to be attacked, many of whom were slain, and the rest either taken prisoners or dispersed. Soon after, having been greatly hurt by the ruins of a building, he died in the third year of his reign, and was buried in the church of St. Salvator, which he had rebuilt.

A.D. 1063.

Solomon, the son of Andrew, who was then in Germany, hearing of the death of Bela, begged the assistance

^w Baronii Ann. vol. xi. p. 402. Bonf. dec. ii. lib. ii. ^x Idem, vol. xi. p. 398.

of Henry IV. whose sister he had married, to help him to recover his father's kingdom. The emperor, at his entreaty, marched with an army into Hungary, and settled him in the kingdom, Geyfa and Ladislaus, the two sons of Bela, having fled into Poland, being unable to oppose the party of Solomon. But as soon as the emperor returned to Germany, they raised an army in Poland, and entered Hungary, with a design of dethroning Solomon; but a reconciliation being made between the two contending parties, by means of the bishops, Geyfa agreed to quit his pretensions to the kingdom, and to be contented with his father's duchy; and in Easter following, in the city of the Five Churches, he publicly put the crown on Solomon's head. Soon after this reconciliation, Geyfa marched with an Hungarian army to the assistance of Zelomirus, king of Dalmatia, his brother-in-law, who was attacked by the Carinthians. While he was engaged in this expedition, the Bohemians having invaded Hungary, and ravaged some of the northern provinces, in return Solomon and Geyfa entered Moravia with an army, pillaging and burning the country without opposition; but at last a peace was concluded betwixt the two kingdoms at Olmutz, in Moravia. When Solomon was returning home with his army, he was informed that the Chuni, a heathen nation inhabiting that part of Geta now called Walachia, had invaded Hungary, and were pillaging and destroying the country. Solomon immediately marched against the invaders, and, after an obstinate dispute, entirely defeated them, not one of the enemy being said to have escaped. After this victory, Hungary enjoyed peace for three years, which were scarce expired, when the Bessi and Bulgarians, who inhabited towards the mouth of the Danube, passing through Albania, and crossing the Save, plundered and destroyed all the southern provinces of Hungary. Solomon and Geyfa assembling an army near Zalkemen, repulsed the Bulgarians; and afterwards declaring war against the Albanians, because they had allowed the invaders to pass through their country, they besieged Alba Græca, their capital, now called Belgrade, which, after a three months siege, was taken and plundered by means of an Hungarian maid, then a captive in the town, who set fire to it in several places, to favour the attack of her countrymen. The division of the immense booty, that was taken in this city, occasioned a dispute betwixt Solomon and Geyfa, which turned afterwards to a civil war, by which Solomon lost his kingdom, and was obliged to

Solomon, the son of Andereu, is restored by the assistance of the emperor.

He defeats the Moravians and the Chuni.

A.D. 1070.

The Bessi invade Hungary, but are repulsed.

A.D. 1074.

Solomon is expelled by Geyfa.

retire to Germany, where he did homage to Henry IV. for Hungary, in expectation of his assistance to recover his throne. This homage was protested against by pope Gregory VII. who pretended that the kingdom of Hungary belonged to the Roman see by the gift of king Stephen, and threatened Solomon with excommunication, if he did not acknowledge this right².

A D. 1077.

Geyfa is reconciled to Solomon.

Geyfa, in the mean time, marching with his army to Albe Royal, was proclaimed king, with the universal consent of the states; and being informed that the emperor Henry was marching with a great army to replace Solomon upon the throne, he corrupted his counsellors and chief officers, by whose advice the emperor was prevailed with to lay aside that expedition. The year following, Geyfa, by the persuasion of the bishop of Strigonia, agreed to surrender two-thirds of the kingdom, with the regal dignity, to Solomon, reserving the other to himself with the title of duke; but he died before this reconciliation was effected, and was buried at Vacia.

Ladislaus accepts of the administration of the kingdom, but refuses the title of king.

The states of Hungary, on the death of Geyfa, chose his brother Ladislaus, who was prevailed upon to accept of the administration of the kingdom, but would not allow himself to be crowned, because Solomon was still alive. In the beginning of his reign, Zelomirus, king of Dalmatia, dying without issue, left his kingdom to his wife, the sister of Ladislaus, who, having quelled her seditious subjects by the assistance of her brother, afterwards resigned her kingdom to him and his heirs, and since that time Dalmatia and Croatia have been annexed to the dominions of Hungary. Solomon, who still possessed some part of Hungary, near Presburg, though he despaired of being able to regain his kingdom by force, yet continued to molest the provinces in the neighbourhood by frequent incursions. At last, in the fourth year of Ladislaus's reign, he consented to accept of a yearly pension, and resigned all pretensions to the crown; but soon after, endeavouring to surprize Ladislaus at a friendly conference, he was himself seized and imprisoned in the castle of Wissegrad. Ladislaus afterwards setting him at liberty, as he had no resource in the emperor, who was then engaged in disputes with the pope and the Saxons, he fled to the Chuni, and excited them to invade Hungary, by promising, if he should recover his kingdom by their assistance, to yield Transylvania to the Chuni, and to marry the daughter of Cythescus their chief. The Chuni being prevailed upon by these promises, invaded Hungary

The Chuni invade Hungary.

² Gregor. lib.ii. Epist. 13.

with a numerous army ; but they were entirely defeated by Ladislaus, with the loss of ten thousand men. Solomon being thus disappointed in his design of regaining his kingdom, turned the army of the Chuni against the Bulgarians and Thracians, but was repulsed by Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, and obliged to fly beyond the Danube. After this defeat he abandoned all schemes of ambition, and forsaking the society of men, lived, for several years, a solitary life in the woods, and at his death was buried in the city of Pola. Though Solomon now ceased to disturb Ladislaus, yet the Chuni by themselves again invaded Hungary, and having ravaged and plundered the country, carried off with them much booty, and a great number of captives. On the first news of this invasion, Ladislaus was then in Dalmatia, quieting some disturbances in that kingdom ; but immediately marching against the Chuni, he overtook them as they had passed the river Themescus, and engaged them without delay. During the engagement, the captives having, by mutual assistance, unbound themselves, both men and women attacked the enemy in the rear, while Ladislaus and their countrymen engaged them in the front. The Chuni, unable to sustain both attacks, immediately began to disperse, but were mostly slain or taken prisoners by the Hungarians. Notwithstanding this great defeat, they again invaded Hungary ; but Ladislaus killing their king Acus in single combat, the barbarians, upon his death, retreated with precipitation, but were almost all intercepted and cut off.

After this defeat of the Chuni, Ladislaus was engaged in a war with the Rutheni or Russians, who not venturing to oppose his arms, sent ambassadors, desiring a peace ; which being concluded, Ladislaus then turned his arms against the Poles, who had assisted the Chuni in their incursions ; and having defeated their army, he marched to Cracow, which surrendered to him after a three months siege. Having obliged the Poles to conclude a peace^a, he returned with his army to Hungary, and being solicited by pope Victor III. he promised twenty thousand horse to act against the emperor Henry IV. who had been excommunicated by Gregory VII. About this time, the Christian princes, by the persuasion of Peter the Hermit, having resolved upon an expedition into the Holy Land to recover it from the dominion of the Turks, Ladislaus made great preparations for that holy war ; but marching with an army into Bohemia, to assist Bretislaus in obtaining that crown, vacant by

A.D 1087.

*Ladislaus
is engaged
in a war
with the
Rutheni.*

A.D. 1095.

*Is appointed
chief of
the first
crusade.*

^a Bonf. dec. ii. lib. 4.

the death of his uncle Conrad^b, he (A) was seized with a distemper, of which he died in the nineteenth year of his reign, greatly lamented by all his subjects, who wore mourning for him three years.

*Coloman
opposes the
march of
the
Germans
through
Hungary.*

Ladislaus dying without issue, was succeeded by Coloman, the eldest son of his brother Geyza, who had fled into Poland, to avoid becoming an ecclesiastic, Ladislaus having designed the succession for his other nephew Almus. In the second year of his reign, the Germans, who had assembled for the expedition into the Holy Land, after having committed great cruelties against the Jews at Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and in many other cities, marched towards Hungary, and sent to Coloman, demanding a passage through his kingdom. But he denied their request, and prepared to oppose them with an army; upon which refusal, they resolved to open to themselves a way by the sword, and attacking Coloman, defeated him, though not without a great loss of their own army. Afterwards penetrating into Hungary, they met with very different reception, some of the Hungarians privately furnishing them with money and provisions, while others massacred all those whom they could find straggling from the main body; and Coloman, with an army, harassed their march.

*His brother
Almus raises
a civil
war against
him.*

Hungary was no sooner freed from this numerous army of foreigners than it was disturbed by a civil war between the two brothers Coloman and Almus; but when they were on the point of deciding their difference by a battle, a reconciliation was effected between them, which, however, did not continue long; for Almus, flying into Bavaria, endeavoured to raise an army, with intention of attacking his brother; but, by means of some nobles, he was prevailed upon to return, and was again reconciled to Coloman. After this, Almus is said to have gone to Jerusalem, and upon his return, to have lived in amity with his brother; but soon after, upon account of some suspicion, Coloman ordered him and his son Bela to be seized, and the eyes of both of them to be put out. Hungary was not only harassed by these civil dissensions, but, likewise, by the foreign wars in which their king was engaged; for Co-

*but is seized
and
his eyes
put out.*

^b Dubrav. lib. ix. p. 68.

(A) Bonfinius says, that this count is both contrary to the history of Bohemia, and the genealogy of those princes. Conrad was the person restored, and had been banished by his brother Otho (1); but this ac-

(1) Bonf. dec. ii. lib. iv.

Coloman

Coloman alleging, that the Russians had not fulfilled the terms of peace concluded with Ladislaus, entered their country, and destroyed all with fire and sword. Lance, their queen, being unable to oppose him, went personally to his camp, to beg for peace; but being disdainfully treated by Coloman, and even kicked by him, when on her knees, she left him fully resolved to take revenge. Assembling all the forces she could, and being joined by Mirco-*He is de-
seated by
the queen
of the
Rutheni.*

codes, general of the Chuni, with a great body of that nation, she attacked the Hungarian camp about midnight, of which she soon got possession; and the Russians afterwards penetrating into the woods, whither the Hungarians had fled for safety, cut in pieces all whom they found, and the rest perishing by famine, Coloman, with difficulty, escaped to Hungary with a very few attendants^c.

After this defeat, Coloman entered into an alliance with the Venetians, in order to repulse the Normans, who ravaged all the sea-coasts of Dalmatia. The Hungarians embarking on board the Venetian fleet, made themselves masters of Brundisi, and marching up into Apulia, ravaged the country with fire and sword, carrying off with them a great many men and cattle. The presence of Coloman in Dalmatia, encouraged a great many cities of that province to throw off the Venetian yoke, and acknowledge the dominion of the Hungarians. Upon this revolt, the Venetians, accusing Coloman of breach of faith, prepared a great fleet, which, under the command of Ordephalus, their doge, sailed to besiege Jadra, or Zara, the chief town of the province. After a long siege, the Venetians again recovered that city, and several other places; and improving their success, they landed their forces, and penetrated into Croatia, which province they subdued, and have ever since retained the title of that conquest. Coloman, who was then in Hungary, being informed that the Venetians had recovered Zara, raised a great army, and marched into Dalmatia, where he engaged the Venetians, who had returned to protect their conquests; but Ordephalus being killed in the action, the Venetians were defeated, and retired home, leaving the country in the possession of Coloman, who, upon the entreaty of the Venetians, concluded a peace for five years. The year following, the emperor Henry V. having undertaken the protection of Almus, and threatening to invade Hungary, Coloman made an alliance with the duke of Poland, for their mutual defence; and a marriage was concluded between Stephen, the heir of the

*The Nor-
mans
ravage the
sea-coasts
of Dal-
matia.*

*The empe-
ror in-
vades
Hungary,
but is
repulsed.*

^c Bonf. dec. ii. lib. ii.

kingdom of Hungary, and the duke's daughter^d. Henry, marching with his army into Hungary, was repulsed with loss; wherefore, he turned his arms against Poland, where the war continued for two or three years, during which time Coloman died, and was buried at Albe Royal, having reigned nineteen years.

A.D. 1114

*Stephen
III.*

*Stephen
invades
Poland,*

*and de-
clares war
against
Bohemia.*

*The confe-
rence is
prevented
by the
treachery
of Soltha.*

Stephen, the son of Coloman, succeeded his father with consent of the states; and being then a minor, the affairs of the nation were administered by the bishops and nobles for eight years, during which time Hungary enjoyed a profound peace. In the ninth year of his reign, Stephen took the administration of the kingdom into his own hands, and testified, by his actions, a temper no less cruel and savage than that of his father. His first expedition was into Dalmatia, which province the Venetians had harassed by frequent piratical incursions, and had likewise endeavoured to regain, by bribery, the chief men. Stephen having renewed the garrisons in the towns, and confirmed those who were wavering, returned to Hungary, and sent his army against the Poles, finding himself then in a condition to repay the injuries which Hungary had formerly suffered from them. Stephen afterwards declared war against the duke of Bohemia, and advanced with his army as far as the river Orfana, which divides Moravia from Hungary; but the nobles being averse to the war, advised their king to endeavour a reconciliation by means of a conference, which was agreed to by the duke of Bohemia. One Soltha, a Hungarian refugee, in the Bohemian camp, thinking that a reconciliation would be to his great disadvantage, wrote to Stephen, that the duke of Bohemia intended to surprise him at the conference, therefore he ought to send his archers and light-armed soldiers before, to prevent the fraud; at the same time he told the Bohemians, that he was informed that Stephen had proposed the conference only with the design of seizing upon the duke. Both parties being thus rendered jealous of each other, on the day of the conference went towards the place appointed, attended with armed troops, with design to act upon the defensive; but the Bohemians observing the Hungarian archers, immediately attacked them, and drove them back to their camp, and being assisted by their friends, forced the intrenchments, and obliged the Hungarians to fly; which Junus, the son of Brosa, and the count Palatin, who were encamped at some distance from the king, observing, they drew out their men, and repulsed the Bohemians with great slaugh-

^d Dlugoffi. Hist. Polon. p. 371 & 372.

ter. At length, both parties being sensible of their error, a peace was concluded, by which it was agreed, that Sobieslaus, brother of the duke of Bohemia, should marry a daughter of Stephen, who was then an infant. The traitor Soltha was seized, and carried to Hungary, where he was torn to pieces by horses^c. After this expedition into Bohemia, Stephen married the daughter of Robert Guiscard, prince of Apulia and Sicily, and soon after was engaged in a war with the Russians, under pretence of assisting their exiled duke Bezen, who had fled to his protection. Marching with a great army into their country, by the advice of the duke, he besieged their capital city; but he being killed in the first action, Stephen was persuaded by his nobles to quit the siege, and return to Hungary. Three years after he again invaded Poland, where he committed great devastation; and being informed that the emperor of Constantinople had struck his wife, for defending his character, he declared war against him, and ravaged his provinces with so much fury, that the mothers used his name to quiet their crying children for many years after. The emperor, at last, marching against him with an army, entirely defeated him at the river Carasus; after which, a peace was concluded in the city Boronchus, within an island of the Danube. Stephen rendered his name infamous, by his cruelty towards his subjects, and was surnamed the Thunderer by the common people, because his actions flowed more from violent passions, than from reason. He banished his uncle Almus into Thrace, where he was honourably entertained by the emperor, and founded a city, which was soon inhabited by Hungarians, who fled from the cruelties of their king. As Stephen had no children by his queen, towards the end of his reign he was very solicitous about a successor; and being informed that his cousin Bela was still alive, and in Hungary, he adopted him for his son: and having concluded a marriage between him and the daughter of Uro, count of Macedonia, he resigned the kingdom to him; and is said, before his death, in sign of penitence, to have taken on the monkish habit^f. He died of a dysentery, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried at Waradin.

Bela, surnamed the Blind, the son of Almus, succeeded to the throne with the unanimous consent of the states, and was greatly beloved by his subjects for his moderation and continual application to the administration of justice; but be-

*Stephen
invades
Russia,
under pre-
tence of
restoring
their exiled
duke.*

*He declares
war a-
gainst the
emperor of
Constanti-
nople.*

A.D. 1131.

Bela II.

^c Bonf. ubi supra. Dubrav. lib. xi. p. 82.
Ann. vol. 12. p. 230. Rer. Hun. Script. p. 632.

^f Baronii

His subjects rebel against him,

ing prevailed upon by his queen to allow his former enemies to be punished according to the rigour of the laws, he by that action alienated many of the nobles, who rebelled against him, and invited Borichus, a bastard son of Coloman, who was then in Russia, to claim the kingdom, as the lawful heir. Bela being informed of this conspiracy, called an assembly of the states, and asked their opinion of the legitimacy of Borichus. The nobles who wished well to the state answered, that they were certain Borichus was a bastard, and unworthy of the throne; but those of the other faction affirmed, that he was a lawful son, Coloman having been married to his mother in Russia. Upon this reply, a dissension arose in the assembly; and orders being given to seize those who favoured Borichus, all was immediately in confusion, while those of his faction endeavoured to defend themselves, or escape, and the others to apprehend them, and drag them to punishment. Count Lampertus was dragged from the king's feet, whether he had fled for protection, and killed by his brother with a piece of the bench; his son Nicholas suffered the same fate, with many others of the nobles. Those who escaped immediately fled to Borichus, who was marching towards Hungary with an army of Russians and Poles. Bela having assembled an army, marched against the pretender; and having obtained a conference with the chiefs of the Poles and Russians, count Budus prevailed with the greatest number of them to forsake Borichus, and return home. Those who remained were easily defeated by the Hungarians, and the chiefs of the rebellion being taken in the engagement, were brought before Bela and put to death. After this victory, Bela addicted himself to feasting and entertainments, whereby he contracted a habit of drinking, which threw him into a dropsy, of which he died in the tenth year of his reign, leaving behind him four sons, Geysa, Ladislaus, Stephen, and Almus.

but are reduced, and punished.

A.D. 1141.

Geysa III.

The margrave of Austria takes Presburgh by surprise.

Upon the death of Bela, his eldest son Geysa succeeded to the throne, and being under age, the affairs of the state were committed to the management of the bishops and nobles. In the beginning of his reign, having entered into a league with Guelf VII. duke of Spoleto, and guardian of Henry the Lyon, his nephew, to assist them in recovering Bavaria, by this means he drew upon himself the resentment of Henry, margrave of Austria; who, being assisted by the forces of the emperor Conrad III. made himself master of Presburgh by stratagem, and from thence made incursions upon the Hungarians. Upon the news of the surprising of Presburgh, Geysa immediately assembled an army;

army ; and marched against the Germans before they had received all their reinforcements, he routed the army with the loss of seven thousand men; Henry himself with difficulty escaping into Austria. Geyza, though then but a youth, acquired great reputation by this victory, and secured his kingdom from invasion during the rest of his reign. But having given leave to the emperor Conrad III. to pass through Hungary with sixty thousand horse, in his way to the Holy Land ², that emperor, mindful of the late defeat of his ally the margrave of Austria, and thinking he had now an opportunity of being revenged, acted like an inveterate enemy ; and under pretence of furnishing himself with necessaries for the expedition, plundered the churches, monasteries, and other sacred places, of their wealth, and gave licence to his soldiers to commit all manner of excesses. The same year, Geyza gave permission to Lewis VII. king of France, to march through Hungary with his army upon the same expedition, and entertained him in an honourable manner, as he kept his army under the strictest discipline, and marched without offending the meanest subjects. Borichus, the bastard son of Coloman, having insinuated himself into the army of Lewis, in expectation that the Hungarians would rise in his favour, Geyza demanded him to be delivered up as a pretender to his throne ; but Lewis declaring, that the protection of kings ought to be a sanctuary to those who claim it, Geyza renewed his request with greater earnestness ; upon which Borichus, fearing to be delivered up, took one of the king's horses, and immediately fled ; but being pursued by the king's master of the horse, he was overtaken and killed. Geyza soon after was engaged in a war with the Russians, Lodomerius, having by the assistance of the Chuni, expelled their lawful king Minosslaus, whose daughter Geyza had married. Geyza having assembled a great army, to assist his father-in-law, marched against the emperor, whom he defeated ; and reinstating Minosslaus in his kingdom, he returned with honour into Hungaay. History makes no mention of any other military expedition of Geyza ; during the rest of his reign, he distinguished himself by his liberality to the poor, and bounty to the church. He died in the twentieth year of his reign, his eldest son Stephen having been declared king by him before his death.

After the death of Geyza, the states assembled in the usual manner ; and although Stephen had before been declared king, they again gave their public consent, and ac-

He is afterwards defeated by Geyza.

A.D. 1147.

The king of France marches through Hungary to the Holy Land.

Stephen III.

A.D. 1161.

² Otho Fris. lib. i. cap. 40.

*Enters into
an alliance
with the
emperor of
Constanti-
nople a-
gainst the
Venetians.*

cording to custom, crowned him with the sacred crown of St. Stephen his ancestor. In the beginning of his reign, Stephen entered into an alliance with Emanuel Comnenus, the emperor of Constantinople, who had been for several years at war with the Venetians. In consequence of this league, the Hungarians recovered Zara, and several other places on the coast of Dalmatia, which the Venetians had for some time before possessed; but those cities soon after revolted from the Hungarians, and put themselves under the dominion of the emperor, who likewise engaged Guiscard, duke of Ancona, to harass the Venetian coasts with his galleys. Guiscard being taken by the doge Vitalis, and executed as a pirate, Emanuel pretended to lay aside hostilities, and gave allowance to the Venetians to trade in his ports; but soon after, he seized all their ships on one day; which perfidy so provoked the Venetians, that they are said to have built and fitted out an hundred galleys and twenty ships of burden within an hundred days; with which fleet they took and plundered the city of Traw, and likewise made themselves masters of Ragusa; and, sailing into the Egean sea, took Chios, and attacked Eubœa: but their fleet being attacked with the plague, they were obliged to return home; and the distemper being communicated to the city, almost one half of the inhabitants were destroyed. While the Venetian fleet was employed in this expedition, Stephen, who had marched into Dalmatia with an army, ravaged their territories, but was recalled into Hungary to oppose the usurpation of his uncle Ladislaus, the son of Bela; who, during his absence, had stolen the sacred crown of St. Stephen, and being supported by most of the bishops, and many of the nobility, had declared himself king. Stephen, finding that the greatest number of the people favoured Ladislaus, kept himself private in some of the castles that continued faithful to him, while the usurper enjoyed the kingly dignity and power. Ladislaus dying within six months, his faction immediately proclaimed his brother Stephen king; but Stephen, the lawful possessor being still alive, at length assembled an army of his friends to oppose the usurpations of his uncle. Hungary being then divided into two parties, the two armies engaged with vast animosity; and after a great slaughter on both sides, especially of the nobles, victory at last declared for the nephew, who thereby again recovered his kingdom. The usurper having possessed the throne five months, died soon after this defeat at the castle of Zemlin. Stephen did not long survive him, but died the same year, and was buried at Strigonia.

*Ladislaus
the usurper.*

*Stephen
the usurper.*

*Stephen
defeats the
usurper,
and dies
soon after.*

As Stephen left no children, his brother Bela succeeded him ; whose integrity, justice, and gravity, were very necessary to restrain the licentiousness that had been introduced by the intestine divisions ; all those who were obnoxious to the laws having taken refuge in the armies of Ladislaus and Stephen the usurpers. Upon his accession to the throne, he immediately published an edict against thieves, robbers, and murderers ; and, as before his reign, the Hungarians had presented their requests to their kings personally, and in an undistinct manner, he ordered, after the manner of the emperors and the pope, that all petitions should be delivered in writing. He was afterwards engaged in some short wars with the Poles and Bohemians, and likewise restrained the Austrians from making incursions ; but his chief concern was, to recover the maritime places of Dalmatia, which were again in possession of the Venetians. An opportunity soon offered for him to obtain his wishes ; for Peter, the doge of Venice, having drawn off the inhabitants of Pisa from their alliance with those of Ancona, had obliged the metropolitan bishop of Zara to be subject to the patriarch of Grado ; which those of Zara took so ill, that they revolted the fourth time from the Venetians, and put themselves under the protection of the Hungarians. Bela being informed of this revolt, immediately marched with an army into Dalmatia, and put strong garrisons into Zara and the neighbouring places ; while the Venetians, sensibly affected with the loss, prepared a fleet with the utmost expedition, and failed to besiege Zara. They soon regained the islands, as the Hungarians had no naval force ; but Bela had so strengthened the sea-coasts, and especially the city Zara, that the efforts of the Venetians to recover them were in vain. At this time, news being brought to Europe, that Saladin had taken Jerusalem, a new croisade was resolved upon, for the recovery of the holy city ; and by the mediation of pope Clement, a truce was agreed to for two years betwixt Bela and the Venetians, that the Christian princes might have the use of their fleet in transporting their troops to the Holy Land. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in his march through Hungary for that expedition, with more than one hundred thousand men, was honourably entertained by Bela, and supplied with all necessaries. After the truce was expired, the Venetians met with a new loss ; for the Pisans, who had been their allies for several years, seized upon the city and port of Pola for themselves, and concluded an alliance with the Hungarians. But the Venetians immediately sailing to Pola, recovered the city, which they dismantled,

A. D. 1173.

Bela III.

Marches into Dalmatia against the Venetians.

A. D. 1189.

A truce is concluded by the mediation of the pope.

and afterwards defeating the Pisan fleet, obliged them to quit their new ally, and conclude a peace. While Bela was employed in this Venetian war, he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the 23d year of his reign, leaving by his wife, who was a sister of Philip, king of France, two sons, Emeric and Andrew. His widow ^b, the same year, resolved to visit the sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem, and went at the head of a great body of Hungarians to the Holy Land; but from the fatigue of the journey she died at Ptolemais, before she reached the holy city.

A.D. 1196.

Emeric.

*Andrew
his brother
rebels a-
gainst him.*

*He prevails
upon the
rebels to
lay down
their arms.*

Upon the death of Bela, his eldest son Emeric, or Henry, succeeded to the throne with the universal consent of the states. He began his reign with putting in execution the laws of his father against robbers and murderers. But his government was soon disturbed by the rebellion of his brother Andrew; who, having debauched the minds of many of the nobles, raised an army, and openly declared war against him. Emeric having in vain used his utmost endeavours, by letters and intercessions, to dissuade his brother from so desperate an enterprize, at last raised an army to oppose him. But, that he might spare the blood of his subjects, when both armies were drawn up ready to engage, he is said to have put off his armour, and to have gone alone into the middle of his brother's army, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand, and to have addressed them after this manner (B): "Which of you, soldiers, will dare to pollute his hands with the most sacred blood of his king? which of you desires to violate, in my person, the divinity of St. Stephen? I am not Emeric, a private person, but the vicar and heir of St. Stephen; and your king by the universal consent of the states. Consider whom you attack: Emeric can die but once, and to die here will be most glorious for me, but most ignominious and destructive for you. Accept of the pardon I offer you, and acknowledge your king." This speech had such an effect upon the army of his brother, that they immediately threw down their arms, and strove who should first ask pardon for their crime: which sudden alteration in his army being observed by Andrew, he quitted the field, and endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken and brought to

^b Bonf. Dec. ii. lib. vii.

(B) It was a received opinion St. Stephen, had thereby a among the Hungarians, that divine right to the throne. whoever possessed the crown of

Emeric,

Emerick, who freely pardoned him. While Emerick was engaged in this intestine war, the Venetians, intent upon recovering the places on the coast of Dalmatia which they had formerly possessed, agreed to transport to the Holy Land the troops of Montserrat, Savoy, and Flanders, upon condition that they would assist them in recovering Istria and Zara. The condition being accepted by those foreigners, the Venetians quickly fitted out sixty galleys, and as many ships of burden, besides many other smaller vessels; so that they invaded Istria with a fleet of two hundred and forty sail. The inhabitants of that coast being struck with terror at such a warlike appearance, immediately submitted. From Istria, the Venetian fleet sailed to Zara, and landing their men, besieged it by sea and land. The Hungarian garrison being very strong, they met with great opposition, scarce a day passing without a sally from the besieged: at last, they began to make some impression by sea; upon which, the chief men of the city, despairing of safety and pardon, privately quitted the place; which the Hungarian garrison observing before the last assault, they likewise quitted the city in a body, and retired to the towns in the neighbouring mountains. Notwithstanding the reduction of Zara, the Venetian trade was as much molested as ever by the exiles, who, being assisted by Emerick, seized the Venetian ships, and made frequent descents on their territories. The Venetians at last fitted out another fleet, and having defeated the exiles, took many of their sons as hostages, and allowed them to return to Zara; concluding a peace on these conditions, that they should receive the governor of their city, and their metropolitan bishop, from the Venetians; and pay a yearly tribute of three thousand rabbit skins to the republic. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Emerick died, leaving the kingdom to his son Ladislaus, who enjoyed it only six months, being taken off by an immature death.

The Venetians, by the help of foreign troops, recover Istria and Zara.

Ladislaus III.

Ladislaus was succeeded by his uncle Andrew, who was crowned with the universal consent of the states. During the first twelve years of his reign, Hungary enjoyed a continual peace; but pope Honorius III. ordering a new crusade to be preached, Andrew resolved to make an expedition into the holy land; and for that purpose assembled a great army in Hungary, having determined on this expedition before he came to the throne, not only on his own account, but to fulfil the vow of his father Bela. Before he quitted the kingdom, he appointed Banchanus, one of the nobles, to govern in his absence, trusting to his fidelity his queen Gertrude, and his four children, Bela, Coloman,

A D. 1204.

Andrew II. resolves upon an expedition to the holy land.

and trusts the government of the kingdom to Banchanus;

Andrew, Banchanus;

who murders the queen,

A.D. 1217.

but is acquitted on his trial.

Andrew, and Elisabeth (C). Bancbanus administered the affairs of the kingdom with great justness and assiduity, his government giving universal satisfaction. But Gertrude's brother coming from Germany, to pay her a visit in the absence of her husband, during his stay in Hungary debauched the wife of Bancbanus, by means of his sister. The injured lady informing her husband, he, in revenge, next day stabbed the queen, and coming out with his bloody sword into the street, published his wrongs, and the revenge he had taken; declaring, that he did not refuse to stand his trial, but would go directly to Constantinople to receive his sentence from the king. Next day, setting out with a few nobles, he arrived soon after at Constantinople (D); but Andrew, being otherwise satisfied with his fidelity, refused to judge him till he returned from his expedition, and desired him, in the mean time, to go back to his charge. At the trial, the accusation against the queen being found to be just, Andrew acquitted Bancbanus, but, nevertheless, his family was ruined by the resentment of the king's sons. Andrew having transported his troops into Asia, marched into Syria; but after having washed himself in the river of Jordan, he took the resolution of returning home¹. As there was an agreement betwixt him and the duke of Austria, that neither of them should return without the consent of the other, the duke of Austria opposed his journey, being afraid lest, after his return to Hungary, he should invade his duchy. The king still insisting upon his departure, the duke of Austria engaged the patriarch of Jerusalem to endeavour to prevail with him to stay; but the exhortations of the prelate having no effect, he proceeded to threats, and at last to excommunication, which sentence occasioned an accommodation; Andrew promising, by a solemn oath, in presence of the patriarch, and the German

¹ Vitriac, Hist. Orient. lib. iii.

(C) The Venetian annals relate, that Andrew and his forces were transported to Syria by a Venetian fleet: in consideration of which Andrew ceded to the republic of Venice all his right to Dalmatia. But this is not only contrary to the Hungarian annals, which affirm, that Andrew marched by land to Constantinople, but likewise appears improbable, that for such

a small service, so powerful a king would have given up a kingdom, for the retaining of which so much blood had been spilt by his ancestors.

(D) Some authors make no mention of the journey of Bancbanus to Constantinople, but relate that he and his family were both destroyed immediately after the queen's death.

bishops

bishops and lords, not to make war on the duke of Austria while he should be employed in the croisade; and to leave in Palestine one half of his troops under the command of the duke. This proposal being accepted, the excommunication was taken off, and Andrew departed with the other half of his troops to return into Hungary, having continued but three months in the holy land, and bringing home with him the head of St. Margaret, and of Stephen the first martyr; likewise, the right hand of Thomas and Bartholomew, a piece of Aaron's rod, and one of the water-pots in which the water was turned into wine by our Saviour, and many other relics. Returning to Hungary by sea, on board the Venetian fleet, he was honourably entertained upon his landing by the prince of Este; and falling in love with that prince's daughter, he married her, and took her with him into Hungary. By her he had a posthumous son named Stephen, borne at Este, who had a son named Andrew, afterwards king of Hungary. Nine years after his return, his daughter Elizabeth was married to Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia. This princess made herself most remarkable for her austere and pious life, and for her bounty towards the poor, whose feet she often washed. After the death of her husband, she entered into the order of Franciscans, in which she continued to her death, refusing to return to the splendor of a court in Hungary, though earnestly requested by her father. She died in the year 1231, and was afterwards canonized. Andrew survived his daughter only four years, and after having reigned thirty-one years, left the kingdom to his eldest son Bela, to whom he had ceded the sovereignty before his death.

*Andrew
hastily quits
the holy
land.*

The states having assembled, Bela was crowned at Albe Royal in the church of St. Peter, founded by himself: during the procession his brother Coloman, having been created king of Haliria, in Prussia, walked before him with the sword; while Daniel, prince of the Rutheni, or Ruslians, led his horse. Bela had scarce been five years on the throne, when he was alarmed with the news of the approach of the Tartars, by some called Thatturi, by others Mangali; who, quitting their northern habitations in different hords, or companies, over-ran Georgia, Armenia, Persia, and even penetrated into Egypt; while others, under the command of Bathus and Peta, sons of Hocotam Cham, son of Genzis Cham, first king of Tartary, ravaged Great Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and Bohemia. The news of their incursions was brought into Hungary by the Cumani, a Sarmatian nation, whose country those barbarians were then ravaging and burning. Cuten, the king of that country,

A.D. 1235.
Bela IV.

*The Tar-
tars in-
vade the
eastern
parts of
Europe.*

being

The Cumani quit their country on account of the Tartars, and ask a refuge in Hungary, which is granted by Bela, who thereby offends his own subjects.

A.D. 1241.

The Tartars invade Hungary, and commit great barbarities.

being unable longer to resist their violence, sent ambassadors to Bela, begging that he would allow him, and the remains of his people, to take refuge in Hungary, promising not only to become his subjects, but likewise to turn Christians. Their request was readily granted, and soon after Cuten came into Hungary with forty thousand Cumani, besides slaves, who were all generously received by Bela. This generosity was far from being acceptable to his own subjects, who accused the strangers of ruining their fields and vineyards as they passed, of plundering the towns and villages, and of ravishing the daughters, not only of the poor, but likewise of the nobles. They alleged also, that Bela shewed a partiality to the foreigners, extenuating their crimes, and refusing to do justice to his subjects; that the rumour of the invasion was only a false report, which had been often talked of, and was published at this time only with a design of preventing the bishops from going to the general council; and that the Cumani had conspired with the Russians, and designedly quitted their country, that they might be more ready to assist them in exterminating the Hungarians. The Cumani had not been a year in Hungary, when Bela was informed, that the Tartars having ravaged Russia, were approaching the frontiers of his kingdom with an army of near three hundred thousand men, under the command of Bathus; while Peta, with almost as numerous a body, invaded Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia^k. Though the rumour was still disbelieved by the people, Bela sent the palatine with a body of forces to guard the passes of the mountains; and an assembly of the states being called at Buda, it was resolved, that the bishops and nobles should prepare their vassals for war, and faithful persons be sent to watch the conduct of Cuten, and the chiefs of the Cumani. In the mean time, the Tartars having attacked the palatine, entirely defeated him; and afterwards entering Hungary, marched for the first five days in a very peaceable manner, partly with a design not to alarm the Hungarians, and partly that they might have provisions, in case they were obliged to retreat. But advancing afterwards into the country, they began their ravages with a barbarous fury, sparing neither age nor sex, and marched directly for Bela, who was encamped at Pesth, having sent his queen before into Austria. The Hungarians, instead of vigorously assisting the king, continued their murmurs against the Cumani; and affirming that the Tartars had invaded Hungary by their invitation, they barbarously

^k Dubr. l. xvi. p. 129.

murdered Cuten, with his attendants, while he was on his journey to join Bela; at which action, the Cumani were so incensed, that they joined the Tartars, and became the most bitter enemies of the Hungarians. The Tartars daily ravaging the country, and cutting off some detached body of Hungarians by their sudden and unexpected attacks, Bela was earnest to come to a general engagement, and marched after the enemy; who, as he advanced, retreated leisurely towards Agria, both parties seeking an opportunity to engage, though most part of the Hungarians did not even desire the victory, but wished that Bela might be defeated, that, for the future, he might have an aversion to foreigners, and depend more upon them; believing that the defeat would only be a private loss, and that they could expel the invaders when they pleased, as they had formerly done the Chuni and Bessi. The two camps being now only separated by a marsh, which the Tartars having found passable in some places, they privately passed over their army; and having surrounded the camp of the Hungarians before day-break, they raised a shout, and began the engagement with a shower of arrows. The Hungarians, confounded at this unexpected attack, could not be persuaded to go out of their camp; but at last, about mid-day, Coloman, hoping, by his example, to encourage the rest to follow him, sallied out with his friends against the enemy, whom he attacked in a desperate manner; but not being followed as he expected, he cut his way through them and escaped. Afterwards many parties rushed out of the camp; but the Tartars, out of policy, gave them leave to fly, and killed them in the pursuit; it being their manner of fighting to pursue a flying enemy, and to retreat when they themselves are attacked. Bela, who had believed that these parties went out against the enemy, at length being undeceived, and seeing himself deserted, sallied out in the middle of his friends, and hid himself in a neighbouring wood. Those who remained in the camp were cut to pieces by the Tartars, who likewise made such a slaughter of those who fled, that, for two days journey round the camp, the earth was covered with dead bodies and mangled limbs. After this victory, the Tartars ravaged all Upper Hungary; and in searching the booty, having found the king's seal, they caused letters to be wrote in his name, and to be dispersed all over the kingdom, which were composed in this manner: That the Hungarians had no occasion to quit their houses, or be afraid of the Tartars, for though the baggage had been lost by the imprudence of some persons, yet he hoped soon to recover all, and expel the

The Cumanians join the Tartars.

Bela assembles an army to oppose their ravaging.

but is totally defeated, with the loss of all his troops.

*Obliged to
fly into
Austria,
where he
is detained
a prisoner.*

*But after-
wards con-
ceals him-
self in
Dalmatia,
while the
Tartars
ravage
Hungary.*

the invaders. By this stratagem, Bela being prevented from assembling another army, was obliged to quit his kingdom and fly into Austria, where he was detained a prisoner, under pretence of owing a large sum of money to the duke. Having obtained his liberty by giving all the money which he had, and all his plate and jewels, and likewise ceding three counties of Hungary to Frederic; he went with his queen into Dalmatia, and sent Stephen, bishop of Vacia, to beg the assistance of the emperor and the pope¹. But the pope having called a general council to depose the emperor, whom he had formerly excommunicated, sent only letters of condolance into Hungary, and granted indulgencies for those who would fight against the barbarians^m; while the emperor Frederic published a manifesto, declaring, that he was prevented, by the persecution of the pope, from opposing the Tartars, whom he could easily have destroyed. In the mean time, the Tartars having ravaged and destroyed all Upper Hungary, passed the Danube on the ice, and making themselves masters of Strigonia, killed all the inhabitants except nineteen. Afterwards a party of them ravaged the country, and pursued Bela into Dalmatia, who was obliged to fly into the islands of the Adriatic. Being disappointed in seizing Bela, they turned aside into Croatia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, ravaging and burning those countries. At last, hearing of the death of Hocotamⁿ, they loaded themselves with booty, and returned into their own country through Cumania and Ruthenia. Bela being informed of their departure, returned to Hungary with many auxiliary troops, raised by the princes of the name of Frangipani, who were settled in Croatia and Dalmatia. The knights of Rhodes likewise landing their men at Segna, accompanied him on foot into his own kingdom. Bela having settled his kingdom in the best manner that he could, soon after his return raised an army, and with the assistance of those foreign troops invaded Austria, and laid siege to Vienna, which had been but lately founded. Frederic being informed that his new city was greatly pressed, marched with an army to its relief; and engaging the Hungarians before the walls, he was entirely defeated and killed in the action. After this victory, Bela ravaged great part of Austria, and returned with his booty into Hungary. Frederic, duke of Austria, leaving no children, his estate fell to his sister, the widow of Henry, son of the emperor Frederic II. Othogar, king of Bohemia, an ambitious prince, hoping in

A.D. 1244.

*Bela is re-
stored by
the assis-
tance of the
knights of
Rhodes,*

A.D. 1246.

*and after-
wards in-
vades Au-
stria.*

¹ Bonf. Dec. ii. l. 3. Dubr. l. xvi. p. 132.
xii. 41. Spondani, Ann. ad an. 1241.

^m Rain ad Ann.
ⁿ Id. ibid. 1241.

her right to be possessed of Austria, married her, and likewise brought Carniola, Carinthia, and part of Sclavonia, from Ulric the possessor, who had no issue. Being still ambitious to extend his dominions, a few years afterwards he declared war against Bela, reclaiming the province of Stiria, which he had formerly ceded to him by a treaty; and hoping not only to conquer that province, but likewise all Hungary. Bela, being informed of his design, marched against him into Moravia; but his army consisting chiefly of auxiliaries, he was easily defeated, and obliged to conclude a peace upon disadvantageous terms. The following years of his reign, Bela was wholly employed in rebuilding the cities and churches through his kingdom, and recovering it from that dismal state in which it was left by the barbarians. He died in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Stephen (E).

A.D. 1260.

Othogar king of Bohemia, declares war against Bela.

Stephen, soon after his accession to the throne, declared war against Othogar, king of Bohemia, whom he defeated with great slaughter at the Lower Capeza (F). He afterwards marched into Bulgaria, and having taken Bodon, obliged the king of the Bulgarians to become tributary°. He died in the third year of his reign, leaving behind him two children, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, and Mary, who was married to Charles the Lame, king of Sicily.

A.D. 1270.

Stephen IV.

Ladislaus was surnamed the Chun, upon account of the barbarity of his disposition. A few years after his accession to the throne, the war was renewed with Othogar,

A.D. 1272.

Ladislaus III. is engaged in a war with Othogar, whom he defeats.

° Chron. Backseai ad Ann. 1270. Bonf. Decad. ii. l. 8.

(E) Thuroe, Ransan, and Bonfinius, place the death of Bela in 1275; but as they say he reigned thirty-five years after his father, who, according to them, died in 1235, they are not only in a mistake, but likewise inconsistent with themselves. Besides, there is extant in the Registry of pope Gregory X. a confirmation granted in the year 1272, of the peace concluded between Stephen and Othogar the year before, which Stephen, in his letter to the pope, calls the second year of his reign (1).

(F) So says Bonfinius: but other authors relate the events of this war very differently; and say, that Othogar entered Hungary with an army, took Presburg, where Bela had placed his treasures, and besieged Stephen in the island of the Raab; but that Stephen gaining a small advantage over Othogar, by breaking down the bridge of Javaria, returned to Buda, as though he had gained a victory, while Othogar, finding his enemy gone, marched back with his army to Vienna.

(1) Spondani Ann. ad an. 1270.

king

king of Bohemia, who was at war with the emperor Rodolphus for the duchy of Austria. Rodolphus and Ladislaus, having concluded an alliance, marched their army against Othogar, who had taken Drozendorf, and ravaged great part of Austria. The two armies engaging within a few leagues of Vienna, Othogar was entirely defeated, and killed in the action by Ladislaus, according to the Hungarian writers^p; but, according to others, by two brothers from Stiria, whose third brother he had put to death^q.

A.D. 1278.

Ladislaus returning victorious to Hungary, addicted himself wholly to his pleasures, and neglecting all care of the government, spent his time wholly with women of the Cumanian nation, whose idolatrous manners he had imbibed, and was even suspected to have renounced the Christian religion, upon which account he became odious to his subjects; and the nobles having complained to the pope, that he oppressed the Christians, and plundered the churches and monasteries, Philip Firmanus was sent from Rome this year, to exhort him to abandon the society of the heathens, and to live in friendship with his queen. Ladislaus, paying no regard to the admonitions of the bishop, was at last excommunicated by him; which sentence obliged the king to acknowledge his errors, and to promise, among other things, to build an hospital for strangers; which, we find, he performed, by his letter the following year to pope Nicholas III^r. The inactivity of this prince, at last, encouraged the Cumani to invade Hungary; who, for several years, came regularly in the harvest-time in great bodies, and encamping with their flocks in the fields, ravaged the country. The Hungarians being, in a manner, without a chief, made no opposition; the rich retiring to their fortified castles, and the poor hiding themselves, with their effects, in the mountains and caves. Ladislaus was at length prevailed upon to raise an army, with which he marched to the passes of

Is excommunicated by the bishop on account of his oppressing the Christians. The Cumani invade Hungary.

A.D. 1285.

the mountains of Krapak, where he gained a complete victory over the Cumani. Upon this defeat, Oldamir, their king, fled to the Tartars, and having excited them to invade Hungary, returned at their head, and ravaged the country as far as Pesth. The Hungarians not daring to make any resistance, the barbarians retired, loaded with booty. Ladislaus, notwithstanding the admonitions of the pope, the emperor, and his father-in-law the king of Sicily, still continuing his attachment to his pleasures, he was

^p Bonf. *ibid.* Thuroz. cap. lxxviii.

^q Dubrav. lib. xvii.

^r p. 143. *Æneas Syl.* cap. xxvii.

^r Spond. *Ann.* ad an. 1278.

at last stabbed, when sleeping in his tent, by some of the Cumanian women whom he had offended.

*Ladislaus
is murder-
ed.
A.D. 1290.*

Ladislaus dying without issue, there appeared several competitors for the crown of Hungary. The emperor Rodolphus, pretending that Hungary was a fief of the empire, vacant by the defect of the male issue, gave the investiture of it to his son Albert, duke of Austria. Charles the lame, king of Sicily, who had married Mary, the sister of Ladislaus, upon the news of his death, caused his son Charles Martel, then a youth of seventeen years of age, to be crowned at Naples king of Hungary, in right of his mother. This right was supported by the pope, who, pretending that Hungary held of the Roman church, sent a legate to the emperor, ordering him to desist from his claim. After some disputes, a marriage being agreed to between Charles Martel and Clementina, the daughter of the emperor, Rodolphus consented to quit his pretensions*. In the mean time, the Hungarians, by unanimous consent, had elected to themselves another king, one Andrew, surnamed the Venetian, grandson of Andrew II. by his son Stephen, born after his death. Andrew II. upon his return from the Holy Land, having married a daughter of the prince of Este, left her big with child at his death; she retiring into her own country, was delivered of Stephen, who afterwards marrying Thomasina, a rich Venetian lady, of the family of the Maurocenis, had by her Andrew, who was born and brought up in Venice, from whence he had the surname of Venetian. The Hungarians, even before the death of Ladislaus, from their hatred to that prince, had sent for Andrew into Hungary, and created him duke, that is, heir-apparent. Andrew was, however, obliged to quit Hungary for fear of Ladislaus; but upon his death, he was immediately recalled, and elected king. The year following, Andrew declared war against Albert, duke of Austria, upon account of some rebels whom Albert refused to deliver up. Before he committed any hostilities, he endeavoured, by means of the bishops, to bring the dispute to an accommodation; but not succeeding that way, he entered his territories with an army, and ravaged his country in a most miserable manner; till at length, by the intercession of the bishops of Hungary, a peace was concluded and ratified on both sides over sacred relics, Albert having agreed to satisfy the claims of Andrew†. Upon his return to Hungary, Andrew found his kingdom greatly divided, the pope having prevailed with the greatest part of

*Andrew
III
Several
competitors
for the
crown of
Hungary.*

*The Hun-
garians
chuse An-
drew the
Venetian.*

*The pope
favours
Charles
Martel.*

* Villanius, lib. vii. cap. 134.

† Spond. Ann. ad ann. 1291.

the ecclesiastics, and many of the nobles, to acknowledge the right of Charles Martel, who, in consequence of their invitation, had set out for Hungary, with his wife and son, Charles Robert, or Charobert, then an infant. The greatest part of the Hungarians being highly incensed that the pope should pretend to dispose of their kingdom, and deprive them of the rights of election, continued steady in their allegiance to Andrew, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the pope's emissaries. However, as the party of Charles was very numerous, and Andrew himself had no children, Charles continued in possession of part of Hungary for several years without opposition. The two rival kings are said both to have died in the same year. Charles having gone to Rome to the jubilee, died at Naples. Andrew died at Buda, and was buried in the church of St. John.

*Andrew
dies at
Buda.
A.D. 1301.*

The Hungarians refuse to acknowledge any right in the pope to dispose of their kingdom.

A.D. 1302.

*And chose
Ladislaus,
a son of
the king of
Bohemia.*

By their death, Hungary was again involved in troubles and confusion; for the greatest number of the nobles being incensed that the pope should pretend to deprive them of the right of election, which they had always hitherto retained, refused to accept of Charobert, or Charles, the son of Charles Martel, for their king; whose right, on the other hand, was supported by pope Boniface VIII. and many of the nobles. The party which favoured an election prevailing, an embassy was sent to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and Poland, desiring him to accept of the crown of Hungary. Wenceslaus refusing to accept of that crown for himself, offered them his son Wenceslaus, then a boy of thirteen years of age, who was accordingly conducted into Hungary, and crowned at Albe Royal by the archbishop of Kolotza. Pope Boniface being informed of the coronation of Wenceslaus, whom the Hungarians called Ladislaus, exclaimed against it as an injury done to the holy see; and not only wrote to his father to recall his son from Hungary, but prevailed with the emperor Albert to declare war against him, and enter Bohemia with an army. Wenceslaus, though he obliged Albert to retire without coming to an engagement, yet, as he heard his son enjoyed only the name of king, without the power, and that Hungary was torn to pieces by intestine divisions, fearing for the life of his son, he marched with an army as far as Pest; and ordering his son to come to him with the crown, he carried him and it back with him into Bohemia.

A.D. 1303.

*The pope
sends a le-
gate into
Hungary.*

Upon the departure of Ladislaus, Boniface sent a legate into Hungary, to urge the election of Charles; but the nation being still firm in maintaining their rights of election, and refusing to accept of a king from the pope, the legate quitted Hungary, and returned to Italy; but, before his departure, laid the city of Buda under an interdict. In return

return for this severe sentence, many of the ecclesiastics assembling, not only excommunicated the pope, but likewise excommunicated and banished all those ecclesiastics who adhered to him^u; and all of that faction entering into an association against the pope and Charles, chose Otho, duke of Bavaria, for their king.

Otho having obtained the sacred crown from Wenceslaus, entered Hungary, and was crowned at Buda. After his coronation, instead of strengthening his party, or settling the disturbances of the kingdom, he employed his time in vain parade, and magnificent processions through the towns and villages. Making a progress afterwards in Transylvania, he was there taken prisoner by the vaivode, and kept in chains till he renounced the kingdom. Upon his abdication, another legate was sent from Rome, who, after continuing a year in Hungary, during which time he had prevailed with many of the nobles to come over to the party of Charles, at last, finding the nation wavering in their determinations, he anointed Charles at Pesth, and the year following crowned him in Buda; at the same time publishing an edict of a general excommunication against all those who opposed him. In consequence of this sentence, a general assembly of the states was held the year following, in a plain near Pesth, where Charles, at last, was unanimously chosen king, and soon after crowned at Albe Royal with the sacred crown of St. Stephen; the sentence of excommunication being taken off, and a free pardon granted to all his subjects. In the second year of his reign, Hungary was disturbed by the rebellion of Matthew, count palatine, who, trusting to his great power and wealth, ventured to oppose the king's commands, and to keep possession of some forts. Charles raised an army, and being assisted by the knights of Rhodes, marched against the rebels, and after a most obstinate engagement, entirely defeated them, though not without great loss on his own side^w. By this victory Charles entirely quieted his kingdom: and having had no children by his two former wives, the first of whom was Mary, daughter of duke Casimir of Poland; the other Beatrice, daughter of the emperor Henry VII. he married Elizabeth, daughter of Ladislaus, king of Poland, by whom he had four sons, Ladislaus, Lewis, Andrew, and Stephen. Charles was engaged in no expedition for several years after his marriage; but at last, being excited by his nobles, he declared war against Bazarad, vaivode of Walachia. Immediately before this ex-

A.D. 1305.

The Hungarians chose Otho duke of Bavaria, for their king.

A.D. 1308.

Charles.

A.D. 1310.

Charles is at last acknowledged by the states.

A.D. 1312.

A.D. 1312.

A.D. 1723.

He declares war against the vaivode of Walachia.

^u Spond. Ann. ad an. 1301. Bonf. dec. ii. lib. ix.
Rer. Hungar. cap. 90. Bonf. ibid.

^w Thuroz.

pedition, he was in great danger of his life from one Felicianus, a courtier, who had so insinuated himself into the friendship of the king, that he had free access at all times into the palace. Felicianus, hoping, by his great power and wealth, to obtain the kingdom if the king and his issue were once slain, entered the apartment where the king was dining, and quickly drawing his sword, made an attack upon him, but only wounded his right hand; next struck at the queen, and cut off four of her fingers: afterwards he made an attempt upon the children, but was prevented by their preceptors, who interposed. In the mean time, the palace being alarmed, Felicianus himself was attacked, and immediately slain, and his children and relations were likewise put to death upon account of his crime.

A.D. 1130.

The king being delivered from this treasonable attempt, assembled his army, and, marching into Walachia, took Zeurin, and ravaged the neighbouring country. The vaivode, surpris'd at these hostilities, sent ambassadors to the king, desiring peace, and offering not only to pay his usual yearly tribute, which he had never omitted, but likewise to bear the expences of the present expedition. The king, rejecting these terms of peace, advanced with his army into the vaivode's country, but adventuring too far into the woods and mountains, his army was reduced to such difficulties, that he was fain to conclude a peace upon condition of the vaivode's future obedience, and allowing him to retire safe with his army. Charles, trusting to those conditions, marched back with his army, but was attacked by the Walachians in the narrow passes of the mountains, where he had no opportunity of escaping, or engaging his enemy. The attack continuing four days, his troops were almost wholly cut off, and he himself narrowly escaped by changing his dress.

*Is defeated
with the
loss of al-
most his
whole
army.*

Three years after this unfortunate expedition, Robert, king of Sicily, reflecting upon the injustice of possessing a kingdom that of right belonged to his nephew, sent for Andrew, the second surviving son of Charles, with the intention of giving him his grand-daughter in marriage, and declaring him his heir. Charles, upon receiving this message from his uncle, went with his son to Naples, and a dispensation being granted by the pope, the marriage was celebrated between the two cousins, Andrew being then but seven years of age, and his bride only five. The year after Charles returned from Italy, he had a visit from John, king of Bohemia, with his son Charles, and Casimir, king of Poland, who were magnificently entertained by him at the

*Charles
goes with
his son An-
drew to
Naples.*

the castle of Wissegrad, where a defensive alliance was concluded betwixt them. He had a visit likewise, three years afterwards from Locha, duke of the Rutheni, desiring to conclude a peace, which was agreed to between them. Not long after Casimir, king of Poland, came again into Hungary, attended by a great many of his nobles, in presence of whom, and those of Hungary, he appointed his nephew Lewis, eldest son of Charles, his heir; and, after being treated in a royal manner, returned to Poland. Two years afterwards Charles died, having been long afflicted with the gout both in his feet and hands. He was universally lamented by his people, who, though they received him at first unwillingly, yet seemed not to be able to praise him enough after his death.

A.D. 1340.

Lewis, the eldest son of Charles, is declared heir to the king of Poland.

Upon the death of Charles, Lewis, his eldest son, was elected king with the unanimous consent of the states; and for courage, religion, and other virtues, he was not inferior to his father. In the beginning of his reign he immediately raised an army to reduce the Saxons of (G) Transylvania, who, hearing of the death of Charles, and despising the youth of his successor, had revolted, and intercepted the king's tribute. Lewis, marching with his army into Transylvania, quickly made himself master of several of their towns; upon which the Saxons thought fit to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, Lewis pardoning all those that quickly submitted. Upon the news of these successes Alexander, the duke of Walachia beyond the mountains, who had revolted from Charles, and could not be reduced by him, came of himself and submitted to Lewis, asking pardon; and, that he might not seem to defraud the king of his tribute, he presented him with a thousand pound weight of gold. Lewis having granted him a peace, sent him back loaded with no less rich presents.

A.D. 1342.

Lewis.

The Transylvanians revolt, but are quickly reduced by Lewis.

The duke of Walachia likewise submits.

About this time Elizabeth, widow of Charles, resolving to visit Rome, went into Dalmatia with a great retinue, and being transported into Apulia by two Venetian galleys, was received with great affection by her son Andrew, and his wife Joanna, who had now succeeded to the crown of Naples by the death of Robert. From Naples Elizabeth went to Rome, to visit the sacred places and relics of that city, where she bestowed in sacred donations great part of the money that she brought with her, which consisted in

(G) The ancestors of these Charlemagne, in his wars with Saxons are said to have been Wittikind.
transported into this country by

twenty-seven thousand pounds of refined silver, and twenty-one thousand pounds of pure gold. She returned again to Naples, where she continued some time, but being displeased with the levity of her daughter-in-law, she went back to Hungary, passing the Adriatic with four galleys of the king of Naples.

*Lewis
assists Cas-
imir against
the Lithua-
nians.*

Soon after the return of Elizabeth to Hungary, Lewis was engaged in assisting Casimir, king of Poland, in his expedition against the Lithuanians, with an intention to force them to renounce their idolatry and embrace Christianity. As they found the barbarians very obstinate, [they ravaged their country with fire and sword; but the south winds beginning to blow, they were obliged quickly to leave their country before the melting of the ice cut off their retreat. Lewis was soon after called upon by Casimir to assist him in his war with John, king of Bohemia, who, claiming the superiority of Schweidnitz, in Silesia, declared war against Casimir, who disputed that title. John entering Poland with an army, ravaged the country, and laid siege to Cracow; but Lewis marching to the assistance of Casimir, John consented to a truce for three weeks, during which time a peace was concluded, in which Lewis, and all the allies of Casimir were comprehended*.

*The Tar-
tars again
threaten to
invade
Hungary.*

While Lewis was engaged in assisting Casimir, the Tartars again threatened Hungary with an invasion; and news was brought that they were ravaging the borders of Transylvania. Upon this information Lewis marched with his army into that province, and giving the command under himself to the son of the vaivode, he engaged the barbarians, and, after an obstinate dispute, totally routed them, taking their duke prisoner, whom he caused to be immediately beheaded, and returned to Wissegrad with great booty and many prisoners. After this expedition Lewis was engaged in a war with the Croats and Dalmatians, who, by the intrigues of the Venetians, had revolted from the Hungarians, and taken possession of many castles and towns, which they had fortified. Lewis having concluded an alliance with Stephen, prince of Bosnia, whose daughter he afterwards married, was assisted by his troops, which joined his army at the Save. The allies had no sooner entered Croatia than the rebels, distrusting their strength, came and submitted, and, having obtained pardon, renewed their allegiance to Lewis.

*The Croa-
tians re-
volt, but
are subdued
by Lewis.*

A.D. 1346.

Croatia being subdued, and the inhabitants of Zara, who had a seventh time revolted from the Venetians, sent

* Vita Caroli IV. a seipso Scripta. Bonf. dec. ii. lib. x.

ambassadors to Lewis, offering, if he would march with an army to their protection, to surrender their city, country, and all their fortunes to him. The terms being accepted by the king of Hungary, he immediately marched with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, but, according to others, of only twenty thousand, into Dalmatia; but, before he could reach Zara, the Venetians had not only invested it with a fleet, but recovered several of the islands. Justinian also arriving with an army by land, he erected a fort near the town, and carried on the siege with the utmost vigour, with an intention of gaining the place before it should be relieved by the Hungarians. But the Zarans despairing of pardon, made a vigorous resistance, till the arrival of the Hungarians, when the Venetians were besieged in their turn. Lewis, next day after his arrival, ordered the Venetian fort to be attacked; but, notwithstanding the utmost bravery of his men, they were repulsed with great loss. A few days after he ordered another attack, and commanded that none should retreat; nevertheless, the Venetians, being assisted by the sailors from the fleet, made a most obstinate resistance, throwing boiling pitch over the walls, and using all other means of defence; so that the Hungarians, after continuing the attack till night, were obliged to retire with incredible loss. Lewis beginning to want provisions for his army, and despairing of dislodging the Venetians without a long siege, returned with his troops into Hungary, upon whose departure the Venetians soon made themselves masters of Zara, where they exercised all manner of cruelties upon the authors of the revolt.

*Zara
revolt
from the Venetians, and
claims the
protection
of Lewis;*

*who
marches to
their assistance, but
without
effect.*

The following year, Lewis marched with an army into Italy, to revenge the death of his brother Andrew, king of Naples, who had been strangled at Aversa by some conspirators, not without the approbation, as it was supposed, of Joanna his queen (H). Joanna, that she might clear herself

(H) Andrew was murdered on the 13th of September, 1345, at Aversa, in the nineteenth year of his age, the conspirators calling him up in the middle of the night from his queen, under pretence of his presence being immediately needed at Naples, to quell an insurrection of the people. He had hardly got out of his bed-chamber, when they threw a rope over

his head, and dragging him to the balcony of the hall, hung him from thence into the garden. The noise of the bustle awaking a Hungarian woman in waiting, she alarmed the palace; upon which the conspirators fled, not having time to bury the corpse in the garden, as they intended. This murder was generally believed to have been committed with

*Lewis
marche
into Italy
to revenge
the murder
of his brother.
He executes
several of
the murderers,
and takes possession of
Naples.*

A.C. 350.

*He returns
to Hungary
but is
again called
into
Italy.*

herself from the suspicion of being concerned in the murder, immediately wrote letters to Lewis, to pope Clement, and other Christian princes, professing her great sorrow for the action, and resentment against the murderers. However, as there were many presumptions against her, Lewis resolved to march into Italy, not only to examine into their murder, but in case Joanna were found guilty, to claim the kingdom; accordingly, entering Italy by Friuli, he was every where received with great respect, and joined by many princes, who attended him to Averfa, where he executed several of the murderers, and sent others, who were suspected to be guilty, prisoners into Hungary. From Averfa he marched to Naples, with a black standard, and striking a terror into the people, he was saluted by them king of Sicily and Jerusalem. Upon the news of his approach, Joanna, and Lewis of Tarentum, whom she had married, quitted Naples, and sailed to Avignon. In the mean time, Lewis changed the magistracy of Naples, and leaving a garrison in that city, marched against those places which still held for Joanna. Having reduced the most part of them, he put Hungarian garrisons into them, and leaving the administration of the kingdom, and the command of his army to Guilford Wolford, and his brother Conrad, two noble Germans, he crossed the Adriatic to Dalmatia, and returned to Hungary, having been about four months in Italy, which he quitted, upon account of the plague at that time raging there.

the privacy and consent of the queen(1). What contributed to fix this suspicion upon her, was the known levity of her disposition, her neglect in enquiring into, and punishing the murderers, her marriage afterwards with Lewis, second son of the prince of Tarentum, with whom she is said to have had an intrigue before the death of Andrew, and who was suspected to have been concerned in the murder; lastly, his confession upon her trial in 1351, that she was under the power of incantation, which hindered her from

loving her husband so well as she ought. However, Boccace and Petrarch(2) who were then alive, and both remarkable for their freedom of speech, lay no blame upon the queen, but accuse several of the nobles, who being sensible of the young king's regard to justice, and therefore afraid of an enquiry into their conduct, resolved upon that execrable deed. The queen was likewise acquitted by a decree of the apostolic see(3), but afterwards suffered the same fate with her husband,

(1) Villan. lib. xii. cap. 1.

(2) Petrarch. vi. Epistle Famil. v. ad Barbat. Sulmone Boccac. ix. de Casib. virillus, xxvi.

(3) Spond. Ann. ad an. 1351.

Upon the departure of Lewis, the Italians entered into a conspiracy to expel the Hungarians, and recall Joanna : but being defeated in two engagements, they failed in their attempt. However, Joanna and her husband returning again into Italy with a body of auxiliaries, and the nation threatening to revolt in their favour, Lewis ordered an army to follow him, and quickly passed over into Apulia by sea, with many of his nobles, and soon made himself master of the whole kingdom, either by force or voluntary submission. But at length, by the intercession of Guidon, apostolic legate, he consented to refer the determination of the matter to the apostolic see, on these conditions, viz. That if Joanna was found guilty, she should be deprived of her kingdom, which should be adjudged to Lewis ; but if she should be proved innocent, Lewis promised to restore to her all those places in his possession, upon receiving three hundred thousand florins of gold for the expences of the war. A truce being then agreed to for some months, Lewis went to the jubilee at Rome, and from thence returned to Hungary. The following year, Joanna being declared innocent by a sentence of the apostolic see, though her exculpation chiefly rested upon her declaring herself under the power of incantation, which prevented her from having an affection for her husband, and consequently encouraged others to conspire his death^z; Lewis immediately resigned all right to her kingdom, and to shew her he did not make war from an ambitious view, likewise forgave the payment of the three hundred thousand florins^z.

The affair is at last determined by the pope.

A few years afterwards, he was engaged in a war with the Venetians, upon account of Dalmatia. Having in vain endeavoured, by means of a negotiation, to prevail with them to quit their possessions in that kingdom, he invaded their territories with a very numerous army, and having taken a great many towns, at last laid siege to Treviso. The Venetians, though they omitted no means of defence, and hired a great body of German auxiliaries, yet sent an embassy, desiring peace. Their terms being rejected by the king of Hungary, the siege was carried on with great vigour on both sides. Soon after the Venetians sent another embassy to Lewis, offering to give up a great part of Dalmatia, to hold the rest of him by an annual tribute, and to pay all the expences of the present war ; but Lewis insisting upon the whole province, the ambassadors returned, and the siege continued. Soon after, the Germans

He invades the territories of the Venetians, and besieges Treviso.

^z Spond. Ann. ad ann. 1351. Math. Villan. lib. ii. cap. xxiv. xli. & lib. ii. 68. 19,

in his army revolting, and the Hungarians mutinying for want of provisions, Lewis was forced to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace upon worse terms than those offered by the Venetians. While Lewis was before Treviso, he received letters from the pope and council of cardinals, declaring him standard-bearer of the holy church against the infidels. Lewis afterwards concluded an alliance with Carraro and the Genoese, whom he assisted against the Venetians, and gave assistance to the pope against Barnabo Visconti, then harassing Lombardy. He was likewise soon after engaged in a war against the Bulgarians, whom he reduced, taking their king prisoner.

Not long after, by the death of Casimir, he succeeded to the throne of Poland, and was crowned with unanimous consent at Cracow. Having settled the affairs of that kingdom, he was engaged in a war against the Walachians, whom he reduced. Joanna, queen of Naples, favouring the antipope Clement against Urban VI. the pope excommunicated her, and resolving to dethrone her, sent to Lewis, desiring him to concur in assisting Charles de Duras, a prince of the blood of Naples, in obtaining that crown. Upon the entreaties of the pope, Lewis ordered a body of eight thousand Hungarians to march to Naples along with Charles, who then commanded the king's army in Treviso. Charles being likewise joined by many Italians, marched against Joanna; and having defeated her fourth husband, Otho of Brunswick, and taken her prisoner, he ordered her to be strangled, at the request of the king of Hungary. The same year, Lewis, by his continual expeditions and fatigues, having ruined his health, died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fortieth of his reign; having, before his death, resigned the kingdom to his daughter Mary, whom he had betrothed to Sigismund, marquis of Brandenburg, and second son of the emperor Charles IV. who, in expectation of this alliance, had been educated in Hungary from his childhood. Lewis was a great lover of learning, and was commended for his prudence, generosity; and fortitude.

Lewis leaving no male children, the states of the kingdom unanimously chose his eldest daughter Mary to succeed to the crown, and from their regard to the memory of her father, declared her king of Hungary, which title she retained till her marriage with Sigismund, which was celebrated three years after. In the mean time, her mother, Elizabeth, had the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and was assisted in every thing with the advice and counsel of Nicolas Gara, whom Lewis, upon account of his

A.C. 1370.

He is engaged in a war against the Walachians.

He assists Charles Duras in obtaining the crown of Naples.

A.D. 1382.

Mary is declared king of Hungary.

his services, had raised to the dignity of palatine. The beginning of her administration gave great satisfaction to all ranks; but being prevailed upon, by the suggestions of Gara, to curb the power of the nobility, they conspired against her and their female king, and secretly made an offer of their crown to Charles de Duras, king of Naples. Charles landing at Segnia, with a few attendants from Apulia, was immediately joined by many of the nobles with their vassals, and marched from thence to Buda, his army continually increasing on his march. Mary and Elizabeth not having forces to oppose him, dissembled their knowledge of his intention; and Sigismund, having celebrated his marriage, and retired to Bohemia, they received Charles as a friend and relation. Charles at first assumed only the title of Guardian of the kingdom, but finding his party increase, he called an assembly of the states, at Buda, where Mary was deposed, and he himself declared king^a. Elizabeth, finding her daughter thus unjustly deprived of her right, consulted with the palatine how to take off Charles; and having agreed with one Blasius Forgach, who undertook to assassinate him, soon after Elizabeth invited Charles to her apartment, under pretence of seeing some letters which she had received from Sigismund; and while he was reading the letters, Blasius struck him on the head, of which wound he died three days after. The queen's friends, who were in readiness, immediately took possession of the palace, and expelled the Italians, who, upon the king's death, left Hungary, finding Mary now supported with the universal favour of the people. The two queens, thinking that all was quite by the death of Charles, resolved to visit the southern parts of the kingdom, and going with a few attendants towards the Save, they were unexpectedly attacked by John Horvatus, the governor of Croatia, who had been one of Charles's greatest friends. The palatine and Forgach were killed in the attack, and Elizabeth, by order of Horvatus, was thrown into the river Bozota, while Mary was carried into Croatia, and there thrown into prison. In the mean time, Sigismund having raised an army in Brandenburg and Bohemia, and being informed of the death of Charles, marched into Hungary, where he was joined by many of the nobles, and conducted to Buda. John Horvatus hearing that Sigismund had got peaceable possession of Hungary, immediately was reconciled to Mary, and set her at liberty, after having made her swear to forget all that was passed.

*The nobles
revolt, and
send for
Charles,
king of
Naples.*

A.C. 1385.

*Charles is
declared
king, but
murdered
soon after.*

A.D. 1386.

A.D. 1387.

*Sigismund
marches
into Hun-
gary with
an army,
and is de-
clared king.*

^a Thuroz in Car. par. cap. ii. usque ad vii.

Upon her return to Buda, she was received with the utmost congratulation, and at her intreaty, her husband Sigismund, then twenty years of age, was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Strigonia. The same year, Hedwige, the youngest daughter of Lewis, who, in his right, had succeeded to the crown of Poland, was married to Jagello, duke of Lithunia, who consented to become Christian, and at his baptism took the name of Ladislaus.

Sigismund, soon after his coronation, resolved upon an expedition against Horvatus, who had fled to Dobor, in Bosnia, where the bishop of Zagabria, and many of the nobles, who had favoured Charles, now resided, and by their artifices had persuaded Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, to revolt from their allegiance to the king. Horvatus being taken prisoner as he was endeavouring to escape, Sigismund soon after made himself master of Dobor, and having thus got the chiefs of the rebellion in his power, the provinces soon submitted. Returning with his army to the city of the Five Churches, Horvatus was there put to death with the most cruel torments, and the bishop of Zagabria banished. After this Sigismund marched against the Walachians, who, encouraged by the civil dissensions in Hungary, had revolted from their allegiance, and fortified the passes in the mountains. Sigismund, after an obstinate dispute, having gained those passes, afterwards besieged the chief town of the vaivode, who thereupon quickly submitted; and, upon promise of future obedience, was pardoned by the king. Nevertheless, two years afterwards they again rebelled; and, being assisted by some Turks from Thrace, which country those barbarians had lately subdued under Amurath, they made incursions into Hungary, plundering the frontier provinces. The king, resolving to punish their perfidy, raised a great army, with which he marched into their country^b, gaining a signal victory, afterwards took the lesser Nicopolis upon the Danube, and reduced the whole country. During his absence upon this expedition, his queen died, without having had any children; upon the news of which, Ladislaus, king of Poland, prepared to invade Hungary, which he claimed in right of his wife; but the archbishop of Strigonia quickly raising an army, and guarding the passes, he was prevented from entering the kingdom. Three years afterwards, Sigismund was engaged in a war with Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, who had invaded Bulgaria, then subject to Hungary. Bajazet having given an insulting answer to the am-

*He marches
against the
Walachians, and
reduces
them.*

*They again
revolt and
are assisted
by the Tar-
tars from
Thrace.*

^b Dubrav. lib. xxv. p. 207. Bonf. dec. iii. lib. iii.

ambassadors of Sigismund, he made great preparations for war, and sent to the king of France, and many other princes, desiring their assistance against those barbarians. His army being at length augmented to the number of one hundred thousand men, by auxiliaries and volunteers, from France, England, and Flanders^c, he marched against the enemy, not only confident of victory, but boasting, that if heaven was to fall, his number of pikes would support it. Bajazet being informed, Froissard says particularly (I) by John Galias, duke of Milan, of the great preparations that were making against him, sent for great supplies out of Asia, and increased his army to two hundred thousand men. In the mean time, the Christian army having passed the Danube, took several towns, and put the Turkish garrisons to the sword. Advancing afterwards, they besieged Nicopolis; and Bajazet coming up with his army, a general engagement ensued, in which the Christians were entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men, by the precipitate courage of the French, who resolving to be the first that attacked the enemy, began the engagement before the Hungarians got out of their camp. In the attack, finding their horses galled by the Turkish arrows, they dismounted and engaged on foot; in the mean time, their horses returning to the camp without their riders, struck a panic into the rest of the army, who, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of Sigismund, immediately fled in confusion^d. The Turks, though they lost sixty thousand men in the battle, yet gained the Christian camp, and took many prisoners, among them were several nobles, who, after many years captivity, were set at liberty, upon paying a ransom of two hundred thousand crowns.

He marches with a great army against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks.

A.D. 1396:

Is entirely defeated.

After this defeat, Sigismund crossed the Danube with a few attendants in a small boat, and fled to Constantiople; from whence by sea he returned to Dalmatia, where he

^c Froissard. tom. iv. cap. lxxvi. Thuroz in Sigism. cap. viii. Dubrav. cap. xxv. p. 202. Bonf. dec. iii. lib. ii. ^d Thuroz in Sigism. cap. viii. Bonf. dec. iii. lib. ii.

(I) According to Froissard, with whom he had contracted an alliance, gave him information of the preparations against him, mentioning the names of the princes and nobles; their manner of fighting, and the best method of attacking them(1).

(1) Froissard cap. lxxii. & lxxiii.

The Hungarians revolt against him, and send for Ladislaus king of Naples.

continued for two and twenty months; the faction of Charles de Duras, upon his defeat, having again entered into a conspiracy against him, and secretly invited Ladislaus, king of Naples, and son of Charles, to accept of their crown, which, they said, belonged to him by right since the death of Mary. The minds of the people being in some measure appeased by means of the bishop of Strigonia and some other nobles that continued faithful, Sigismund at last entered Hungary, but thought fit to dissemble his knowledge of the conspirators, who thereupon grew more confident, and an assembly of the states being appointed a few years afterwards, they assembled armed, there took their king prisoner, and committed him to the keeping of the sons of the late palatine Gara, who were the chiefs of the malecontents. Upon the imprisonment of Sigismund, the malecontents immediately assumed the government in the name of Ladislaus, who made some difficulty of trusting himself among the Hungarians. At last, being informed that his faction was every where predominant, he quitted Italy, and landing at Zara, was received as king, and crowned in that city by the cardinal Acciajoli^e; though Buda, and several strong places in Upper Hungary, still held for Sigismund.

A.D. 1403.

Ladislaus V. who is declared king,

Ladislaus, mindful of the fate of his father, proceeded with caution, and advanced into the kingdom no farther than Javarin, having appointed Thomas of St. Severin to govern as viceroy. In the mean time Sigismund, after two years imprisonment, having been set at liberty by the sons of Gara, who were reconciled to him by the mediation of their mother, went into Bohemia, where he quickly raised a great army, and returning to Hungary, with the assistance of those who continued faithful, he soon recovered most of the strong places in the kingdom. Ladislaus, astonished at this revolution, immediately left Hungary, and sent a letter to Sigismund, excusing the part that he had acted. Sigismund, having again recovered the kingdom, gave a general pardon to the rebels, very few excepted; and finding his authority established, he summoned an assembly of the states in Sclavonia, where he ordered Stephen, vaivode of Transylvania, and several other chiefs of the rebels, to be put to death. Among other things, Stephen was accused of inviting the Turks to invade Hungary, they having made incursions betwixt the Drave and the Save during the rebellion on account of Ladislaus.

but quits Hungary on Sigismund's approach with an army.

A.D. 1410.

Not many years after, Sigismund was elected emperor of Germany, and presided at the council of Constance, where

^e Niem. lib. ii. cap. 17 & 18.

John Hufs and Jerome of Prague were condemned and burnt for heresy^f, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of the emperor. Soon after his being elected emperor, he was engaged in a war with the Venetians about Dalmatia, which they claimed, as being sold to them by Ladislaus, before his departure to Italy. Sigismund, not acknowledging their claim, sent an army against the Venetians, and defeated them in Frioul; but soon after, a truce was agreed to for five years. His brother Wenceslaus dying four years afterwards, he succeeded to the crown of Bohemia; but the disciples of John Hufs having taken arms to revenge the death of their master, and assert their own liberty of conscience, defeated him in five engagements^h, and obliged him to quit the kingdom. Two years afterwards, Sigismund again entered Bohemia with an army, but was again defeated, and obliged to retire to Silesia; the Hussites offering the crown of Bohemia to Coribut, nephew of the duke of Lithuania. While Sigismund was engaged in restoring peace to the church, and reducing Bohemia, the duke of Spolatri revolted, and called in the Turks to his assistance, defeated the Hungarian troops that were sent against him. The Walachians likewise rebelled, and being assisted by the Turks, defeated Loconsius their governor. However, Nicholas the Macedonian soon after, being assisted with some Hungarian troops, gained two signal victories over the Turks in Servia; nevertheless, they still continued to make irruptions into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Austria, and even as far as Aquileia. The ravages of the Turks being in some measure repressed by Nicholas, who had got the command of the armies in Hungary, Sigismund went into Italy, and was crowned with the iron crown at Milan; and after spending two years in that kingdom, was likewise crowned emperor at Rome.

The following year, the Taborites in Bohemia being entirely defeated by the Hussites their brethren, who, grieved at the desolation of their country, had joined the Catholic nobles and extirpated those ravagers; an embassy was immediately sent to Sigismund at Ratisbon, who, confirming their privileges, was declared king; and two years afterwards was solemnly crowned at Prague, with his queen. Sigismund, to prevent any more disturbances in that kingdom, took the remains of the Taborites into his pay, and sent them into Hungary, where they gained a signal victory over the Turks, who had again made an irruption into the

Sigismund is elected emperor.

A.D. 1420.

He is chosen king of Bohemia, but is defeated by the Hussites.

A.D. 1431.

The Turks ravage the frontiers of Hungary.

The Hussites at last submit, and Sigismund is crowned king of Bohemia.

^f. See Niem. Hist. of the Emp.

^h Avent. lib. vii. p. 652.

southern provinces. Sigismund, finding his health declining, quitted Prague, and went to Zuoyma, in Moravia, where he died, in the seventieth year of his age, and thirty-first year of his reign over Hungary, in the twenty-seventh year of his imperial reign, and the seventeenth year of his reign over Bohemia. Before his death, he presented Albert II. duke of Austria, his son-in-law, to the nobles of both kingdoms as his successor.

A.D. 1438.

*Albert is
chosen king
of Hungary,
and soon
after elect-
ed emperor
and king
of Bohemia.*

Upon the death of Sigismund, the Hungarians elected Albert, duke of Austria, for their king, who had married Elizabeth, Sigismund's only daughter, by his second wife Barbara, daughter of the count of Cilley. Albert, the same year, was likewise elected emperor, and king of Bohemia. The states of Hungary made some opposition to his accepting the imperial dignity, but at length they absolved him from his promise of not accepting it, and he was soon after crowned at Aix la Chapelle. In Bohemia he was opposed by the sect of the Hussites, or Callixtines, who invited Casimir, the brother of the king of Poland, a boy of thirteen years of age, to be their king. Notwithstanding this faction, Albert entered Bohemia, and was crowned at Prague; and soon after, with the assistance of Albert, the Achilles of Brandenburg, expelled the Poles, and obliged the malecontents to submit. In the mean time, Amurath II. had invaded Servia, resenting the treaty which George, the despot, had concluded with Albert of Hungary, and though the despot had several sons, claiming the succession to Servia, because he had married his daughter. George, not being able to oppose the arms of the Turks, fled into Hungary, asking assistance against his enemy. Upon the news of this invasion, Albert, taking a great number of the Calixtines and Taborites into his pay, quitted Bohemia, and, arriving in Hungary, marched with his army against the Turks, who, in the mean time had taken Semendria, after a two months siege, and put out the eyes of two of the despot's sons. Albert being informed of this, and that Amurath had again returned home, he dismissed his army, and returned to Buda; where, upon eating too liberally of melons, he was seized with a dysentery, of which he died soon after at Nefmél, in his way to Vienna, in the second year of his reign, leaving behind him two daughters, and his queen Elizabeth big with child^m.

*The Turks
invade
Servia,
and take
Semendria.*

*Albert
raises an
army
against the
Turks, but
dies soon
after.*

Dubrav. Hist. Boh. lib. xx. p. 230. Æn. Syl. Hist. Boh. cap. 56. Bonf. decad. viii. lib. iv.

Upon the death of Albert, Elizabeth, remembering the fate of Mary, daughter of Lewis, proposed to the states to elect a governor of the kingdom to assist her in the administration. Upon her request, it was proposed to send an embassy to Uladislaus, king of Poland, offering him the crown; and that Elizabeth should marry him, and their children inherit Hungary. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, Elizabeth being delivered of a son, orders were sent after them to prevent them from executing their commission; notwithstanding which, they proceeded to Cracow, and made an offer of their crown to Uladislaus, who, consenting to accept of it, immediately raised an army, and went with the ambassadors into Hungary, where he was generally received as king. However, the greatest part of the nobles adhering to Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albert, he was crowned at Albe Royal, by the bishop of Strigonia, in a very full assembly, when he was only four months old. Ladislaus being thus legally crowned, his mother went with him immediately into Austria, and put him under the guardianship of the emperor Frederic, having privately carried with her the sacred crown. The Bohemians, upon hearing of the death of Albert, called an assembly of the states, and made an offer of their crown to Albert, duke of Bavaria, and to the emperor Frederic; but those princes refusing to accept of it, they acknowledged Ladislaus for their king, and appointed two governors to manage the affairs of the kingdom during his minority.

A.D. 1440.

Ladislaus is crowned king at four months old.

During the absence of the queen, the faction of Ladislaus every day increased, and his claim being espoused by the governor of Croatia, and John Corvin, the Hungarian vauode of Transylvania, he was crowned at Albe Royal with a crown from the head of the image of St. Stephen, the sacred crown being missing. Upon the news of the coronation of Uladislaus, and the loss of the sacred crown, all Hungary was in confusion; and being divided into two factions, the one supported by the Germans, and the other by the Poles, a civil war immediately ensued, which continued for several months, with various success and great calamity to both parties, till at last a peace was concluded; by which it was agreed, that the king of Poland should govern Hungary during the minority of Ladislaus, and succeed him in case he died without issue; that he should likewise marry the eldest of the daughters of Elizabeth, and his brother Casimir the youngest. By the unexpected death of Elizabeth, the war was again renewed; but, at the

A.D. 1441.

Uladislaus is likewise declared king.

ⁿ Dlugos's Hist. Pol. lib. xii, Bonf. decad. iii. lib. v.

solicitation of the cardinal Julian, and the bishop of Agris, a treaty was again set on foot, and the peace of Elizabeth was confirmed by both parties, who now resolved to turn their arms against the Turks.

Amurath, upon hearing of the death of Albert, had returned with his army, and besieged Belgrade; but, after lying seven months before the place, he was obliged to retire with great loss. Next year he returned with an army, and passing the Theysse, ravaged all the country betwixt that river and the Danube, but was entirely defeated by John Corvin, near Belgrade; who likewise, the same year, defeated another army of the enemy that had invaded his province of Transylvania; sending a cart, loaded with the heads of the Turks, to Uladisslaus. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Turks soon after invaded Walachia, but were again routed by Corvin, with the loss of half their army, and all their tents, baggage, and artillery. Amurath, alarmed with these continual losses, resolved upon an expedition in person against the Hungarians; which Uladisslaus being informed of, he sent to the pope, the emperor, and many other Christian princes, asking their assistance against the infidels, and, at the same time, made great preparations in his own kingdom. The pope having ordered a crusade to be preached against the Turks, many volunteers flocked into Hungary, and early in the spring the king was in motion with his army; and being joined by all the reinforcements about the middle of May, he passed the Theysse, and marched along the Danube into Bulgaria; and having taken and plundered Sophia, encamped afterwards on the banks of the Morava. The Turkish army being encamped at a small distance, the king gave the command of ten thousand horse to John Corvin, who attacking

*A crusade
is preached
against the
Turks.*

A.D. 1443.

*Who are
defeated
by John
Corvin.*

their camp in the night, gained a signal victory, killing thirty thousand of the enemy, and taking four thousand prisoners, and nine standards, with the loss of only five hundred men ° (K). Having plundered and burnt the enemy's

• Bonf. *ibid.* Thuroz. cap. 40.

(K) This is the account of the Hungarian writers; but Æneas Sylvius, who was then secretary to the emperor Frederic, mentioning this victory of the Hunnaide (1) says, that the Hungarians amplified the account; writing to Frederic that thirty thousand of the Turks were slain, and many more tak-

en prisoners. Whereas the cardinal Julian, who was present, wrote to the emperor, that only six thousand were slain. Æneas, likewise, elsewhere asserts from the letters of the same Julian (2), that only two thousand were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners.

(1) Æneas de Europ. cap. 5.

(2) *Id.* epist. 44. & 81.

camp,

camp, he returned to Uladislaus, who, by the persuasion of cardinal Julian, directed his march for Adrianople, which was within six days journey. The Christian army marched for some time upon a Roman way, but was soon interrupted by the mountain Hemus, which the season of the year rendered impassable, it being then the end of December: a retreat being therefore ordered, they were soon after attacked by another Turkish army under the command of Carambus; but in this engagement the Turks were entirely defeated by Corvin, and Corambus himself taken prisoner. Uladislaus, upon his return to Buda, was congratulated by the Christian princes, and great preparations were made for the following campaign, not only in Hungary but likewise in Poland and Italy; the Venetians and Genoeſe having fitted out a fleet of seventy ſail to guard the Hellespont, and prevent ſuccours coming to the Turks from Aſia. Amurath, informed of thoſe great preparations, and his dominions being threatened to be attacked in Aſia by the prince of Caramania, concluded a peace with Uladislaus for ten years. Upon the concluſion of the peace, Amurath ſent part of his troops into Aſia, and employed the reſt of his army againſt Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, who had revolted. The Turks being thus engaged in civil diviſions, the cardinal Julian, at the inſtigati- on of the pope, prevailed with Uladislaus to break the peace a few months after it had been made. Accordingly, he marched from Segedin on the 20th of September, and having taken ſome towns in Bulgaria, and defeated ſeveral bodies of the enemy, he was informed that Amurath, having deceived and bribed thoſe who guarded the Hellespont, had paſſed over into Europe with a great army. Uladislaus ſtill advancing, marched on the left of the mountain Hemus, and in ten days came to the coaſt of the Euxine Sea, and encamped at Varna; the Turkiſh gariſons every where ſubmitting to him. Amurath at laſt arriving, the two armies engaged near Varna, and, after a long reſiſtance, the Chriſtians were entirely defeated, and Uladislaus himſelf killed. Corvin, immediately retreating with the remains of the army over the Danube, marched through Walachia, and returned to Hungary; where, recruiting his forces, he marched again towards Servia, hearing that the Turks had advanced within twenty miles of the Save. The two armies coming within view of each other, Corvin paſſed the Save in the night, and attacking the Turkiſh camp, gained a complete victory.

Amurath concludes a peace with the Hungarians, which is violated by Uladislaus.

The Chriſtians are entirely defeated, and Uladislaus killed.

The ſtates of Hungary ſoon after aſſembling to deliberate upon the choice of a new king, it was unanimouſly reſolved

The states of Hungary send for young Ladislaus from the emperor. John Corvin is appointed governor of the kingdom during his minority.

Corvin marches against the Turks, but is defeated.

A.D. 1445.

He again engages the Turks and defeats them near Chrysonicum.

to send for young Ladislaus from Germany, and to appoint a person to govern the kingdom during his minority. Accordingly, ambassadors were sent to the emperor Frederic, demanding their king, and the sacred crown of St. Stephen; but their request being denied, John Corvin, who had been chosen governor, declared war against the emperor, and raising an army, ravaged Austria, Stiria, and Carinthia: but Frederic still refusing to give up his pupil, the governor returned to Hungary to prepare for a war against the Turks. Being joined by the apostolic legate, and a great many nobles, he passed the Danube with an army of twenty-two thousand men, and marched into Rascia or Servia, endeavouring to engage the despot George in the expedition; but George, afraid of the resentment of the Turks, excused himself from giving any assistance, and secretly gave advice to Amurath of the strength of the Hungarian army. Upon this refusal of the despot, Corvin marched through his country, in a hostile manner, into Bulgaria, expecting a strong reinforcement from Scanderbeg, prince of Albania. The Albanians delaying their march, and Amurath cutting off provisions from the Hungarian army, Corvin resolved to give him battle. Accordingly, the two armies engaging, the action continued the whole day with great obstinacy, the Hungarians having repulsed five different bodies of the enemy, and having dined and supped upon the field. Early next day the action was renewed, and continued till night, with great loss to the Turks. On the third day the engagement was decisive, for the Hungarians being spent with the fatigue, and many of them wounded, were at last overpowered by the Turks; eight thousand of them being slain, and Corvin himself with great difficulty escaping. After having travelled alone in the woods for several days, and falling into the hands of robbers, he came at last to Semendria; but was detained by the despot George, and obliged to leave his son a hostage for his ransom.

The following year, the governor was again engaged in a war with the Turks. Amurath having attacked Servia, in revenge for the despot's setting Corvin at liberty, Corvin, though he had immediately after his return obliged the despot to send home his son without ransom; yet forgetting his former injuries, willingly marched to his assistance against the Turks, whom he defeated near Chrysonicum. In the mean time, the count of Ciley, governor of Austria for the young king Ladislaus, envious of the glory

• Bonf. decad. iii. lib. i. ZEn. Europ. lib. vi. Thuroz. Chron. Hung. cap. 46, 47.

of Corvin, excited some parties of Bohemians and Moravians to attack Upper Austria, and by secret practices alienated many of the nobles from the governor; but the Hunniad, marching with some troops from Lower Hungary that were attached to him, soon repulsed the invaders, and quieted the commotions.

About this time the Hungarians, being informed that the emperor Frederic was going into Italy to be crowned at Rome, again sent an embassy, demanding their prince; the Bohemians and Austrians likewise requesting the same. The ambassadors again being denied by the emperor, the Bohemians immediately called an assembly of the states, and deliberated about the choice of another king; but Lucas Sylvius being sent to them from Frederic, by his persuasion they were prevailed with to lay aside their design, and even to send many of their nobles to attend the emperor. The Austrians, upon Frederic's return, revolted against their governor, and besieged Newstadt, declaring to the emperor, that he must either restore them their prince, or expect a war. Frederic, not being in a condition to oppose their arms, at last consented to their demands; and Ladislaus being delivered up to the Austrians, an assembly was appointed to be held at Vienna, to which the nobles of Hungary and Bohemia were invited. At this assembly it was ordained, that, during the king's minority, John Corvin should govern Hungary; George Podiebrad, Bohemia; and Ulric, count of Ciley, Austria; and that Ladislaus, in the mean time, should continue with the count of Ciley.

Soon after, Ladislaus went to Presburg, to be present at an assembly of the states of Hungary; returning from thence to Vienna, he went afterwards to Bohemia, and was crowned with great solemnity at Prague. Upon his return to Vienna, the count of Ciley, ambitious of the government of Hungary, accused John Corvin to the king; but the governor having justified himself from the accusations of his rival, went into Lower Hungary to oppose the Turks, who, having taken Constantinople, were ravaging Servia, and threatening to invade Hungary. Three years afterwards, Mahomet II. elated with the conquest of Constantinople, marched with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to besiege Belgrade; upon the news of which, Ladislaus, who was then at Buda with his uncle, despairing of the success of his arms against so great a force, quitted Hungary, and, under a pretence of hunting, fled to Vienna. In the mean time John Corvin, having defeated the Turkish

A.D. 1452.

Ladislaus is at last delivered to his subjects.

A.D. 1456.

The Turks besiege Belgrade, but are defeated with great loss by John Corvin.

fleet on the Dauube, threw himself into Belgrade with a strong reinforcement, and was joined by Capistran, a Franciscan; who, having preached a crusade in Germany against the Turks, was followed by forty thousand men. After having continued a month before the town, Mahomet gave orders for a general assault; but, though his troops had penetrated into the market-place, he was repulsed with the loss of forty thousand men, and most of his artillery, he himself being carried half-dead into his camp, which obliged the Turks immediately to quit the siege.

Not many days after this signal victory, John Corvin died of a fever at Zemlin, leaving behind him two sons, Ladislaus and Mathias; Ladislaus the eldest succeeding him in his government, to the great regret of the count of Ciley, who conspired his death, in order to succeed to the government of the kingdom. The king hearing of the defeat of the Turks, returned to Hungary, and soon after went to Belgrade, attended by his uncle, who was there slain by the friends of Ladislaus. The king, though greatly moved at the murder, pardoned the sons of Corvin and their friends, which pardon he solemnly confirmed by an oath over the eucharist; but, upon his return to Buda, he ordered Ladislaus, who had attended him thither, to be put to death; and Mathias with his friends to be kept close prisoners, whom he carried with him to Vienna. From Vienna he soon after went to Prague, to celebrate his nuptials with Magdalene, daughter of the king of France, but died suddenly of a colic, before his wife had left that kingdom; being greatly lamented by the Bohemians, but not much regretted by the Hungarians, upon account of his quitting the kingdom at the siege of Belgrade, and afterwards putting Ladislaus to death, contrary to his oath.

Ladislaus goes to Prague to celebrate his nuptials, but dies of a surfeit.

A.D 1457.

The same day that Ladislaus died, Mathias, then a prisoner, was sent for into Bohemia, in expectation of his pardon, by a counterfeit order from the king; but was detained by George Podiebrad. In the mean time his uncle, Michael Ziglag, hearing of the death of Ladislaus, and his safety, and knowing that as the royal line was extinct, there would be great disputes about the succession, immediately assembled an army of twenty thousand men, composed of Hungarians, Germans, Bohemians, and Transylvanians; Elizabeth, the widow of Corvin, liberally furnishing money in favour of her son. The nobles, having

A.D. 1458.

Mathias, son of John Corvin, is declared king.

1 Æn Europ. cap. viii. Boem. cap. lxy. Thuroz. in Ladif. cap. lxy. Boufin. dec. iii. lib. viii. Chalcond. cap. viii. Meyer, lib. xvi.

got a safe-conduct from Michael, assembled in the neighbourhood of Pest, in order to elect a king; but, during their deliberations, being surrounded by his army, they were obliged to chuse Mathias; though many of them favoured the emperor, and some even expected the crown for themselves. Mathias, having paid sixty thousand crowns to Podiebrad for his ransom, and contracted an alliance with him by marrying his daughter, returned to Hungary, and was received at Buda, by the nobles, as their king. In the mean time the emperor took possession of Lower Austria; his brother Albert, of the Upper; and their cousin Sigismund, of Carinthia; and George Podiebrad, by the favour of the Hussite faction, got himself elected king of Bohemia. Mathias, finding that his authority was not fully established for want of being crowned, declared war against the emperor, who still retained the crown of St. Stephen; pretending that he himself had been elected king of Hungary. After some engagements, Frederic consented to renounce all right to Hungary, and to restore the crown*. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, Mathias was engaged in a war with the Bohemians; who, since the time of the death of Albert, had possessed several towns in Upper Hungary, and frequently disturbed the rest of the kingdom by their incursions and ravages, having been first called in by the empress Elizabeth, to support her infant Ladislaus against the Polish faction. The Bohemians being defeated in several engagements, their chief, Gisera, at last submitted, and, delivering up the towns in his possession, was pardoned by the king. Mathias, having quieted Hungary, marched with an army into Bosnia, and recovered Jaza, the capital, which had been surprised by the Turks; from thence he returned to Buda, and the crown having been brought back from Germany, by an escort of three thousand horse, he was solemnly crowned in the sixth year of his reign. The following year Mathias, having concluded an alliance with the Venetians, by which they stipulated to pay him yearly sixty thousand crowns, he marched with an army into Rascia, and besieged Zojnich; but a rumour prevailing that Mahomet was marching, with a great army, to the relief of the place, he suddenly quitted the siege, and returned to Hungary; from whence he sent ambassadors to Rome, to ask assistance against the infidels. Soon after Mathias marched into Transylvania against the vaivode, who had

A. D. 1463.

He declares war a gainst the emperor.

A. D. 1464.

Mathias defeats the Turks in Bosnia.

* Thuroz. cap. lx.

revolted, and assumed the title of king; upon his approach the vaiводе submitted, declaring, that he was called king against his inclination. From thence Mathias marched into Moldavia, which had likewise rebelled, and given assistance to the Transylvanians; here he was attacked in the night in the city Bania, but, according to Bonfinius^x, defeated the rebels with great slaughter; though, in the beginning of the action, he was wounded in the back with an arrow, the head of which continued in the wound for four years; but, according to others, Mathias was obliged to fly, having received three wounds, and lost ten thousand men^y.

A.D. 1468.

*Mathias
agrees to a
truce with
the Turks.*

The year after, Mahomet being engaged in a war in Syria and Egypt, Mathias consented to a truce with the Turks; and having accepted of the kingdom of Bohemia, offered to him by the pope, he marched with an army into Moravia, in order to dethrone George Podiebrad; but being unsuccessful in his attempt upon some places, he left his army in Moravia, and returned to Hungary, having had a conference with George. Early in the following spring, he returned to Moravia, and was crowned king of Bohemia at Olmutz^z; but George dying two years afterwards, the Bohemians elected Uladislaus, the son of the king of Poland, who was soon after crowned at Prague. Mathias, incensed at this, resolved to force the Bohemians to acknowledge him for their king, though, at the same time, he was threatened with the loss of his own kingdom; for the nobles, displeased with his arbitrary government, had offered their crown to Casimir, second son of the king of Poland, who had entered Hungary with a Polish army, and was joined by a great many Hungarians. Mathias, having gained over some of the chiefs of that faction, marched against Casimir, who, finding himself too weak, many of the Hungarians having fallen off from him, quitted the kingdom without an engagement. The war with Bohemia and Poland was at last concluded by a peace in Moravia, by which Moravia and Silesia was ceded to Mathias, and Bohemia and Lusatia left to Uladislaus.

A.D. 1474.

The Hungarians rebel against their king, and chuse Casimir, who is defeated by Mathias.

While Mathias was engaged in these wars, the Turks had taken Negropont and the Morea, subdued Transylvania, and had ravaged Dalmatia and Croatia, and made incursions as far as Frioul; they had likewise built a strong fort on the side of the Save, from whence they had made continual inroads into Hungary. Mathias being now at peace with the Christians, turned the whole force of his

^x Bonf. dec. iv. lib. i. lib. xxiii.

^y Michov. lib. iv. cap. lxxviii. Cromer, ^z Bonf. dec. iv. lib. ii.

arms against the Turks, and having taken and destroyed the new fort on the Save, he blocked up Semendria, which he proposed to besiege in form the following year. But while he was engaged in celebrating his marriage with Beatrice, daughter of the king of Sicily, Mahomet made an irruption into Dalmatia, and, in his return, raised the blockade of Semendria; and, passing the Danube, ravaged Servia, after which he again passed the Danube on the ice, and retired into Bulgaria^a. Notwithstanding those daring inroads of the Turks, Mathias neglecting to oppose their encroachments, turned his arms against the emperor, who had complained of his marriage as an infraction of the treaty concluded between them, and had begun to commit hostilities in Upper Hungary. Having marched with an army into Austria, he took several places, and besieged Vienna, which obliged the emperor to conclude a peace, by which he renounced all right to Austria, and promised to pay a hundred and thirty thousand crowns for the charges of the war. The Venetians and the pope having refused to pay him his yearly subsidy, since he had engaged in the war against the emperor, he withdrew his garrisons from Dalmatia; which the Turks being informed of, they immediately made an irruption into that country, ravaging all with fire and sword; and having defeated the Venetians, obliged them to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Two years afterwards Mahomet II. dying at Nicomedia, and his sons disputing about the succession, Mathias ordered great levies to be made, with a design of attacking the Turks; but the emperor Frederic having refused to pay the hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and, still continuing to use the title of king of Hungary, he marched with his army into Austria, and, having taken Vienna, soon after made himself master of all Lower Austria, which, by a treaty, was to continue in his possession till the money was paid. Mathias, becoming now very infirm, endeavoured to procure the kingdom of Bohemia for his natural son John; but being opposed in this scheme, he proposed to give him Silesia, which was then in his own possession. The Silesians refusing to have a bastard for their prince, and being supported by the arms of Ladislaus, obliged Mathias to lay aside his design; and a treaty was concluded, by which Silesia and Moravia was to return to Bohemia, if Mathias died before Ladislaus, in which case the king of Bohemia was to pay to Hungary four hundred thousand ducats. His infirmities still increasing, Mathias died the following

A peace is concluded betwixt the Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians.

Mathias declares war against the emperor.

A.D. 1481.

A.D. 1487.

He takes Vienna, and conquers all Lower Austria.

^a Bonf. dec. iv. lib. ii.

year of an apoplexy at Vienna, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; being greatly commended for his love of learning, as well as for his abilities in war.

A.D. 1490.

Uladislaus II.

John Corvin opposes his election, but is defeated.

Maximilian and Albert declare war against Uladislaus.

He marries Anne, daughter of the duke of Gondala.

A few weeks after the death of Mathias, the states assembled in the neighbourhood of Pest, to chuse a new king; and, after many tumults and disputes, Uladislaus, king of Bohemia, was elected; his cause having been supported by the queen Beatrice, whom he promised to marry. The other candidates, who were Maximilian, king of the Romans; Albert, the younger brother of Uladislaus; and John Corvin, the natural son of Mathias, being rejected; Uladislaus was declared king on these conditions; that he should reside chiefly in Hungary, and should not confer any employments upon foreigners. Before the arrival of Uladislaus, John Corvin, having the greatest part of the castles in the kingdom left by his father under his command, raised an army, and endeavoured to obtain the crown by force; but the nobles marching against him with those troops that had been assembled at the diet, he was entirely defeated, and lost all his wealth, which was his greatest support.

The other two competitors, Maximilian and Albert, likewise declared war against Uladislaus; but Albert, his brother, renouncing his pretensions on condition of receiving annually three thousand crowns of gold, and some cities of Silesia, Maximilian consented to a peace. In the mean time the Turks, having passed the Save, ravaged all the country betwixt that river and the Drave, and hearing that the Hungarian troops were chiefly employed against the king of the Romans, they even attempted the siege of Belgrade; but peace being concluded with Maximilian, Paul Kinisus marched with the Hungarians into Lower Hungary against the infidels, and obliged them to raise the siege of Belgrade. Uladislaus afterwards addicting himself wholly to sloth, the kingdom was not only exposed to foreign enemies; but harrassed with intestine divisions, the nobles losing all respect for their king, whom, upon account of his inactivity and bulk, they called an ox. Uladislaus being prevented by the states of Hungary from marrying Beatrice, upon account of her barrenness, was absolved from his oath by the pope, and married Anne, the daughter of the duke of Gondala in Gascony, by whom he had two children, Anne and Lewis, who was crowned in the second year of his age at Albe Royal, while his father was still alive.

A few

A few years after, Sultan Selim, having poisoned his father Bajazet II. marched with an army into Croatia, which province he ravaged; and, knowing the indolence of the king of Hungary, he likewise attacked and took the fort of Sabacs, on the Save, and threatened to make an irruption into Hungary; which Uladislaus being afraid of, proposed to the states to conclude a truce with the Turks for ten years, but was prevented by the bishop of Strigonia; who, having obtained indulgencies from pope Leo X. ordered a crusade to be preached against the Turks. Selim, being informed of these preparations against him, and, at the same time, his dominions in Asia being attacked by the Persians, he procured a truce from Uladislaus for three years, which rendered the cares of the bishop of Strigonia useless against the Turks, and very destructive to Hungary; for the mob that had assembled against the infidels, having now no enemy, turned their arms against the nobles of the kingdom, by whom they had been despised and maltreated. After committing a great many barbarities and ravages, they were at last entirely subdued by John, count of Scepus^b. The following year a peace was concluded between the emperor Maximilian, Sigismund, king of Poland, and Uladislaus; which was strengthened by a double alliance, the one betwixt Lewis, the young king, and Mary, granddaughter of the emperor; and the other betwixt Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, and Anne, the daughter of Uladislaus. This treaty being concluded, Uladislaus returned to Buda, where he died the year following; having reigned in Bohemia forty-five years, and twenty-five in Hungary.

The Turks threaten to invade Hungary.

A.D. 1515.

A treaty between Maximilian, Sigismund, and Uladislaus.

Uladislaus was succeeded by his only son Lewis, who had been crowned king of Hungary and Bohemia when an infant. Though he was then only thirteen years of age, yet, to avoid disputes among the nobles, no governor was appointed; but the affairs of the kingdom were administered in his name, and Stephen Bathori was appointed palatine. The education of Lewis having been committed to George of Brandenburg, he was taught to spend his time in the amusement of dancing and entertainments, without any care being taken to cultivate his mind by study; so that when he came to the administration of his kingdom, there was nothing he hated so much as application to business. The manners of the court being imitated by the nobles, they neglected their former study of arms, and

A.D. 1516.

Lewis II. Neglected in his education.

^b Sambuc. in Appen. Bonf. Dubrav. lib. xxxii. p. 263.

were immerſed in luxury and ſecurity^c. In the mean time, Solyman, emperor of the Turks, was engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, in which he loſt his whole army, returning to Conſtantinople with only eight hundred horſe. Being in danger of being depoſed by his ſeditious ſubjects, who were exaſperated at his defeat, he at laſt appeaſed them, by aſſuring them of a ſucceſſful expedition againſt the Hungarians. Accordingly, while the king was engaged in celebrating his nuptials at Buda, Solyman marched with his army againſt Hungary, and having taken the fort of Sabacs, on the Save, he beſieged Belgrade, which ſoon ſurrendered; the gariſon having been diſcontented on account of want of pay, and the governor himſelf abſent at Buda, petitioning for a hundred crowns; which ſum, if it had been paid, it is ſuppoſed would have ſaved Belgrade. Solyman, contented with this conqueſt in Hungary, retired with his army, and the year following made himſelf maſter of Rhodes^d. Lewis, inſtead of recovering Belgrade during the abſence of Solyman, went with his queen to Bohemia, where ſhe was crowned.

A.D. 1521.

*The Turks
take Sa-
bacs and
Belgrade.*

Upon his return to Hungary, Solyman ſent ambaffadors to him, offering peace; as he was afraid leſt the loſs of Rhodes ſhould awaken the Chriſtian princes to declare war in general againſt him^e. Lewis, by the perſuaſion of the pope and Venetians, rejected the offered peace, but, at the ſame time, made no preparations for war. Soon after, being alarmed at the great preparations of the Turks, he ſent into Germany, France, and Italy, demanding ſuccours againſt them; and hearing that Solyman had arrived at Belgrade, he ordered an army immediately to be aſſembled.

A.D. 1526.

*They de-
feat the
Hungari-
ans, and
ravage
Hungary.*

In the mean time, the Turks having entered Hungary, advanced to the Drave, and having paſſed that river, encamped near Mohats with an army of three hundred thouſand men, and three hundred pieces of cannon. Lewis, notwithſtanding the great number of the Turks, marched againſt them with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and engaged them without waiting for other troops that were on their march to join him. After an hour's engagement the Hungarians were totally defeated, the moſt of their nobles being killed, and the king himſelf drowned in the Danube^f. The Turks, after this victory, advanced up along the Danube, and plundered and burnt Buda, ſending out parties to ravage and deſtroy the country; from Buda

^c Dubrav. lib. xxxiii. p. 267. Sambuc. in Appen.
lib. xxxiii. p. 268.

^e Spond. Ann. ad an. 1526.

^d Dubrav.
^f Broderith.

they advanced as far as Javarin, still continuing their devastation and burning, but omitting to attack any fortified places. Having for fourteen days ravaged Lower Hungary, they laid a bridge over the Danube at Pest, and committed the same desolation in Upper Hungary from the Danube to the Theyffe; from whence they returned home, without leaving any garrisons in the places which they had possessed^g. Hungary may date the declension of its grandeur from this invasion, in which more than two hundred thousand people are said to have perished; and as by the death of Lewis without issue, the house of Austria got possession of that crown, which they have ever since retained, Hungary came to be considered more as an appendix to another kingdom, than an independent sovereignty of itself.

As Lewis died without issue, there was a dispute about his succession between John Zapoli, vaivode of Transylvania, and Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, who supported his claim by his relation to the late king, and by several treaties made between the house of Austria and the kings of Hungary^h. However, in an assembly of the nobles at Albe Royal, John was declared king, and crowned by some bishops a few months after the death of Lewis. But Stephen Bathori, the palatine of the kingdom, and the greatest part of the nobility and bishops, being attached to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, who was likewise favoured by the queen Mary his sister, his claim prevailed, and he was crowned king of Hungary, at Albe Royal, about a year after Zapoli, whom he had expelled from Hungary, and obliged to take refuge with his brother-in-law the king of Polandⁱ. Ferdinand, likewise, obtained the kingdom of Bohemia without a competitor, and was crowned at Prague. John, the vaivode, finding himself unequal to the arms of Ferdinand, sent to Solyman, offering to hold the kingdom of Hungary from him, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided he was restored by his means. Solyman, accepting of the condition, early in the spring marched with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men into Hungary, and made himself master of the Five Churches, Albe Royal, and Pest, which surrendered upon his approach. Afterwards Buda, Strigonia, and Allenburgh, and other towns and strong places situated on the Danube, surrendering to him, he besieged Vienna on the

John Zapoli.

A.D. 1527.

Ferdinand.

Solyman again enters Hungary, and besieges Vienna.

^g Broderith. Descrip. Boh. lib. xxxiii. p. 272. lib. vii.

^h Istuanf. de Reb. Hun. lib. ix. Hist. ⁱ Sambuc. Append. ad Bonf. Istuanf.

A.D. 1529.

*He gives
the investiture of
Hungary
to the vaivode.*

26th of September; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, he was obliged to raise the siege on the 14th of October, having lost, according to some, sixty thousand men before the place; but others make large abatements from this number. Solyman returned to Buda, where, having called an assembly of the states, he declared John lawful king of Hungary, and, having given him the investiture of the kingdom, he returned to Thrace. Three years afterwards, the emperor Charles V. at the pressing solicitation of his brother, raised an army of more than one hundred thousand men, and marched to Hungary to expel the vaivode, and recover that kingdom from the Turks. Solyman, hearing of the preparations of the emperor, marched

A.D. 1532.

*And
marches
into Hun-
gary to his
assistance.*

with three hundred thousand men to the protection of his vassal; but the two armies never came within view of each other, Solyman returning to Constantinople, after committing some hostilities, and Charles, instead of taking the advantage of the departure of the Turks, dismissed his army and returned to Spain.

A.D. 1536.

*A peace
concluded.*

The kingdom of Hungary still continued to be harrassed by the dissensions and hostilities between the two kings; but at last, wearied with the devastation on both sides, they concluded a peace at Vatia, by which it was agreed, that John should continue in possession of that part of Hungary which he then enjoyed, but that, at his death, the whole kingdom should fall to Ferdinand and his issue; and if John should leave a son, he should inherit Transylvania, and some places in Silesia; and, if the Turks should threaten either of them with a war, they were to oppose them with their united strength^k. This peace was of

A.D. 1541.

*John dies,
and the
war is re-
newed.*

short continuance, for John dying four years afterwards, his infant son, John Sigismund, was crowned at Alba Regalis with the sacred crown of St. Stephen; while Ferdinand was assembling troops to take possession of that part of the kingdom, according to treaty, and at the same time sent ambassadors to Solyman, offering to hold that part of Hungary from him, and to pay him an annual tribute. But Solyman taking the part of the orphan, rejected the embassy of Ferdinand, and the war was again renewed^l. Ferdinand, the year following, sent Rogendorf with an army against Buda, where he was defeated by Solyman, with the loss of twenty thousand men. After this victory, Solyman entered Buda, and ordered the queen Isabella to retire with her son into Transylvania; and having left strong

^k Istvanf. lib. xii. ad finem. Neugebaver. lib. vii.
^l Ibid. Istuanf. lib. xiv.

^l Neug.

garrisons at Buda, and Pest, he returned to Constantinople, rejecting a second embassy from Ferdinand^m. Notwithstanding the defeat at Buda, Ferdinand continued the war, and took several places in Lower Hungary; while George, the monk, governor of John Sigismund, brought Transylvania under the government of Ferdinand, with the consent of Isabel, who agreed to a treaty with the king of Hungary. These advantages were counter-balanced by the loss of Temeswar, Lippa, Zolnok, Zanad, and several other places which the Turks reduced. Two years afterwards, Isabella, finding herself deceived in trusting to Ferdinand, called in the assistance of the Turks to recover that province, by whose means she expelled the Germans and Hungarians who favoured Ferdinand. But a few years afterwards a truce was concluded for eight years, and the limits of Austrian Hungary and Ottoman Hungary were settled by Soliman's ambassador at Frankfort. As Hungary has continued, since this time, in the possession of the princes of the house of Austria, who have likewise been emperors, the transactions of this kingdom have been interwoven with the affairs of the empire, in the history of which the reader will find them related.

A.D. 1553.

Isabella endeavours to recover Transylvania.

A.D. 1562.

The limits of the Turkish conquests settled at Frankfort.

C H A P. LXXXII.

History of the Modern Empire.

S E C T. I.

Of the Constitution of the Empire.

AS the empire has never changed its title, it is still called the Roman Empire, upon account of its origin; and the German, upon account of the country whither it has been transferred. It is to no purpose, according to some German lawyers, to allege against its title, that the imperial seat is no longer in the city of Rome; for, say they, that there is Rome where the emperor resides; and although very little of the ancient Roman Empire remains in the hands of the modern emperors, they have still nevertheless the same pretension to Rome,

Rome (A), that is, to the city of Rome, and the kingdom of Italy.

The head of this body is the emperor, the members are the immediate and mediate states of the empire: the immediate states are the electors, and the archbishops, bishops, and prelates, the secular princes, the abbots, provosts, and abbesses, the counts and lords, the free nobility (B), and the imperial cities: these are called immediate, because they hold immediately of the emperor and empire. The mediate states are the other ecclesiastics, monasteries, chapters, counts, gentlemen, cities, patricians, burghers, and labourers, who depend upon and hold of those immediate states, and by their means are subjects of the empire. As the chief interest of all these members is the preservation of the body, it is their common duty to use all means of advancing its wealth and prosperity, and to avert from it every thing that may ruin it, or alter its constitution.

Many civilians and politicians make a doubt whether the empire be a monarchy or an aristocracy, or a government of the many. When they propose this problem, they must necessarily mean the Modern Empire, for their is no doubt, before Charlemagne, and a long time after, that is, while the empire was possessed by his family hereditarily, but that it was looked upon as a true monarchy; but since it has passed by election into the houses of Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, Luxemburgh, and Austria, those of the greatest judgment pretend, that the power of the emperors has always been limited by the capitulations which they have been obliged to sign before their coronation, which limitation of their power extends to all the dominions of the emperor, whether in Germany or Italy.

(A) The German lawyers of the greatest prudence make no account of this title of the Roman Empire; a great many of the moderns even do not give it this title, and content themselves with calling it the Empire of Germany. The Germans and princes of the empire have little reason to wish, that their emperors were more powerful, and still less that they should undertake to make themselves masters of Rome and Italy. This would be always at their expence, and the present con-

stitution of their state does not require it.

(B) The free nobility have no right to a seat or vote in the general diets. They are not regarded even as a member of the state, although they are allowed to be immediate, because they hold of no other sovereign than the emperor, whom they accompanied formerly in all his wars. Upon this account, the gentlemen who compose this body, take the title of noble servants of the emperor.

It will not be improper at present to examine the state of affairs since the declension of the empire. Some authors date the beginning of this declension from the diminution of the imperial monarchy, occasioned by the desperate divisions made by Lewis the Debonnaire in favour of his sons. Indeed it may be said, that this division, if it was not the only, it was at least the first, cause of the dismembering of this great body, in forming of which Charlemagne had employed more than thirty years of his reign. But Lewis the Debonnaire, instead of giving small inheritances to his younger sons, and by this means supporting the empire in its grandeur and majesty, made a division of it, by his will, into three kingdoms, without any dependence upon one another; thus making as many sovereigns as he had sons. This division was the cause of many disorders and wars, which these princes made against each other, and which greatly affected the empire. Although this example ought to have been a caution to their successors, they nevertheless committed the same mistake: moreover, the usurpations made by some younger sons of the imperial house, to the prejudice of their fathers or elder brothers, weakened and lessened this powerful body more and more.

Others say, that the declension of the empire has only proceeded from the method of election taking place of the hereditary succession, after the death of Lewis IV. the last emperor of the race of Charlemagne, because, besides the schisms and civil wars which it sometimes occasioned, the empire was often in the hands, either of those who, despairing of being able to leave the succession to their children, made no scruple of prostituting it to their particular interests, as Charles IV. who alienated almost all its revenues; or else of those who could not support their dignity by reason of their poverty, as Adolphus of Nassau, who was deposed for this reason, and for having taken money from the king of England to make war against France.

A.D. 912.

In the beginning of election, one might nevertheless discover, for near two hundred years, some form of hereditary succession; for after the empire entered into the houses of Saxony, Franconia, and Suabia, the emperors were not chosen from any other house, whilst there were princes in these who could pretend to that dignity by their merit. Upon this account, five successive emperors may be observed in the house of Saxony, four in that of Franconia, five in that of Suabia, inclusively till Frederic II. after whom the princes of Germany elected several emperors, sufficiently illustrious by their birth, but not strong enough

to support themselves against the pretensions of the pope and several other states, particularly in Italy, where their predecessors, although invested with more authority, had already suffered a remarkable diminution of their power. Many authors, favourers of the house of Austria, and desirous of reviving at present the rights of the ancient emperors, and giving them to the modern, for this reason have affirmed, that Frederic II. was the last emperor who preserved the full monarchical power.

As after Frederic II. the princes of Germany had already rendered themselves so considerable as to oblige those who aspired to the empire, to purchase their vote, and make an acknowledgement for their good will by a sum of money, the successors of Frederic not being rich enough to answer those demands, began their reign by alienating several rights and cities of the empire, in order to raise money. It was thus that Rodolphus of Hapsburg acted, minding chiefly the raising of money, by means of which he procured great alliances to his family, marrying seven of his daughters to seven of the greatest princes in Germany. He made war upon Othogar, king of Bohemia, who had refused the empire, and ceded it to him; so that being employed in that war, in which by the death of Othogar, he made himself master of Carinthia, Stiria, and Austria, he refused to make the journey of Italy; and to free himself from an expedition to the Holy Land, to which he had obliged himself at his accession to the imperial crown, he made an agreement with the pope, by ceding to him Romagna and the exarchate of Ravenna. The same prince, knowing that the greatest number of the cities of Italy had had such a taste of liberty, that it would be very difficult to bring them back to their obedience, he resolved to draw money from them, and to sell them liberty as dear as he could. The city of Florence bought its freedom from him for the sum of six thousand florentines of gold; as the city of Sienna had done before for the sum of ten thousand ducats; he likewise enfranchised the city of Lucca for twelve thousand ducats, and several others in proportion.

The affairs of the empire were in no better condition under the reign of Lewis of Bavaria. This prince had Frederic of Austria for a competitor, who, although he had fewer votes in the election, nevertheless supported himself, because he abandoned the interest of the empire to attach himself to those of the pope; but he was at last defeated and made prisoner near Mulsdorff, in Bavaria. After this defeat, Lewis, in revenge for the assistance which the

A.D. 1322.

court

court of Rome had given his competitor, undertook to put in practice the right formerly enjoyed by the emperor of naming the pope, and created Nicolas V. antipope, against pope John XXII. But being obliged to apply himself wholly to the quieting the disturbances raised in Germany by the popes, he endeavoured to preserve the affections of the Italians, by giving them almost entire liberty, and by establishing lords in many of his cities, under the title of governors and vicars. The continuance of the troubles of Germany, the distance and neglect of the emperors who succeed Lewis, soon gave these vicars an opportunity of making themselves masters of those places, the government of which had been trusted to them. It was thus that John de Vic made himself lord of Viterbo; Galeot de Malatesta and his brothers, of Rimini; Gentile de Verano, of Camerin; Guy de Polenta, of Ravenna; John Mainfredi, of Faence; and Lewis Alidasi, of Imola. Besides, the Venetians at this time annexed to their republic all that they found lay convenient for them; and the pope, who pretended likewise to be master of the greatest part of Italy, established Martin de l'Escale at Verona; William de Gonsague, at Mantua and Reggio; Albert Carrara, at Padua; and Obizo of Este, at Ferrara. Charles IV. of all the emperors, thought least of the imperial dignity and the empire, employing all the time of his reign in the aggrandizing of his kingdom of Bohemia (N). He alienated to the crown of France the small right which the emperor still had to the kingdom of Arles; and besides, sold a large part of the imperial dominion to purchase the votes of the electors in favour of his son Wenceslaus, whom he caused to be chosen king of the Romans.

The institution of the electoral college, and the right of electing the emperors, falling to seven princes, who have since taken the name of electors, is what prevented the empire from being reckoned monarchical after this period. Anciently, all the states of Germany, without exception, had a share in the election, even the people; although the princes and bishops had the greatest authority in that assembly, because the rest did not take the liberty of contradicting their opinion. German writers are very much divided about the time when the power was restrained to the seven electors, who are mentioned in the golden bull. The

(N) The emperor Maximilian often said, that the greatest plague the empire ever had, was this Charles, and that he and his son Wenceslaus would have sold all the empire, if they could have found any one to purchase it.

A.D. 1273.

most common opinion is, that some time before Frederic II. who lived in the thirteenth century, the princes, who were great officers of the empire, began to raise their authority above the rest, whom they almost always drew over to their opinion; that the troubles which followed in Germany, after the death of that prince, disgusted the most part of those who were used to concern themselves with affairs of state, and to be present at elections. An interregnum of sixteen or seventeen years made them forget the road, so that there were present at the election of Rodolphus I. only the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburg; who, by the difference of their rank, seemed to have preserved the rights of all the rest. They took care that their right of election should be preserved by the golden bull of Charles IV. which privilege they still hold without dispute.

From the time they found themselves single in possession of the right of discharging such an eminent function, it was not difficult for them to attribute to themselves several other rights, to the exclusion of other persons who formerly enjoyed them: they nevertheless divided these rights with the emperor, to induce him to favour them. This has likewise greatly augmented his authority, and given him an opportunity, in process of time, of extending it to the prejudice even of the electors, when he has found them so weak and so complaisant as not to oppose him openly. It is this mixture of authority, which has made many authors, even some Germans, assert, that the Modern Empire is an aristocratical state, and that the emperor of himself has not sufficient authority and power to be called and reputed a sovereign and absolute monarch.

It may be granted, that the present form of government in the empire, is in many things similar to an aristocratical government, and what passes in the imperial diets is a proof of this. It may be allowed likewise, that many things, of which formerly the entire and sovereign disposition belonged to the emperor Charlemagne and his descendants, at this day depend in part upon the consent of the electoral princes and other states of the empire (O); and that the

(O) The states of the empire, even before they were composed of the three religions, took care not to leave themselves to the despotic government of a prince and council of state depending upon him, which consisted for the most part only in counsellors, who were subjects or vassals of his

the authority of the emperor is divided with them, by the obligation laid upon him by the imperial constitutions, and particularly by the capitulations, which the emperors, at their election, make with the electors, to take their advice and consent, in most part of their affairs, especially in those which directly regard the general administration of the empire.

Nevertheless, it ought to be observed, that in depressing the sovereignty and authority of the emperor, and raising that of the electors and princes of the empire to a level with the other, in order to establish the opinion of an aristocracy, the dignity of the empire is thereby greatly destroyed: for by representing it only as a pure aristocracy, or polyarchy, an opportunity is given to other monarchs of considering the empire only as a simple republic, whose head has no other advantage than having the first rank; by this means, the emperor is deprived of that pre-eminence which he has over the other monarchs of Christendom.

But nothing determines the sovereignty of the emperor so much, as the confirmation which the electors take from him, even by the capitulation which they make with him at his election. They judge this confirmation so necessary, that they take care to get from him authentic letters after his coronation, that is, after he is fully invested with the sovereign and monarchical power, which is an absolute acknowledgment from themselves of the sovereign and monarchical state of the emperor; and this is besides justified by the golden bull, where the emperor pronounces of his certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, and where every thing prescribed is ordained under penalties, which belong only to a sovereign to impose. Moreover, the clauses contained in the capitulation, by which the emperor obliges himself to ordain nothing upon many heads, without the advice and consent of the electoral princes and other states of the empire, ought not to be alleged to destroy the right of sovereignty, which is attached to his dignity; for this right is so united, that it cannot be separated from the dignity, without breaking the imperial crown. So that these reserves are only as it were a suspension of the exercise of this right, which formerly was indisputable, and

his hereditary lands. So that the greatest part of his affairs, and especially in those which directly regard the general administration of the empire, it is not without reason, that they have obliged the emperor, by capitulations, to take their advice and consent in the great-

may again become so, by the privilege which the emperor has of disposing of the principal fiefs of Germany, which become vacant by forfeiture, disinheritance, or otherwise, even in favour of his own children, and by this means changing the elective state of the empire into hereditary and patrimonial. Therefore, it ought not to be inferred from these reserves, that the emperor is not a sovereign monarch, since there are many monarchs in Christendom, who are obliged, in certain cases, to take the advice and consent of the states of their kingdom, in some manner or other, but are nevertheless allowed to be sovereign monarchs.

On the other hand, it is alleged, that the high titles of honour conferred upon the emperor import no independent sovereignty, but are only compliments and magnificent expressions, which the Germans are very prodigal of, among themselves. That the princes of the empire only want the emperor to be considered as the first monarch of Christendom, and his ambassadors to have the precedence, as representing all the Germanic body in the person of its head. And although they confer upon him the most magnificent titles, and talk to him in the most submissive terms; yet the rights they have quitted to him, are in reality very small, and greatly limited by the capitulations, which he is obliged to sign at his election. And even the greatest part of the rights called regalia, are equally common to the greatest part of the princes of the empire within the extent of their territories; so that there remains little more to the emperor but his precedence, and the right of making kings, princes, counts, marquisses, &c. Some even affirm, that the princes of the empire have no need either of his concession or confirmation: That they are several sovereigns, who have united under a head, whom they have elected for their common preservation, since they have been freed from the oath of fidelity which they took to Charlemagne and his posterity. As to the confirmation which the electors take from the emperor after his coronation, they take it only as a security, that he shall not make any attempt upon their privileges. It is a title for them to prevent his taking it amiss, that they arm in their own defence, and conclude alliances with one another, and with strangers for their preservation, which liberty they have reserved by the treaty of Westphalia. With regard to the privilege which the emperors have assumed of disposing of vacant fiefs in favour of their children, this claim is directly opposed by the princes of Germany; and for this purpose, the electoral college, with the intention of putting bounds to the acquisitions of the house of Austria, have inserted in the

the last capitulations this clause, "that the emperor shall not any more dispose of such important fiefs, without their participation, advice, and consent."

But to discover more particularly, how far the sovereignty of the empire extends, we shall mention in the following section some of those things which he does by his sole power and imperial authority, and those, in which he is obliged, by the capitulation, to call the electoral princes, and even all the states of the empire, to have their advice and consent. From whence it may be concluded, after having considered the alterations, which have happened in the government of the Modern Empire, that this state holds a certain mean betwixt the monarchical and aristocratical form of government, and participates in some measure of both.

S E C T. II.

Of the Emperor and his Election.

THE consequence which we have drawn in the former section, that the empire is a mean betwixt a monarchy and aristocracy, naturally carries us to consider what the monarch is, and what is the union subsisting betwixt the head and the members of this great body.

This head is so necessary, that immediately upon any vacancy, the imperial dignity is conferred upon one, by the choice and election of the princes of the empire: this vacancy happens either by the death of the emperor, or by his voluntary resignation, which he can do, without the consent of the electors or other states of the empire; or by his promotion to sacred orders, or else in case of actual incapacity, by being deposed, of which there are three examples in the history of Germany; or lastly, when the emperor, desiring to ascertain his successor during his life, causes the electors to chuse him under the title of king of the Romans, in the sense which that rank is at this day generally understood.

He that is to be elected, must have the necessary qualifications; the first is, that he be of the male sex; the second, that he be of the German nation or extraction (P); the third, that he be of a reasonable age; but as this age is not regulated by the constitutions, there are many examples of kings of the Romans, who have been elected

(P) This is not always true, and Richard, king of England, for Alphonfus, king of Castile, have been elected emperors.

very young, as Otho, who was elected at eleven years of age; Henry III. at twelve; Henry IV. at five; Wenceslaus at five; Frederic II. when he was yet in the cradle, and the emperor Joseph, when he was only eleven years and a half old. The fourth, that he be a laic, and not of the church; the fifth, that he be a catholic: however, there is yet no law that forbids a protestant from being elected to the imperial throne. The sixth, that he be a just and good man, who may be useful to the republic, and that he be endowed with solid piety, and much prudence and courage. The seventh, that he be of an illustrious birth, and at least a count or baron, rich, powerful, and so endowed with the gifts of fortune, that he may be able of himself to support the imperial dignity, which of itself brings very little revenue to him who possesses it.

The electors finding in him whom they propose for emperor, or who is presented to them by the emperor then living, to be elected king of the Romans, the qualities which we have mentioned, or flattered by the hopes of his education, that in time he will acquire those which he wants, proceed to his election, which must be made according to the form prescribed by the golden bull. It is in this bull, that the functions of the electors, and all the ceremonies to be observed by them, are specified. Before this, they agree upon the capitulation, in which are contained all the precautions which they want to take with the elected prince, in order to regulate his power, and by this means support the prerogatives of which they are in possession, and the rights and liberties of the empire.

As soon as there is to be an election of the king of the Romans or emperor, the elector of Mentz, as grand-chancellor of the empire in Germany, sends messengers express to all the electors, ecclesiastic and secular. There is this difference, that if it is a king of the Romans that is to be elected as coadjutor to the emperor then living, or if it is the emperor who desires the election to be made, then the archbishop of Mentz must be authorized by the states of the empire for this convocation, or by the electoral college, who represents them, and it must be noted in the decrees of the assembly, that the necessity of the empire required this election. But if after the death of an emperor, another is to be chosen, the elector of Mentz of himself may order the convocation, because he is authorized by the golden bull. His letters are carried by a gentleman of his court, who is accompanied by a secretary or notary, in order to certify the delivery. It is so necessary to the essence of an election, that all the electors be convoked, that if the archbishop

bishop of Mentz omit any one by negligence or otherwise, he that has been omitted, may declare the election null and defective.

The archbishop of Mentz is not obliged to address his letters any where else than to the place of the ordinary residence and abode of the electors, unless from complaisance he pleases to send them to the place where they then reside. The convocation ought to be within a month after that the archbishop of Mentz had been informed of the death of the emperor. He generally appoints the opening of the diet within three months, counting from the day of the delivery of the letters; so that allowing about fifteen days for the journey of the gentleman who is letter-carrier, he fixes the opening of the diet three months and a half after the date of the letters. According to the golden bull, the election ought to be made at Francfort on the Maine; but as there have been emperors elected at Ratisbon, and elsewhere, we may conclude, that this depends upon the choice of the electors. Before the publication of the golden bull, there was no city appointed for the election. The term of three months and a half is so essential to the election, that it is not in the power of the archbishop of Mentz to grant a longer delay by his circulary letters; he may indeed prorogue the opening of the diet with the consent of all the electors, but not by his own authority. If the archbishop of Mentz should fail to summon the electors within the time prescribed by the bull, it is lawful for them to assemble of themselves at the place of the election, and they are even obliged to make the election by the oath which they have taken to the empire.

The electors go in person to that ceremony, or send their ambassadors with a full power and formal proxy to give their vote. According to the golden bull, the retinue of the electors who come to the election, ought not to exceed two hundred horse, in which is comprehended fifty men armed, which they may have for a guard to their persons. But this regulation is not put in execution; for sometimes an elector will bring with him more than five hundred persons, more or less, according to his magnificence or pleasure. The ambassadors, who represent the electors their masters at the election, are obliged, upon their arrival, to communicate their power, and cause it to be registered in the chancery of Mentz, from which a copy of it is delivered to all the other electors. It is to be observed, that if an elector sends several ambassadors, there is only one of them who has a seat in the electoral college, or is present at the deliberations.

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The electors both in going to, and returning from, the election, are conducted and escorted by the princes whose states lie in their road, through every country and territory under the jurisdiction of the empire; besides, the golden bull forbids, under express penalties, the troubling of them in any manner. The elector, who sets out on his journey, must signify expressly by letters where he desires to be received by the escort; and he who gives the escort, is obliged to give a safe-conduct in form. The electors and ambassadors are no sooner arrived at the place appointed for the election, but they oblige the magistrates and inhabitants of the city to take the usual oath, by which they promise to take under their protection and safeguard, the electors and their retinue; and to cause all strangers, of what rank and quality soever they be, to leave the city (Q). The magistrates make proclamation of this through all the streets of the city, and summon the citizens against next day to the town-hall, where they take the oath to the electors.

The golden bull ordains, that the electors open the electoral diet the next day after their arrival; that the election begin, by the mass of the Holy Spirit; and with the oath, the form of which is prescribed by the bull itself. It ordains likewise, that they finish the election within a month, counting from the day on which they took the oath: but the electors do not conform to this, but take what time they please for their deliberations; saying, that the time which they spend in the deliberation upon other affairs, ought not to be counted; therefore they begin with protesting, that they have only assembled to deliberate; and when they have agreed upon the person whom they will chuse, and have drawn up the capitulation which they propose for him to sign, they declare that they desire to proceed to the election, and then they follow word for word what is prescribed by the bull. Thus they sometimes pass six months before they proceed to the election, without fearing to incur the penalties threatened by the bull, of being reduced to feed only on bread and water. The election of the emperor Leopold was thus deferred for more than eleven months; the elector of Mentz acting so politically that he prorogued the opening of the diet till that prince

(Q) This is not executed literally; the proclamation is, indeed, published; but strangers, nevertheless, do not quit the city. This decree only takes

place according to the pleasure of the electors, who sometimes, indeed, have put it rigorously in execution.

had attained his majority. No ceremonies are observed till the election is resolved upon; so that when the electors are agreed upon the person whom they will call to the imperial throne, they appoint a day for publishing it, and the day being arrived, they repair in the morning to the town-house, without observing any order, attended only with their retinue, and in their ordinary dress.

As soon as they are arrived, they retire each to a particular chamber, where they put on their electoral habits; the three ecclesiasticks wear robes and bonnets of scarlet, lined with ermine; and the secular electors, robes and bonnets of crimson velvet, lined also with ermine. When they come out of the town-house, they mount on horseback to go to the church (R); there is no regulation with regard to this procession of the electors, therefore they march as they think proper.

The electors in this cavalcade are preceded by the hereditary marshals of their archbishopricks, or principalities, or of their courts, who carry the sword before them; the officers of the ecclesiastical electors bearing it in a scabbard, adorned with silver gilded; and those of the secular in a scabbard of red crimson velvet, adorned with silver. The ambassadors of the absent electors have nothing of all this, they have only their ordinary dress, without any officers going before them; but the administrators, or tutors, of electors, who are minors, enjoy all the honours and pre-eminences which the law allows to the electors themselves; and the elector of Saxony has this in particular; that he is not the hereditary marshal of his duchy; but this privilege is enjoyed by the count of Pappenheim, who carries the sword before him.

The electors being arrived at the church, alight from their horses and enter the choir, where they find chairs prepared for them, and placed according to the rank which they held in the electoral college; each chair is marked with a writing in large characters, containing the name of the elector who is to fill it. When the electors have taken their places, some other princes and counts, and the counsellors of the electors, enter the choir, after which the gates are shut by the count of Pappenheim, who takes possession of the keys: then the prelate, who is to officiate, begins the *Veni Creator*, during which, and during the mass, the officers of the electors stand before them, holding the sword

(R) It has been different almost in all elections, as may be seen in the treaty of the election of the emperor, published by Mr. Wiquefort, in 1698.

inclined

inelined upon their shoulder. There have been elections, at which the officers of the electors have retired during the mass, and have laid the swords upon their velvet cushions before the electors. After the music has finished the hymn, the mass begins, during which, the protestant electors formerly retired; but at present they remain, and content themselves with standing uncovered, while the catholics fall upon their knees: after this mass, *Veni Creator* is again sung.

After these ceremonies the electors rise, and approaching the altar, preceded by their officers, they turn towards the princes who are in the choir, and the archbishop of Mentz invites all the electors, his colleagues, to take the oath ordained by the golden bull, before they proceed to the election. After a short discourse, he puts the Gospel into the hands of the archbishop of Triers, who dictates to him the form of the oath. The archbishop of Mentz is the first that takes the oath from the hands of the elector of Triers; the other electors afterwards take it from his hand, each in their turn, although after a different manner; for the secular electors put their hand upon the Gospel, and the ecclesiastical upon their breast, and take the oath agreeable to the golden bull, in these terms.

“ I ——— prince elector of the holy empire, swear upon the holy Gospels here placed before me, by the faith which I owe to God, and with all the strength of my mind and understanding, that I will chuse for king of the Romans, future emperor, him whom I shall judge in my conscience to be most capable; promising, upon the same faith, that I will give my vote and suffrage in the said election, without any hope of profit, pension, promise, reward, or other acknowledgement of what nature soever. So help me God, and his holy Gospel.”

The oaths being taken, the archbishop of Mentz takes instruments thereupon by two notaries, or two secretaries authorised for that effect; who take for witnesses, the princes and persons of distinction who have entered the choir. After the oath, the electors resume their places, and the *Veni Creator* is sung for the third time; which being finished, the electors retire into the conclave, or places appointed for the election, which the count of Pappenheim shuts, when they have taken their places; after which he withdraws, and puts the keys in a place where the electors may dispose of them. Here they observe, very exactly, the order which the golden bull ordains to be observed in this election. According to the intention of this bull, the archbishop of Mentz ought first to give his opinion, collect

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the votes, and give his own in the last place. He begins to collect the votes by the archbishop of Triers, next by the archbishop of Cologne, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Brunswick; after this, the elector of Triers demands the opinion of the archbishop of Mentz, and the majority of the whole college makes the emperor. It must be observed, that if he who is destined for the empire be an elector, he may give his vote for himself, and thereby augment the number of votes in his favour.

That all the ceremonies of the election may be observed in all their forms, the electors cause their chancellors and principal counsellors to come in, as if to ask their advice; afterwards they make them go out, and continue their deliberations. But all these outward forms are mere ceremonies; for, in less than an hour, the election of the emperor is concluded. The election is no sooner ended, but the electors cause their principal ministers of state to enter, with the chancellor of the archbishop of Mentz, and chancellor of another secular elector, who, having collected the votes, take instruments thereupon, and draw up a verbal process, which all the electors sign, and cause to be sealed with the great seals of their arms. After which, the electors come out of the conclave, and go directly to the great altar, upon which they cause the emperor to sit, if he is present. The archbishop of Mentz, after having recommended to that prince the interests of the empire, and made him sign the conditions upon which he has been called to the crown; obliges him to confirm to the electors all the rights, privileges, sovereignties, prerogatives, and pre-eminencies, which they possess (S).

(S) This confirmation of the rights of the elector is so necessary, that, without it, the new elected cannot take upon him the administration of the affairs of the empire. And he is bound to give one to each elector, in form of letters patent, signed and sealed with the great seal. This confirmation was formerly given near Coblentz, between Rens and Capel, at a place which is still called

Koningstadt, that is, Royal seat. It was a building raised in an orchard, under seven walnut-trees, where there are seats of cut stone for the emperor and the electors; these seats were raised upon pillars, and joined to one another by vaults, or arcades of stone. But this building is entirely ruined, and at present the confirmation is given upon the spot, and at the very place of the election.

S E C T. III.

Of the Coronation of the Emperor.

ALTHOUGH the coronation of the emperor gives him no new right, nevertheless it is a ceremony which renders his election solemn and public, and which no emperor has omitted; therefore we shall mention the particularities observed at this solemnity. When the day and place for the coronation is agreed upon, the elector of Mentz gives notice of it to the magistrates of Aix la Chapelle and Nuremberg, and these send, by their deputies, the imperial ornaments, of which they are the guardians; namely, those of Nuremberg keep the golden crown of Charlemagne, the ring, the sceptre, the shoes, and sword, which an angel, as it is said, gave to Charlemagne; a long albe with a hole, a cane, and a belt. Those of Aix la Chapelle keep a shrine covered with diamonds, in which is kept a little of the blood of St. Stephen; the ordinary sword of Charlemagne, with his belt, and the book of the Gospels in letters of gold.

At the same time, the church, appointed for the coronation, is hung with the tapestry of the elected prince (T). Seats and benches are raised for the emperor, the electors, the princes, the ambassadors, and other assistants. The place of the emperor is a little raised, on which is placed a chair, instead of that of Charlemagne, which is still used when the coronation is at Aix la Chapelle. As to the ornaments of the great altar, the consecrating archbishop furnishes these. On the day of the coronation, the ecclesiastical electors, with the bishops, and other officiating prelates, in the morning, repair to the church, where the deputies of Aix and Nuremberg deposit in their hands the imperial ornaments. When the secular electors, or their ambassadors in their dresses of ceremony, accompany the emperor from the town-house to the church, the elector of Bavaria carries the globe, having on his right hand the elector of Brandenburg, carrying the sceptre, and on his left the count Palatine carrying the crown. Behind them, and immediately before the emperor, walks the elector of Saxony alone, car-

(T) If it is at Frankfort, the ceremony is performed at the collegiate church of St. Bartholomew, which is well enough built; but not very proper, the choir not being finished. The coronation of the emperor Joseph was performed at Augsburg, in the church of the abbey of St. Udalric and St. Afre.

rying the imperial sword. When he is in person at this ceremony he carries the sword naked, and his hereditary marshal carries before him the scabbard ; and when the elector is not present, his marshal carries that sword in the scabbard. Immediately before the emperor arrives at the church, the ecclesiastic electors come out of the vestry, and go to meet him in procession, with the bishops, abbots, and chaplains, as far as the door of the church. The elector who is to perform the coronation is in pontifical habits, with the mitre on his head, and the crosier in his hand ; and the other archbishops electors, have only their electoral habits. As soon as the emperor is perceived, the officiating elector begins to sing, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini* : and after having said the prayer, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, he turns about and walks towards the altar ; and the two other ecclesiastical electors place the emperor in the middle between them, and conduct him till he come before the altar to his pew ; where, having kneeled down, the electors go likewise to their places, leaving, in the mean time, the imperial ornaments under the guard of their hereditary officers. The elector, who officiates, begins the ceremony by the prayer *Domine saluum fac regem*, which is followed with the other ordinary prayers ; which being finished, the mass of the Epiphany is celebrated as far as the Gospel. Then the royal mantle is taken from the emperor, and the two ecclesiastical electors conduct him to the altar ; where, while he kneels down upon the highest step, the chaplains sing the litanies of the saints, as far as *Ut nos exaudire digneris*. After which, the officiating elector continues the particular prayers for the emperor, to which those in the choir answer. This being ended, the emperor rises, and the officiating elector, having the mitre on his head, and the crosier in his hand, speaks to him in Latin, and asks him these six questions. The first, “ Will you hold in the holy faith, which Catholic men have taught, and confirmed by just works ? ” to which the emperor answers, “ Yes, I will.” The second, “ Will you be a faithful guardian and protector of the holy church, and its servants ? ” the emperor answers, “ Yes, I will.” The third, “ Will you justly govern, as your predecessors have done, the empire, which is given to you from God, and defend it valiantly ? ” the emperor likewise answers, “ Yes, I will.” The fourth, “ Will you preserve the rights, and recover the possessions of the empire, and employ them faithfully to the public good ? ” the emperor answers, “ Yes, I will.” The fifth, “ Will you be a just judge of the poor and the rich, and a faithful protector of widows and

and orphans?" the emperor says, "I will." The sixth, "Will you adhere and be submissive to the most holy father in Christ, the pope of Rome, and the holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church?" to which the emperor having answered, "Yes, I will," he approaches the altar, and confirms these answers by the following oath, which he expresses in Latin, "I will do all that has been proposed unto me, if God assists me, and the faithful give me their help; and I will faithfully and also truly accomplish it: May God, and the holy Gospel of God so help me." This done, the officiating elector turns towards those who are assisting, and asks of them in Latin, "Will you accept of this prince to reign over you, and be faithful to him?" To which an answer is returned three times, "We will, we will, we will." These words being pronounced, the emperor again places himself on his knees, and the archbishop resumes the prayers, and says this prayer: Lord, thou who ever rulest all kingdoms, bless our king N. &c. and this prayer likewise; Grant, Lord, that the people may continue faithful to him. After these prayers, the suffragans of the officiating archbishop uncover the emperor to consecrate him, and the archbishop takes the holy oil, saying, Pax tecum; and he is answered, Et cum spiritu tuo; then he anoints him in form of a cross, in the middle of the crown of his head, between his shoulders, in the neck, on the breast, on the wrist of the right arm; and lastly, in the right hand. saying, at each unction, the prayer appointed by the ritual of that ceremony, the two other archbishops electors wipe off the oil with cotton.

Then the emperor is conducted by these two electors into a chapel, at the side of the choir, where are deposited the old imperial vestments brought from Nuremberg, and there he is clothed with a long albe and stole, which he places after the manner of the priests, with sandals and buskins, from whence they lead him back to his pew, placed a little nearer the altar. Being there, the same two ecclesiastical electors, go and take from off the altar the sword of Charlemagne, brought from Aix, and at the time when it is put naked into the hands of the emperor, the officiating elector gives him the blessing, saying; Take that sword, and in virtue of this blessing employ it in the defence of the church of God, for which his goodness hath appointed it. During this prayer, the sword is put into the scabbard, and the secular electors having advanced, fasten it by the belt to the side of the emperor. Afterwards the ring is taken from off the altar, and the officiating elector puts it

it upon his finger, pronouncing the ordinary wishes ; lastly, the officiating elector having also taken off the altar the sceptre and the globe, he puts them in the hands of the emperor, the sceptre in the right, and the globe in the left; pronouncing the ordinary blessing and prayer. At the end of this prayer, the emperor gives the globe and the sceptre to the electors, who usually carry them ; and immediately, two deputies of the city of Nuremberg put upon his shoulders the great imperial mantle made like a cope ; then the three ecclesiastic electors take the crown off the altar, and place it together upon the head of the emperor, the officiating elector accompanying the action with prayers and wishes ; to which the choir answer Amen.

Then the ecclesiastic electors cause the emperor to approach the altar, where he reads in the Pontifical, in the German language, the ordinary oath, which all the new elected emperors take over again after their coronation. From thence the emperor being reconducted to his place by the same electors, the mass is continued, the Gospel and the Crede is sung, and at the offertory, the emperor, having the sceptre and globe in his hands, goes to the oblation, and there presents a piece of gold. As oft as the emperor goes to the altar, the crown is taken from him, which is put upon him again at his return ; and this office belongs to the elector Palatine, as the ecclesiastical electors have the privilege of giving the book of the Gospels, and the pix to the emperor to kiss, and of giving him holy water. It is the hereditary officers of the electors who give and take from the emperor the sceptre, the globe, and the sword.

The emperor communicates at this mass without the crown, being always accompanied by two ecclesiastic electors. After the mass, the emperor is conducted processionally by the three ecclesiastical electors, followed by all the bishops, and preceded by the secular electors, to a tribunal (U). There he is placed in a chair appointed for this purpose, instead of that of Charlemagne, which is at Aix ; the officiating archbishop pronouncing these words ; “ Take and keep the possession of the place which is given you, not by hereditary right, or that of paternal succession, but by the votes of the electors of the empire of Germany ; and particularly by the providence of Almighty God, and by our grant, and that of all the bishops and other servants of God ; and whereas the clergy are near the altar, so much the more you will remember to give them honour at places

(U) At Frankfort, this tribunal separates the choir from the body of the church, and is very dark.

convenient. May Jesus Christ, who is mediator between God and man, establish you in this imperial dignity, to be on your part as a mediator between the clergy and the people, and cause you to reign with him in his eternal kingdom. This I pray from him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and who being true God, reigns eternally with the Father, and the Holy Spirit. So be it."

The officiating archbishop has no sooner finished these words than the *Te Deum* is solemnly begun to be sung, to the sound of drums, kettle-drums, and trumpets, which is followed with the discharge of the cannon and small arms. Then his imperial majesty continuing still sitting, receives the compliment of congratulation, which is made by the elector of Mentz in the name of the rest; after which the officiating elector retires with the two other ecclesiastical electors, and going into the vestry, lays aside the habits of the church, and resumes his electoral habit.

In the mean time, his majesty, accompanied with the secular electors creates knights; these are, ordinarily, counts and gentlemen of the empire; whom he touches with the sword of Charlemagne. After which, the emperor gives the sword again to the arch-marshal, and comes down from the tribunal to return to his pew. There a canon of the collegiate church of Aix la Chapelle presents himself before his majesty, and having shewn him, that every emperor is received as a canon of that church, according to ancient custom, he supplicates his majesty to be pleased to take the oath; the emperor satisfies him, and pronounces the oath in Latin, by which he obliges himself to protect the church of Aix, and to let the chapter enjoy its rights. He besides makes a present to the church of Aix, instead of the gift which was formerly given it, of a part of the moveables and ornaments which had served at the coronation, and which that church pretended to claim by an ancient right; they consisted in the tapestries, in the cushion, and carpet of the pew, in the mantle and habit in which he was crowned; and in two carpets of gold brocade, the one of which had been used at the throne, and the other at the chair before the altar. The present is fifty-six florins of gold, two tons of the best wine for the church of Notre Dame, and one ton for the abbey of St. Adelbert (X). The emperor, and the electors

(X) This church is commonly called imperial, having been richly founded by Henry II. emperor, and duke of Bavaria; but an inundation that happened in Holland, where it had great possessions, has destroyed a part of its revenue. Both of these churches are celebrated in the empire, and considerable for

electors likewise give a writing, declaring, that the coronation made elsewhere than in the city of Aix la Chapelle shall not, in any manner, prejudice the church of Aix, nor the city, in their ancient customs, rights, and jurisdictions.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Pre-eminencies, Rights, and Prerogatives of the Emperor.

THE emperor, elected and crowned by the princes electors of the empire, is, in that quality, sovereign monarch, and acknowledged as such; being, in effect, invested with sovereign authority, holding only of God, and even his imperial crown enclosed and surmounted with the globe of the world, is a symbol of universal monarchy; and gives him the pre-eminence over all other monarchs of Christendom, who yield to him on account of his dignity; his precedence among the Christian princes being even acknowledged by the Othoman emperors at the Porte. Thus has he preserved all the distinctions of the ancient emperors of the West, with the titles of, Always August, Cæsar, Sacred Majesty, First Prince of the Christian world, and Rector, or Temporal Chief of the Faithful of Germany. It is he alone that is acknowledged, and under his name every thing is done, even when the whole empire acts in general; yet it must be observed, that the name of the empire is often used in the public acts, to shew that the empire equally pretends to preserve its authority. The emperor likewise convokes the diets, and other imperial assemblies; yet, if he fails to convoke them on necessary occasions. the elector of Mentz, or the vicars of the empire, in the absence of the emperor, may likewise convoke them; he likewise pretends to the right of proposing the affairs upon which they are to deliberate, but this is disputed by the diets; yet their resolutions are executed in his name. He confirms (Y) alliances, and

for their antiquity. Charlemagne caused that of Notre Dame to be consecrated by the pope, in presence of a great number of princes, dukes, marquisses, &c.

(Y) During war, the emperor enjoys the right of being sole executor of the German de-

crees, with an absolute power, which dispenses him from taking the advice of the colleges, or of giving an account of his administration. This privilege gives him the means of augmenting his authority; of mortifying those who dare name the laws in opposition to his

will;

and public treaties, made by his predecessors for the good of the empire, without being bound to pay their debts, as he succeeds to him as elected, and not as heir. He enjoys alone, through all the empire, the right, as it is called, of first prayers; that is, to present, after his coronation, to all the chapters of cathedral and collegiate churches, abbeys, and monasteries, capable and sufficient persons, to fill the first canonicate, or first prebendary dignity, or other vacant place. He hath even preserved this right, by the treaty of Westphalia, over the chapters and monasteries of the confession of Augsburg, and over those where any catholic and protestant canons are mixt together. Without examining whether the emperor exercises this right by his own authority, or by the concession of the pope, it is evident, that he hath enjoyed it by an immemorial custom, and that he hath exercised it from the time that he established bishops through all the empire, and had the direction of the affairs concerning religion.

He likewise creates and confers high secular dignities; as that of king, prince, archduke, duke, marquis, landgrave, count, and baron. Thus Henry II. erected the duchy of Hungary into a kingdom, in favour of Stephen, who before had the title of duke. Wratislaus, or Ladislaus, duke of Bohemia, was created king by the emperor Henry IV. and as the successors of this Ladislaus did not preserve this title of king, the emperor Frederic I. conferred it anew upon another Ladislaus. The same Frederic invested prince Peter with Denmark, which then held of the empire, under the title of kingdom, and crowned him himself. The emperor, Otho III. likewise erected the duchy of Poland into a kingdom, in favour of Boleslaus. Thus it cannot be denied, but that Leopold had a right of creating the elector of Brandenburg, king of Prussia; although, indeed, it depended upon that prince to make himself be acknowledged as such, by other kings and princes, which are not dependent on the empire, over whom the emperor has no right. As to what regards duchies, and other principalities and dignities, there are numberless examples; as the duchies of Milan, Savoy, Mantua, &c. in Italy; Brunswick, Holstein, Juliers, Cleves, Berg, Brabant, Limburg, Gueldres, Pomerania, and in a

will; to raise at his pleasure the Roman months; to make himself master of elections; and to put garrisons where he thinks fit, under the specious pretext of securing himself against the

malecontents. He finds, besides, in war, a thousand occasions of enriching the princes and generals of all the circles, who are devoted to his interests, by arbitrary winter-quarters.

word,

word, all the duchies, and other great titles of Germany; and this extends not only to the subjects of the empire, but likewise to strangers; as John of Arundel, who was made count of the empire by Rodolphus II. and Robert Dudley, who was made duke of Northumberland, by Ferdinand II. However, it must be allowed, that this right has sometimes been denied to the emperor by foreign powers.

It belongs alone to the emperor to confer rights of regality, and likewise, the principal fiefs of the empire in the changes which happen to them; the investiture of which is given, namely, to the ecclesiastical princes by the sceptre, and to the secular, by the standard and sword. For this reason, he judges the causes which concern these great fiefs, and which regard the honour, life, and person of these princes, to the exclusion of the imperial chamber. He authorises and ratifies the transactions, confraternities, substitutions, and family pacts, which the princes make with one another for the advantage of their houses. The differences which happen between the electors, princes, and other states, with respect to customs, are judged in his name, but regulated in the diets, by the advice of the princes and states of the empire.

It is he also who gives letters of delegation to princes, of which there are many examples; as of the emperor Wenceslaus, who gave them to Otho, duke of Brunswick, in 1318; likewise Maximilian I. to Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia; and to Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg; Rodolphus II. to Christian II. king of Denmark; and Mathias, to Charles cardinal of Lorrain, bishop of Metz. He likewise gives letters of legitimation through all the empire, and there is only the archduke of Austria, and the dukes of Savoy and Milan, who have the same privilege in their states, as vicars of the empire in Italy. He grants letters of respite, reprisals, naturalization, safeguard, sanctuary, confirmation, adoption, emancipation, and other letters of grace.

He has the right of life and death, and of repairing people's honour and reputation, of absolving from oaths, of granting favours, discharge of crimes, remission and pardon, to conclude truces and suspension of arms, to prescribe feasts and holidays, of instituting and confirming universities and academies; so that it was only not to obstruct the peace, that, by the treaties of Westphalia, the crown of Sweden was allowed to erect one in the states that had been ceded to him in the empire.

He gives the privileges of fairs and markets, and permissions of establishing carriages, by water and land. He

grants the rights of a city, and likewise that of staple, which is a privilege that he grants to some cities; in virtue of which concession, they have a right of selling and disposing of certain merchandizes and wares, mentioned in the privilege. There are several cities in the Low Countries, and in Germany, who enjoy this grant. Middleburg, in Zealand, has the privilege of selling the wines of France and Spain; Dort, that of the wines of the Rhine. The cities of Germany, which have this right, are, Spiers, Mentz, and Cologne, on the Rhine; Triers, on the Moselle; Ratisbon, Passau, Ingolstadt, upon the Danube; Hamburg, and Magdeburg, on the Elbe; and Bremen, on the Weser.

With the consent of the princes and states of the empire, he disposes of the charges and offices of the chamber of the empire, whose function regards domestic and foreign affairs; but those of the imperial chancery depend upon the elector of Mentz, as also those of the marshal of the empire, and other hereditary offices, or vicariats, and great offices of the secular electors. It is to him and the empire, that all the electors and other princes, and generally all the other members and states, give the oath of fidelity. As he is the head of the empire, he has the right of supreme appeal, and the revision of processes. Besides, in case of denial of justice by the electors, and other princes and states of the empire, to their vassals and subjects, these may have recourse to the tribunal of the imperial court. The emperor likewise takes cognizance of all the privileges granted without the consent of the princes and states of the empire, and in certain cases, even deprives the imperial cities, and other states, of their privileges; but some emperors, indeed, have made too arbitrary an use of this privilege, which has been restrained by the treaty of Westphalia. He can reclaim to the empire, all goods, rights, taxes, or other revenues, usurped or alienated.

As to other rights and powers which the emperor has, but where the advice and consent of the electoral princes is necessary, they consist in establishing, augmenting, proroguing, and granting, to any new state, new customs and rights, under the name of staple, passage, entry, reparation of roads or causeways, or other impositions. These must be communicated with the electors, and they must give their unanimous consent, for the plurality of votes will not suffice. The consent of the electors is likewise necessary when the emperor puts any prince, immediate state, or other rebels, who trouble the public repose, to the ban of the empire; when he confiscates their goods
and

and estates, or when he deprives them of their seat and voice in the diets ; likewise, when he grants the right of coining money, and when there is a necessity of mortgaging, or alienating the possessions of the empire.

But the general consent of all the states of the empire is necessary when he would regulate the concerns of religion ; make or publish laws, or repeal them ; establish, reform, or suppress tribunals of justice ; fix the value of money, regulate measures and weights ; declare, or make war, without, or within the empire ; impose subsidies, taxes, and general contributions ; make levies, or appoint quarters for soldiers ; build new fortresses, and put troops in ancient places ; make peace or alliances, within and without the empire : but, when the affair is urgent for the general good, the consent of the electors is only needed. Lastly, the emperor ordains and disposes of every thing that concerns the empire, directly or indirectly, either by his own will and authority, or by the advice, participation, or consent of the electoral princes, and even of all the states of the empire : as it is expressed by the golden bull, the treaties of Westphalia, the capitulation, and other imperial constitutions.

Thus of himself, or with the consent of the princes, he enjoys all the rights of sovereignty, which so naturally follows the imperial crown, that in case of absence of the emperor, the king of the Romans, if there be one, enjoys these privileges, as perpetual vicar of the empire ; that is, designed successor of the empire. And in case of defect, or death of any of these, the two vicars of the empire in Germany, namely, the elector of Bavaria, or the elector palatine of the Rhine, and the elector of Saxony, exercise the same functions each in his territory.

However these rights and powers of the emperor, of which we have made an abstract, would have much more lustre, if the imperial dignity were not restricted by the capitulation which the princes oblige the emperor to agree to at his election, and which at present is always observed. This capitulation is a real barrier to his authority, which not only prevents this great power from turning despotic, but reduces it under the bounds of a mixt government. Some authors pretend, that the use of these capitulations has been introduced only since the emperor Charles V. and before that time the ordinary constitutions of the empire, in some measure, supplied the place of these capitulations ; but that the great possessions which that prince inherited without the empire, making the electors apprehensive that he should violate the German liberty, they thought proper

to propose certain conditions to him, to which he agreed to submit, and that they have continued to use the same at all elections of the emperors whom they have since raised to the throne : others allege, that though there appears no capitulation more ancient than the times of Charlemagne, yet it is not to be presumed, that he, powerful as he then was, and assisted by all his friends, would have allowed a new yoke to be imposed upon him, which so much diminished his dignity.

But if the authority of the emperor has received so considerable a diminution, his dominion is reduced to such a degree that it is matter of astonishment. I mean the dominion which the emperor has as emperor, and the revenues which he draws from the empire to support the imperial dignity. In hereditary kingdoms, there is no distinction between the dominion of the king and the dominion of the crown, but it is otherwise in elective kingdoms, where the son is not sure of succeeding to the crown of his father. For this reason, the king ordinarily hath his particular dominion, distinct from that of the crown, as may be observed in Poland, where the kings have their particular dominion, of which they dispose absolutely and without the permission of the states. The same thing is practised in Germany, since the time the empire has begun to be elective, after the death of Lewis IV. Thus Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, Bohemia and the provinces incorporated with it, Luxemburg, Holland, Bavaria, and Austria, have remained to the heirs of the emperors of these houses. But the imperial dominion has always been appropriated to the successors of the emperor, that is, to those who have succeeded to the empire by means of election. This dominion must have been very considerable in the beginning, for in the time of the emperor Frederic I. when a good part of Italy was detached from the obedience of the empire, and many of the cities of Germany already enjoyed that liberty, which, at present, we see them enjoy, the revenue of the dominion of the empire amounted to eighteen millions of livres, a very considerable sum at that time.

It is impossible to say in what the dominion of the empire consisted, and what was its revenue under Conrad I. and Henry I. or even after Otho I. had reunited Italy to the imperial crown, seeing there is not one author of that time who mentions it. We can only say, that the emperors of that time made good their rights of sovereignty, and drew from thence, as well as from the states and cities who were immediately subject to the emperor, wherewith to support their imperial dignity. But Italy, by degrees, detaching
itself

itself from the empire, and the states and cities of Germany having partly purchased, and partly usurped their liberty, these branches of their revenue have been cut off, as well as many subsidies, customs, services, and rights, which he then possessed.

It is more than three hundred years since the emperor Charles IV. told the deputies, whom the states of the empire sent to him, that Bohemia brought him more revenue than the empire; and the cardinal of Granvelle told the landgrave of Hesse, that Charles V. his master, drew little or no advantage from the empire, and that the princes of Germany ought to think themselves happy to have a monarch, who, from the revenue of his hereditary dominion, had wherewith to support the imperial dignity. In reality, the empire has scarcely any dominion, and the emperor cannot draw from it even sufficient to pay a part of his officers, so far is he from having enough to support his imperial dignity, to entertain a retinue, and make a necessary expence proportioned to his quality; and still less has he from that revenue, wherewith to support the troops that would be necessary to be maintained, if his person or the empire were attacked.

There is not even a single city in the empire that belongs to the emperor as emperor, because the whole territory is divided among the electors, bishops, abbots, princes, counts, lords, and free cities; so that if an emperor has no proper dominion of his house in the empire, the bishop of Bamberg is obliged to quit his city of Bamberg for the residence of the emperor, and to retire himself to Villach, a small city in Carinthia. It may then be questioned, for what reason the house of Austria uses so many efforts to preserve, as long as possible, the imperial crown upon the head of its princes; since drawing so little profits and advantage from the dominion of the empire, the imperial dignity can only be a burden to them. But although the pecuniary advantages be none, there are a great many other real and solid ones; for, besides the advantage which the emperor has of preceding all other Christian princes; and although he cannot of himself declare war, or raise money or soldiers, nevertheless, war being once resolved upon, and the impositions of money, and the levies of men being made, he can advance to the command and leading of the armies, whom he pleases, and can dispose of the money according to his pleasure; so that he has by this means all the troops at his devotion. Likewise the principal fiefs becoming vacant by forfeiture or otherwise, he formerly disposed of them as he pleased, even to the advantage of his own children, a means which

which the princes of the house of Austria have advantageously made use of, in opposition to the constitutions of the empire, with design of making themselves masters by degrees of all the fiefs, and changing the state of the empire from an elective form, into an hereditary monarchy.

In effect, it is by this means that the princes of the house of Austria have mounted, within the space of four hundred years, to that grandeur in which we see them at this day. Austria and Stiria, confiscated from Othogar, king of Bohemia, came into their house by the gift which the emperor Rodolphus I. made of them to his son Albert; and a good part of Suabia, vacant by the death of Conradin, grandson of Frederic II. fell to them by the same means. The emperor, Charles V. finding the duchy of Milan convenient for him, instead of reuniting it to the empire, gave it to his son. Besides the alliances which this family have contracted with the most illustrious houses of Europe, and the rich advantages which have fallen to them, make it evident that the imperial dignity procures to those who are possessed of it, advantages much more considerable than are at first imagined. This dignity was the cause of the marriage of Henry, son of Frederic I. with the heiress of Naples and Sicily; and of John, son of Henry VII. with the heiress of Bohemia. And it was this consideration alone which annexed the provinces of the Low Countries to the states of Austria by the marriage of Maximilian with Mary, heiress of Burgundy, which united Austria and Burgundy to Spain, by the marriage of Philip, son of Maximilian, with Jean, heiress of the kingdom of Castile and Arragon; and lastly, which caused the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia to enter into the house of Austria, by the marriage of Ferdinand I. with Anne, heiress of these crowns, which has given occasion to this distich:

Bella gerant fortes, tu felix Austria, nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

Therefore, there is no reason to be astonished that the house of Austria has always done its utmost to perpetuate the imperial crown to its descendants, notwithstanding the little revenue that it is pretended it brings, which indeed only consists in extraordinary aids, called Roman months, which are paid in troops and in money, according to the matricular book, or register; in some ordinary subsidies of the imperial cities, which amount only to about forty thousand crowns a year; and in taxes of the chancery, which amount likewise to very little more; such are those of the processions, favours,

favours, grants, renewing of privileges, creations of titles and dignities, which taxes even the greatest part of the states are exempted from paying; and lastly, in ordinary and extraordinary taxes, which the Jews are obliged to pay to the emperor, namely, the extraordinary at his coronation, and the ordinary every year at Christmas, which does not amount to great sums. He has likewise the perquisites that are paid at the investiture of the fiefs of the empire given by the emperor, but the advantage of this goes almost wholly to his officers, who assist, and he has nothing but the honour.

As this honourable right of giving the investitures of all the fiefs of the empire, vacant by the death of the last male of the family, or by resignation, and which are bound to be renewed, upon the succession of every heir, is a prerogative of the emperor of great lustre, we shall mention the form of the ceremony used by the emperor at the investiture of Maurice, duke of Saxony, when he received the electorate of his cousin John Frederic, who was put to the ban of the empire, for being the chief of the Smalcaldic league. The emperor was no sooner entered with the electoral princes into a tent of wood, in form of a theatre, raised in the middle of the market-place of Augsburg, than Maurice appeared on horseback, accompanied with many princes and lords, preceded by twelve trumpets, and causing to be carried before him ten standards, which signified so many titled lands, of which the electorate was composed. He alighted at the foot of the stage, and having walked up upon it with the princes, who accompanied him to do him honour, and who carried the standards; as he advanced he made three profound bows, and came and placed himself on his knees before the emperor, who was upon a throne, having on his right and left, on other seats less raised, five electors. Then Maurice demanding of him the investiture of the electoral dignity, and the electorate, the emperor declared that he consented to grant it to him. For this purpose the archbishop of Mentz, having put the book of the Gospel upon the knees of the emperor, read the oath of fidelity given on those occasions, and Maurice repeated it word for word, having his hand upon the Gospel. After which, the emperor taking the sword held by the count of Pappenheim, which is the imperial ornament carried by the electors of Saxony before the emperor, gave it to Maurice, and by this means invested him with the electoral dignity, and with the office of grand-marshal of the empire. The emperor likewise took the standards from the hands of those who carried them, and gave them also into the

the hands of Maurice, to invest him also with the principalities. This done, Maurice went and placed himself among the electors, and the standards were thrown among the people.

But although an elector, or other prince, by the death of his predecessor, finds himself in possession of the electorate or principality, and of all the rights belonging to it, in virtue of the first investiture, which the first of the family obtained of it, as well for himself as for all his lawful male descendants, in the direct and collateral line, he ought nevertheless, within a year and a day after his coming to his states, to demand a new investiture, which is properly only a confirmation of the first, and to pay homage for his states, and take the oath of fidelity that he owes to the emperor and empire, under the penalty, if he has no lawful excuse, to be deprived of his right to his states. And this is practised upon every succession, whether of emperors or electors, and other princes and counts of the empire. But there is a great deal of difference between the first investiture of a new dignity and a new state, and the renewing of this investiture. The first must be taken in person, and in presence of the other princes and members of the empire; whereas, the renewing of an investiture may be demanded and obtained by proxy, in presence of witnesses, because it gives no new right to the heir; for a new elector may, without this, be present at the elections of the emperor or king of the Romans, and perform all other electoral functions.

It must likewise be observed, that this first investiture of a fief is of such force, provided it be given to him who receives it, as well for himself as his lawful male descendants, in direct and collateral line for ever, that neither the first invested, nor any of his successors, can, to the prejudice of others whom it regards, dispose of the fief, or alienate, sell, or divide it, while this first investiture has place. And as they have properly only the usufruct, it is still less in their power to divest themselves of it to the advantage of another family, without the consent of all those interested, and the approbation and permission of the emperor and empire.

At the investiture of an ordinary fief, which is demanded and received by an ambassador, the following solemnities are at present observed at the imperial court. A great hall, ordinarily called the chamber of gentlemen, is hung with tapestry, and in the middle of it a throne raised for the emperor. When his majesty is arrived there with the principal officers of his court, and has taken his seat, the
ambas-

ambassadors of the princes and lords who demand the investiture are introduced. Immediately after they have entered the door of the chamber, they salute the emperor by kneeling down on both their knees, which they do a second time in the middle of the hall, and again upon the carpet before the throne, where they remain upon their knees, while the chief among them addresses the emperor, and asks from his majesty the investiture of the fief in the name of his master. The vice-chancellor of the empire approaching the emperor, as if to know whether he thinks fit that a favourable answer be returned, soon after answers in such terms as these, that his imperial majesty has most favourably heard their demand, although their master has not appeared before the throne as he ought; but as his excuses have been found valid, his majesty consents to grant his request. After this the ambassadors rise, and are conducted to the foot of the throne, where, kneeling down, they place the two first fingers of the right hand upon the book of the Gospels, which is supported before his majesty by two of his officers, likewise upon their knees. Then the oath is read to them, which they repeat word for word, and which they swear to observe upon the soul of their masters. It must be observed, that before the ambassadors are admitted to the audience of the emperor, the tenor of this oath is communicated to them, because sometimes the terms of it must be changed, with regard to some of the confession of Augsbourg, who say at the end, "So help me God and the Holy Gospel." The oath being taken, the marshal of the empire, or, in his absence, the marshal of the emperor's court, gives his majesty the sword, the pommel of which the ambassadors must kiss; then they rise, and, retiring a little backwards, and placing themselves again upon their knees, one of them makes a short compliment of thanks, after which they retire, with their faces all the while towards the emperor, kneeling down in the middle of the hall, and likewise at the door, as they did when they entered. It is in this manner that the emperor at this day gives the investiture of fiefs, although formerly he sometimes gave it with the sword, and sometimes with the sceptre, and sometimes by receiving from the hands of the person invested standards, in which were represented the arms of each fief.

As to the perquisites due to the officers of the emperor for an investiture before the ceremony begins, the sum to which they amount must be consigned into the hands of the great-marshal of the court, or of the vice-chancellor of the empire, and the distribution of it is made thus :

To

To the great-marshal of the emperor's court	}	60 florins of gold.
To the vice-chancellor	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary marshal	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary chamberlain	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary cup-bearer	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary first cook	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary treasurer	-	60 ditto.
To the hereditary marshal likewise for the horse	}	60 ditto.
To the secretaries of the empire, from		24 to 26 ditto.
To the taxes of the empire	-	10 ditto.
To the keeper of the register	-	10 ditto.
To those belonging to the chancery		15 ditto.
For the principal letters of the sief		16 ditto.
For the rights of the chancery	-	6 ditto.
To the heralds	-	32 rixdollars.
To the ushers of the chamber and anti-chamber	}	6 ditto.
To the ushers of the gentlemen's apartment	}	8 ditto.
To the archers and halberdiers of the guard	}	38 ditto.
To the emperor's upholsterers	-	12 ditto.
To two harbingers of the chamber	-	12 ditto.
To the usher of the council-chamber		6 ditto.
To the ushers of the aulic imperial chamber	}	4 ditto.
To the harbingers of the court	-	20 ditto.
To the emperor's valet de chambre, who carried the book of the Gospels	}	6 ditto.
To some officers serving at the investiture	}	8 ditto.
To the trumpeters and kettle-drummers		14 ditto.
To the musicians	-	12 ditto.
To those who tax	-	5 ditto.
To the keepers of the register, who examine the letters of investiture	}	4 ditto.
To him who makes the minute of the letters of the sief	-	4 ditto.
To the officers of the chancery	-	3 ditto.
To a secretary	-	1 ditto.

None are freed from this tax except the electors, and when the death of the emperor and that of the vassal happen at the same time, the tax is doubled.

Since

Since we have given a list of the officers of the emperor, who have a share of the perquisites paid for the investiture, we shall likewise mention the other commensal officers of his household, who ordinarily serve near his person, his court, and retinue. The office of grand-steward of the emperor is the first of his household; under this charge are the comptrollers, the treasurers, the purfers, the masters and officers of the kitchen, wine-cellar, buttery, pantry, and fruitery.

The great-chamberlain of the emperor has authority over the officers and servants of the rooms, the ushers, halberdiers, and other inferior officers appointed for the service of the rooms, and generally of all that depends upon them.

The great-marshal of the court is likewise one of the most considerable officers; his employment at the imperial court is the same with that of the count of Pappenheim, as vicar of the elector of Saxony, arch-marshal of the empire, when the occasions of performing his office of vicar calls him thither; in that case the marshal of the court is without employment. He has under his charge the quarter-master, the marshals of the lodgings, the harbingers, the provost and his officers, and all the artificers following the court.

The master of the horse has the inspection of, and the authority over the great and little stable, having under him all the grooms, pages, masters and teachers of the pages, comptrollers, trumpeters, kettle-drummers, coachmen, footmen, and generally all others belonging to the stable.

Among the other principal officers of the emperor are reckoned also the great-huntsman, the great-falconer, the captain of the halberdiers, the captain of the horse-guards, the postmaster-general of the court, who have each the direction of all that belongs to their charge. There are besides the ordinary and extraordinary gentlemen of his imperial majesty, who are more than a hundred, and all of great quality, the greatest part of them being at least counts of the empire, or of the ancient nobility, who have been in considerable offices. There are always thirty-five or forty of them who really attend, the rest, who are not so strictly obliged to this actual attendance, serve only when they are at the court, or when they are called there expressly for that purpose.

Besides these, there are a great many other offices very considerable, as, among others, those relating to the emperor's chapel; namely the masters of the chapel and of the music, the confessors, preachers, almoners, chaplains, and others,

others, as also those of the physicians, library-keepers, and others, of which a minute detail would be tedious. We shall only observe, with regard to the great officers of the emperor's household, that when the electoral princes, or, in their absence, their vicars, are obliged to serve his imperial majesty, the others are obliged to retire. But whenever the electors or their vicars have performed their services, or are absent, the ordinary officers resume their functions; as happens at the entertainment which the emperor gives after his coronation, where the electors having performed the service ordained by the golden bull, sit down at their own table, and the officers of the household succeed to the exercise of their charges, and serve his imperial majesty during the rest of the entertainment. It may likewise be observed, that the charges of these commensal officers do not depend upon the great officers of the empire, but that the emperor appoints whom he pleases.

Besides the aulic council, the emperor has always with him three kinds of councils: the first is his private council of state, composed of a president and twenty-four counsellors, the president being generally his high-steward and first minister, and the counsellors are partly princes and counts of the empire, and partly persons of quality, as his great-chamberlain, the great-steward of the empress, the chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia, the president of the aulic council, the archbishop of Presburg, the bishop of Vienna, the master of the horse, the provincial captain of the country upon the Ems, his aulic chancellor, the president of the chamber of Austria, the provincial marshal of Lower Austria, the vice-chancellor of the empire, the president of the chamber of accounts, and other persons qualified, as he thinks fit. There are besides ten secretaries, the first of whom signs the principal letters of the emperor, and the rest are appointed for the dispatch of all other letters that come out of the secretary's office, which the Germans call German and Latin chancery. It is in this council where the affairs of state are deliberated upon; other great affairs, and even those which have been already examined in the aulic council, come before the privy council; for which the states of the empire have often made remonstrances to the emperor, declaring what has passed in the aulic council by a plurality of votes, ought not to be changed, or even subject to a new examination.

The second council that is near the emperor is called the chamber of finances, in which is treated all that concerns the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the empire, which come to the emperor, as also what relates to the revenues of his hereditary countries. This council is composed

posed of two presidents, a director, and fourteen assessors, six officers of the chancery, and others.

The third council is called the imperial council of war, which consists in one or two presidents, who are generals of the army, and seven counsellors, who are camp-majors; generals, majors, colonels, and the auditor-general, with keepers of the register, secretaries, commissioners, and others. Besides all these officers whom we have mentioned, in the service of the emperor as emperor, he has almost as great a number in quality of king of Bohemia and king of Hungary, who all have their distinct appointments and wages.

S E C T. V.

Of the Titles of the Emperor, and his Marks of Honour.

THE titles assumed by the emperors, have not always been the same. Otho the Great, in the most part of his edicts, inscribed himself thus; "Otho, by the grace of God, king of the French and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans." This title, "by the grace of God," was in use from the year 963, as may be seen by the letters of the same year, containing the privileges granted to the monastery of Laurissam. Sometimes, instead of these words, "by the grace of God," these are used, "by the divine will; by the disposition of divine providence; by the favour of the divine goodness; by the mercy of God." At first it was a form of piety and humility, by which the emperors acknowledged that they held their empire from God, that they might not appear to attribute to themselves absolute sovereignty. For the same reason the prelates in the letters they wrote to the emperors, also entitled themselves, "by the grace of God, to which they afterwards added, "by the grace of the apostolic see." But since the tenth century, the secular princes have likewise used the form "by the grace of God;" and even the counts of the empire have since used the same form; and lastly, foreign princes have been observed to give this title to the electors.

By the title of king of the French, is understood eastern France, or the kingdom of Germany; and by the title of king of the Lombards is meant the kingdom of Italy. The emperor, Henry III. still took these two titles. The title of patrician of the Romans, was given by the inhabitants of Rome to Pepin, and his sons Charles and Carloman, and with the title they granted them the right of protection over the city of Rome, and over the pope. Charlemagne,

who not only had received the title of patrician, but likewise had acquired the dignity of it, often entitled himself, "king of the French and Lombards, patrician of the Romans." Otho the Great, when he was raised to the throne of the empire, also took this title; and some other emperors, to declare their right against the pretensions of the French upon Lorrain, took the title of "king of the Lorrainers," principally when by election and consent of the Lorrainers, they were crowned at Aix la Chapelle. With the title of patrician the Romans gave Charlemagne the sovereignty over their city, and over the pope, a right which that prince exercised in its full extent, and which distinguished him from subaltern patricians; for, among the Roman lords, there were some to whom the emperors granted the title of patricians of Rome. Since the reign of Charlemagne, it appears that pope Adrian called Charles the Bald, king, patrician, and emperor. Otho the Great, by a treaty, was ordained patrician of Rome, a title which he used even after he was elected emperor. After the death of pope Nicholas, the Romans sent a crown, with other presents, to the emperor Henry IV. and entreated him to cause a pope to be chosen; upon which, that prince having convoked a council at Basil, solemnly received the crown of the Romans, and was called patrician. Some authors say, that this same prince was ordained patrician of the Romans, and blessed as emperor by pope Clement. The emperor Lotharius was the last that received the patrician crown, that title, since his time, having become obsolete. Indeed, under the reign of the emperor Conrad III. the Romans endeavoured to re-establish that dignity in favour of Jordan, son of Peter Leon, upon whom they conferred it, with the same authority that Charlemagne possessed, but was at last abolished by pope Eugene III.

Among the titles which are at this day used, the principal is that of the Emperor; a title known from the time the republic enjoyed liberty, and which signified a general of an army. Julius Caesar retained this title after he had conquered Pompey, and began to lay the foundations of the Roman monarchy; but he, contrary to common use, put that title before his name. Charlemagne assumed, when the clergy, the nobles, and people of Rome gave him the title of Augustus, the Great and Peaceable Emperor of the Romans. His successors bore it likewise; Henry the Fowler, after his victory over the Hungarians, was saluted emperor by his army. Otho the Great assumed the same title when he was called to the throne of Germany, and his successors have imitated him. However, the emperors

perors of Constantinople refused them that title, and gave them only the title of king, as the history of Otho I. and Conrad III. informs us. Since the reign of Henry III. the emperors, when they were yet only crowned in Germany, took, from time to time, the title of king of the Romans, which became a constant practice after the death of Henry V. but after they were crowned by the pope, they took the title of emperor of the Romans. For, although the emperors, immediately after their election, had the power of exercising all the rights of the empire, as the decree of Rens, and that of Franckfort formerly declare; affirming, that the prince elected by the emperors is true and lawful king and emperor, without needing the consent, approbation, or confirmation of the pope; nevertheless, the popes pretended that the emperors were absolutely obliged to be crowned at Rome, and that they were not emperors before that coronation. In the golden bull, in speaking of the election of the emperor, the king of the Romans is named future emperor. Maximilian I. when, at the diet of Constance, he concluded the alliance against the republic of Venice, caused it to be published at Trent, that from henceforth he should not any more be called King as hitherto had been done, but that he should be called Emperor of the Romans; and he demanded of the states of the empire to be honoured with the title of the elected Emperor of the Romans. The pope, Julius II. who dreaded lest that prince should take the road to Rome with an army, and claim again the ancient rights of the empire, approved the title by a brief, as though Maximilian had received the crown from his hands: nevertheless, the title of elected emperor of the Romans is more ancient than Maximilian I. for Gregory VIII. gave it Henry VI. in a brief which he sent to that prince. Although Charles V. after his election, and in his capitulation, took the title of king of the Romans; yet, soon after, in the first diet which he held at Worms, he styled himself "elected emperor of the Romans;" a title which he still used, after having been crowned at Bologna. Ferdinand I. during the life of his brother Charles V. contented himself with the title of king of the Romans; but after his death, he assumed that of "elected emperor of the Romans." With regard to the emperors that succeeded him, immediately after their election, they used the title of kings of the Romans; and, immediately after their coronation in Germany, they took that of "elected emperor of the Romans:" the popes likewise, at this day, grant the title of "elected emperor of the Romans," to the emperors after their coronation in Germany. Clement XI. wrote thus to

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the emperor Joseph; "To our most dear son in Christ, Joseph, king of Hungary and Bohemia, elected emperor of the Romans."

However, the title of the emperor is not so attached to the emperor of the Romans, but that other princes have likewise used it. Pepin is called by Marianus the first emperor of the French; nevertheless, Charles VIII. professed that he did not affect that title. The Turks, on several occasions, have given it to the kings of France: Alphonso, king of Leon and Castile, called himself emperor of all Spain. Among the Anglo Saxon kings, Edgar took the name of emperor. At present the grand-duke of Muscovy takes the title of emperor, and the sultan of the Turks, the kings of China and Japan. However, it is certain, that the title of august emperor has hitherto been restrained to the emperor of Germany.

As to the title of august, it subsists since the time of Octavius Augustus, who received it from the senate. This word comes from the name of places consecrated by the augures, which were called august, or holy. And this title was so appropriated to the Roman emperors, that no king bore it unless the emperors granted it to him. Clovis, king of France, was complimented with this title by Anastasius, the emperor of the East; when he sent him the crown of gold, and imperial tunic, he called him Consul and Augustus in his letter; the emperor designing thereby to encourage him to expel the Goths, and re-establish the empire of the West. But at this day the title of august is common to all kings.

It is only the title of Always August that has been reserved to the emperors of Germany. This title seems to have been used in the time of Septimius Severus, who is intitled in a Latin inscription, "Propagator urbis, ac Romanæ rei, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus." Theodosius II. in the Novels of Valentinian, is called "perennis Augustus." Several emperors both of the East and West have taken the same title. Charlemagne has also used it, though rarely; his successors have sometimes been called august; and Charles the Bald wanted to be called Perpetual August. This title varied thus till the time of Frederic I. when it became fixed, and the ordinary style of the imperial court. In the treaties of Westphalia the French and Swedish plenipotentiaries made some difficulty to grant it to the emperor alone; but the plenipotentiaries of the emperor having insisted upon the antiquity of the practice, there was, at last, no alteration made.

The first Roman emperors were proud of the title of Cæsars; but, in the third century, the emperors declared those

those Cæsars who were appointed to succeed them; but they had neither the imperial ornaments or power. The Greeks likewise called their emperors *Καίσαρες*, from which the Germans have derived the name of Kayser. Maximilian I. granted this title to Basilus Iwanowitz, great-duke of Muscovy. The same title was likewise granted to Lewis XII. king of France. What is more surprising, is, that pope Julius II. endeavoured to make himself be called Cæsar, and took that title on many occasions. Maximilian I. revived the title of king of Germany, which had been used several ages before.

The variation which is found in the titles of the emperors proceeds chiefly from the diversity of kingdoms, which they have possessed by hereditary right. Charlemagne sometimes called himself king of the French, with the assistance of God, governing the Gauls, Germany, Italy, and the neighbouring provinces. Charles the Bald, and Otho the Great, both bore the title of king of Lorrain. Otho III. entitled himself the Roman Saxon, and Italian servant of the apostles, by the blessing of God, august emperor of the Roman world [empire]. Henry VI. to the title of emperor added that of king of Sicily. Frederic II. styled himself emperor and king of Jerusalem and Sicily; to which Conrad IV. joined the title of duke of Suabia. Charles IV. and Wenceslaus, entitled themselves likewise kings of Bohemia; Sigismund called himself king of Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Servia. Frederic III. took the title of emperor of the Romans, always august, duke of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, count of Tirol. Maximilian, to the title of the elected-emperor, and king of Germany, joined that of the provinces of the Low Countries. Charles V. still gave a greater extent to his titles, to which he joined all those of the kingdom of Spain. His successors have used the titles of the hereditary kingdoms, provinces, and principalities, which they possessed. And lastly, Charles VI. found means even to preserve to himself the title of king of Spain.

The following epithets were anciently conferred upon the emperors; namely, Pious, Happy, Grand, Pacific, Victorious, Triumphant, Illustrious, Most Christian, Most Pious, Most Serene, Most Sacred, Most Glorious, Most High; which are likewise common to other kings. But the epithet of Most Invincible, is solely appropriated to the emperors. The origin of it is carried up as far as the emperor Tiberius. Afterwards Charlemagne entitled himself, Most invincible king of the French. The Othos imitated him, and the succeeding emperors have used it in the same manner.

manner. The emperor is likewise called, the Vicar of Christ. In the golden bull, he is called, the Temporal Chief of the the Christian people.

In the time of Charlemagne, the title of Majesty was given to the emperor alone, not only by the states of the empire, but by foreign kings. However, from time to time, many states granted it to the kings of France. Francis I. obtained it in the treaty of peace of Crepi. Louis XIII. refused to ratify the treaty of Ratisbon, because the title of Majesty was not given him. The states of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, in 1641, were going to treat that prince with the title of Royal Dignity and Majesty; but upon the protest made by the emperor's envoy, the word Majesty was suppressed. But at last, in the treaties of Westphalia, the kings of France and Sweden, not contenting themselves with the title of Royal Dignity, that of Majesty was granted them, which is now enjoyed by all other kings.

The marks of honour, and the jewels of the empire, which are used at the coronation of a new emperor, consists in relics, in imperial ornaments and dresses. The relics have been preserved for many ages, and are said to have been transferred to Aix la Chapelle in the time of Charlemagne. On the day of the emperor's coronation, they are placed on the altar, and are as follows; a part of the manger in which our Saviour lay; an arm of St. Anne, a tooth of St. John the Baptist, a part of St. John the Evangelist's cloak, some links of the chains with which St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John the Evangelist, were bound; a piece of the cloth on which our Saviour celebrated the supper with his disciples; a piece of the cloth with which he was girt when he washed his disciples feet; five thorns of our Saviour's crown; a piece of the true cross; the spear with which the body of Jesus Christ was pierced; a little box with some drops of the blood of St. Stephen; the book of the Gospels which Charlemagne used, written in letters of gold.

Under the name of marks of honour of the empire which serve at the coronation, are comprehended the crown, the sceptre, the imperial globe, three swords, two of Charlemagne, and one of St. Maurice; three tunics, among which is the albe or dalmatic, the stole, the girdle, the copes, the buskins, and the sandals. It is said all these served Charlemagne; but some affirm, that they are not more ancient than Charles IV. because the lion of Bohemia is seen engraved upon one of the swords; but as the historian Wittkind asserts, that that sword came from the ancient kings

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of France; and the emperor Charles IV. himself attributes these marks of honour to Charlemagne; it is probable, that Charles IV. caused the lion to be engraved on the sword when he had these regalia in his possession at Prague, and wanted to secure the empire to his family.

By the crown is meant the German crown, which the emperors have always received first. It is of pure gold, and weighs fourteen pounds. From the cincture of this crown are raised eight plates, which bend circularly, and unite at the top. Each being a particular piece they are all fastened within by means of a circle of iron, of the breadth of one's little finger. Four of these eight plates are adorned with precious stones and unpolished pearls. On the others, are figures painted, and sentences inscribed; this crown is surmounted with a cross, enriched with seventeen brilliant stones. Behind the cross is a semicircle, supported by the crown, adorned with pearls, and having this inscription; "Conradus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus."

The crown of Milan, which is the crown of the kingdom of Lombardy, or Italy, may likewise be reckoned among the marks of honour of the empire. The Italians make mention of two crowns of this name; the one of gold more ancient than the other, which was kept at Monza; the other of iron, which was kept at Milan, in the church of St. Ambrose. This last is a circle of gold, adorned all over on the outside with stones of a great value; the inside is wholly covered with a thin plate of iron. This circle, contrary to the fashion of other king's crowns, is neither surmounted with flower-work, nor rays, nor half-diadems. Some carry the origin of this ancient crown as high as the reign of Theodolind, queen of Lombardy, about the end of the sixth century. They pretend that she caused the circle of iron to be made of one of the nails of our Saviour's passion; and, for this reason, in the thirteenth century, this crown got the name of the crown of iron. But it is probable, this crown had another origin, for as no emperor had caused himself to be crowned in Italy from Frederic II. to Henry VII. the inhabitants of Milan had found means, during that time, to seize upon the ancient crown of Lombardy; so that Henry VII. caused a new one to be made of polished steel gilt, enriched with precious stones, with which he was crowned, and afterwards trusted the keeping of it to the abbot of the monastery of St. Ambrose. Some years after, the ancient crown was restored to the inhabitants of Monza; but the following emperors, namely, Lewis of Bavaria, Charles IV. Sigismund, and

Frederic III. having been crowned at Milan, in the church of St. Ambrose, it is probable that they used on these occasions the crown made by the orders of Henry VII. But Charles V. was crowned at Bologna, by Clement VII, with that crown which was kept at Monza. The inhabitants of Milan, envious of the preference given to the other crown, and desirous of extolling their own, insisted upon its antiquity, and called the other a crown of straw; which has made some author's believe, that such a crown was really kept at Monza.

The Roman crown has likewise been one of the marks of honours of the empire, and was the last which the emperors received. Pope Leo VIII. crowned Charlemagne with a particular crown, which was very rich. Although Lewis the Debonnair was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, while his father was yet alive, yet pope Stephen afterwards crowned him at Rheims as emperor, and put upon his head a beautiful golden crown, enriched with precious stones of great value, which he brought with him from Italy. The crown, with which the emperors were crowned at Rome was not always the same. The popes sometimes furnished it, and sometimes the emperors themselves, or else carried with them the crown of Germany, which served for their coronation at Rome, which was the case with the emperor Sigismund.

Besides the three crowns already mentioned, there is a fourth, which is the proper crown of the emperors, and is called in German, *Die Haus Crone*; it having been used since the time of Charlemagne, who was even buried with such a crown. The emperor Henry II. gave a crown of this kind to the monastery of Cluny. That of the emperor Rupert is preserved in the treasure of the palatine-house. Rodolphus II. had a very precious one made, which has served the emperors of the house of Austria. This particular and family crown always served the emperors in those ceremonies, in which they appear with the crown on their head, because the crown of Germany was too weighty. However, the late emperors sometimes, instead of this crown, have worn the crown of Bohemia.

The imperial globe is but small, not being so large as a man's fist. It is made of a plate of gold, and filled with earth. It is likewise girt with a circle set with precious stones, and surmounted with a cross of gold.

The imperial sceptre is very large; it is made of silver gilt, and without ornaments, excepting that it is terminated with six oak leaves, three of which are turned upwards, and three downwards, and surmounted with an acorn.

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Among the imperial marks of honour are found two rings, the one enriched with a large carbuncle, together with four sapphires, and four pearls; it is believed to be a present of a duke of Brunswick. The other ring is adorned with a ruby.

Of the three swords which serve at the coronation, the first is very large, and upon the pommel of the handle, which is round, are seen on one side an eagle, and on the other a lion with a forked tail: the scabbard is of silver gilt, enriched with precious stones and pearls: on the broadest part of the blade these words are engraved lengthwise, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." Then "Christus vincit, Christus regnat." A fabulous tradition reports, that an angel brought this sword from heaven to Charlemagne. In the other sword, which, as it is said, the martyr St. Maurice used, the pommel of the handle is in form of a heart. One of the sides of this pommel has no figure; the other represents the figure of a demi-half eagle, accompanied with three leopards above one another. On one side of the blade are these words, "Benedictus dos dei," and on the other side these, "Deus qui docet manus." These two swords are kept at Nuremberg, the third is kept at Aix la Chapelle. It is said, likewise, to have been used by Charlemagne. It is in the form of a fabre, and is that which the emperor carries at the coronation. The imperial habits, which serve at the coronation, are for the most part of silk, enriched with pearls and precious stones. They are not sacerdotal habits as some pretend, but only made in imitation of those of priests, because the emperors are the protectors and defenders of the Christian religion. Of the three tunics, the first is a violet colour, and has the sleeves embroidered with golden pearls; the second is of a purple colour, having the sleeves likewise embroidered as the first; the third is white, and is called the albe. It is made like the albe of priests, and is likewise called the dalmatic, because that kind of robe was first invented in Dalmatia; its sleeves are adorned with pearls and precious stones. The imperial stole is composed of two large bands, and resting upon the shoulders it crosses over the breast; one of the bands is embroidered with gold, and enriched with pearls and precious stones. The buskins are adorned in the same manner, and the sandals are embroidered with gold and pearls. The stockings and breeches are likewise reckoned in the number of imperial habits.

These marks of honour were formerly in such veneration, that, at the treaty of the emperor Charles IV. pope Innocent VI. ordained, that not only through all Germany, but also in Bohemia, the Feast of the Spear and the Nails

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of our Saviour should be celebrated on the 13th day after Easter. The emperor Sigismund ordained, that, during the solemnizations of the funerals of an emperor, these relics should be exposed to the veneration of the people; which was practised at the death of Sigismund, and at that of Albert. But after the city of Nuremberg embraced the reformed religion, this exposing of the relics ceased, as well upon account of the outcry against them, as to prevent them from being worn by the often touching.

Anciently the emperors themselves kept these marks of honour, excepting those which are preserved at Aix la Chapelle. They sent them to those who were appointed to succeed them; or else the heirs of the deceased emperor sent them to the new emperor. Henry V. wanting to dethrone his father, caused these marks of honour to be taken away by force; but Albert, archbishop of Mentz, persuaded Mathilda, the widow of the same Henry, to send them back. After the death of Lotharius, Henry the Proud, his son-in-law, wanted to retain them, but the emperor Conrad III. forced him to surrender them. In the year 1139, Frederic Barbarossa going for the Holy Land, gave them to his son Henry VI. at whose death, his brother Philip retained them. Upon the death of Otho IV. his brother, Henry of Brunswic, sent them to the emperor Frederic II. And they were given in the city of Mentz to Henry of Hapsburg.

However, certain emperors thought proper that those marks of honour should be kept in certain places, and by certain persons to whom they trusted them. Otho III. gave them in keeping to Herbert, archbishop of Cologne. The emperor Philip deposited them in the hands of Conrad, bishop of Spire; but that prelate, who had put them in the castle of Trifels, refused to render them to Otho IV. till that prince had confirmed him in his office of chancellor of the empire. Henry V. finding himself dying, ordered them to be shut up in the castle of Hamerstein. Frederic II. trusted them to the keeping of Eberhard de Tanne, baron of Walburg, his steward. Otho IV. after having been crowned at Rome, trusted them to the city of Milan. Agnes, daughter of the emperor Albert I. secured them in the castle of Kyburg. Lewis of Bavaria kept them at Munich, the place of his residence; however, his son, Lewis of Brandenburg, sent them to the emperor Charles IV. for the cession of the March of Brandenburg; and upon condition that they should be sent back either to Nuremberg or Francfort; nevertheless, that prince, wanting to secure the empire to his family, caused them to be carried to Prague, and afterwards placed them in the fortress of Karlstein.

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The emperor Sigismund, fearing lest the Hussites might seize upon them, transferred them from the fortress of Karlstein to that of Wicegrad in Hungary; but not thinking them in safety in that place, with the consent of pope Martin V. he caused them to be carried to Nuremberg, where he ordained them to be kept for the time to come. When they approached the city of Nuremberg, the magistrates were informed of their arrival; immediately the clergy went out about half a mile to meet them, and on the 16th of March, that treasure was received with great veneration in the city of Nuremberg, and was at first deposited in the church of St. Sebald, where it remained for some time under the guard of the two provosts of St Wilibald, and St. Laurent, and the oldest of the burgomasters, in such a manner, that one could not open them without the others. But when the new hospital of St. Esprit was completed, and consecrated by the bishop of Bamberg, Sigismund ordered the treasure to be transferred thither, and to remain under the guard of the same persons. Here it has continued ever since, and hangs from the roof of the church in an iron chest. The popes Pius II. and Nicholas V. have confirmed the privilege of being perpetual guardians of this treasure to the city of Nuremberg; to which right at first granted by a bull from pope Martin V. Pius II. and Nicholas V. have added this exception, provided the city do not wholly become heretic.

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When the city of Nuremberg embraced the protestant religion, the Roman catholics complained, that that city having become heretic, would infallibly plunder the sacred treasure, and that they had rendered themselves unworthy to keep it; and two years after they renewed the same complaints. Lastly, at the time of the coronation of Charles VI. the city of Aix la Chapelle represented, that they ought to have the keeping of that treasure, as well because it had the prerogative of being the first throne of the empire, a right confirmed to it by the emperor Frederic II. as upon account of having the keeping of the four principal marks of honour of the empire, in consequence of a privilege granted by the emperor Richard. But the city of Nuremberg opposed this claim, and, to support its rights, it published a writing, in which it made appear, that they were protected by a privilege of the emperor Sigismund, by the bulls of the popes, and by a possession of three hundred years, without ever having been molested either by the emperors or electors.

We shall conclude this article of the marks of honour of the empire, with a few words concerning the eagle, that is in

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in the arms. In the first ages of the Roman empire, the emperors caused their image to be engraved upon their seals, but afterward they placed an eagle. The arms of the empire are only a single eagle, and not a double one, as some have written. The eagle of the empire is at present black, or sable, with two heads, having the bill and the feet red or gules, each of its heads is crowned with an imperial crown, and it is placed displayed in a field of gold. The first emperors used only an eagle with a single head; Louis of Bavaria, is supposed to be the first who put upon his seal, an eagle on each side of his throne, with their heads turned to each other; and it is only from this time, that the use of an eagle, with two heads, has been introduced. Charles IV. imitated Lewis of Bavaria, but it was only towards the end of his reign that he used the eagle with two heads. Wenceslaus, and his successors, likewise used the eagle with two heads; yet, after their election, and before their coronation in Germany, they used the arms of their houses: from their coronation in Rome to the coronation in Germany, they assumed an eagle with a single head; and after their coronation at Rome, they used the eagle with two heads. But since Charles V. the emperors, immediately after their election, have used the eagle with two heads. This use of the eagle with two heads, seems then not to have proceeded either from the Romans, nor from the two Roman eagles which Arminius took from them, nor from the division of the empire into eastern and western, but seems rather intended to signify the union of the kingdom of Germany with the Roman empire.

S E C T. VI.

Of the king of the Romans,

AS the title of king of the Romans has been often mentioned in this history, we shall shew the different acceptations, in which it hath been taken at different times. In the time of the first emperors this title was quite unknown in the sense in which it is at present understood, and even to those of the house of Charlemagne; during which time, the emperors were, in fact, kings of the Romans, that is, sovereign princes of the city of Rome. Wherefore we have seen, that Charlemagne having designed his eldest son to the succession of the empire, gave him the title of king of Italy; and that Lewis the Debonnair, his son, and Lotharius I. followed his example, and gave likewise to their presumptive heirs the title of kings of Italy, which

which signified at that time, what was intended by the word Cæsar under the first emperors; and what is meant by the title of king of the Romans at present.

This last title began only to be used in the time of Otho I. when a new kind of devotion had persuaded the princes, that the pope alone could give the crown and title of emperor. For this reason Otho, not daring to give the title of emperor unto his son at his coronation, he gave him the title of king of the Romans which he could dispose of because he was sovereign prince of the city of Rome. And upon this account likewise, many emperors, though sovereigns of Rome, and in full possession of the empire and imperial dignity, in virtue of election, have only taken the title of king of the Romans, till after they were crowned by the pope. And it is in this sense, that the text of the golden bull must be taken, when it makes mention of king of the Romans; for it means him, who after the death, voluntary renunciation, or deposition of the emperor, was named by the electors to the succession of the empire, and who, although emperor in effect, yet did not take the title till after he was crowned by the hands of the pope.

At present, he is called king of the Romans who is chosen by the electoral princes during the life of the emperor, to have the conduct and administration of affairs, in his absence, as vicar-general of the empire, and to succeed after his death to the name and dignity of the emperor, without there being any need for another election or confirmation.

The golden bull has made no mention at all of the king of the Romans in this last signification, nor of his election. The reason is, that Charles IV. having no other design in publishing the golden bull, than to render the empire purely elective, and to lay the firm foundations of the electoral power and dignity, was far from making any mention of the election of a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, which secures the succession of the imperial crown, and renders the empire in some measure hereditary. For this reason, the elector of Saxony, and the confederates of Smalkald, protested against Charles V. desirous of having his brother Ferdinand elected king of the Romans, and demanded, that before they proceeded to the election, that the emperor, with the advice of the electors, explaining the constitution of Charles IV. should make an edict to serve for a perpetual regulation; so that in time coming, no mention should be made of electing a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, unless the electors, and six other princes of the empire, should judge

judge it necessary for the public good. That in such case, and not otherwise, the archbishop of Mentz might convoke the other electors, and six other princes of the empire, in a place proper to determine the affair; and when an election shall be judged necessary, and declared such by a decree in good form, the electors by themselves shall proceed to the election of a king of the Romans; who, nevertheless, shall not have the power of the government and administration of affairs, but under the authority of the empire to whom alone the princes and states of the empire shall be obliged by their oath to obey, and not the king of the Romans; that likewise none but a German should be made king of the Romans; and that three of the same family should not be elected after each other. To which the elector of Saxony and the other confederates added, several other demands upon the same subject; but all this was moderated by an agreement concluded at Schweinfurt, between Charles and the electors and the other princes. But even this regulation of Schweinfurt has not been observed, and this by the intrigues of the emperors of the house of Austria, who have always endeavoured to elude the putting it into execution.

An election of a king of the Romans was held at Augsburg, about the end of the year 1689. His imperial majesty, considering his advanced age, desired to provide a successor, in order to prevent the troubles that his death might otherwise bring upon the empire, at a time when the Turks threatened Christendom. The electors meeting at Augsburg, except those of Saxony and Brandenburg, who only sent their ambassadors, assembled several times in the town-house, and at last came to an unanimous opinion, and agreed upon the day of election. His majesty being informed of this deliberation, again, by means of one of his gentlemen, renewed his instances with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, that they might appear at the assembly; but they judging their presence necessary in their states, contented themselves with sending, besides their ambassadors, the princes of their house, to make their compliments to his imperial majesty, the elector of Saxony sending the electoral prince, and the elector of Brandenburg sending his brother prince Philip. On the day of election, the electors who were present, and the ambassadors of the absent, assembled in the town-house, and after their final deliberation, and their being clothed with the ornaments usual in the ceremony, they went to the church of the Benedictines of St. Udalric, the three ecclesiastic electors going first, after them the electors of Bavaria and the Palatine, who were followed by the three ambassadors.

ambassadors. The grand-chancellor of the kingdom of Bohemia, who was deputed by his imperial majesty to represent the king of that kingdom, went in the middle, having on his right hand the ambassador of Brandenburg, and on his left that of Saxony. These ministers had no electoral ornament, but were on horseback as the electors, and all magnificently dressed, with their hats on their heads. This electoral assembly determined in favour of prince Joseph, already king of Hungary, in consideration that his imperial majesty had employed the armies of the empire with much success against the forces of the Turks, whom he had repulsed from Germany, more than a hundred leagues. It was these reasons and many others that induced the present electors and the ambassadors of the absent to declare for the archduke Joseph king of Hungary, and eldest son of his imperial majesty, and to chuse him unanimously king of the Romans. When the news was at first brought him, and he was entreated to repair to the assembly, to take possession of that dignity, he thanked the electors for their affection towards him, in that they had thought him not unworthy of being one day the head of Germany, and at the same time made appear to them, that being yet a minor, and under the power of the emperor his father, he could not dispose of himself; but that he would follow the will of his imperial majesty, so that a deputation of the members of the electoral college was sent to the emperor, not only to inform him of the election, but also to entreat him to agree to the choice which the electors had made in the person of his son the king of Hungary. His imperial majesty thanked the electoral assembly for the affection which they testified for his family; and said, that although the new elect, upon account of his tender age, was not in a condition to be of service to the empire, yet he ought to yield to the strength of their votes, and to the good-will of the electors, and believe that they, continuing in the same sentiments, would always contribute to assist this new king rightly to govern the state. His imperial majesty on his side also promised, that during his life he would omit nothing for the education of his son, to render him worthy of the sovereign dignity which was destined for him. It was thus, that his imperial majesty answered to the determination of the electoral assembly; whither he repaired an hour after with the king, Joseph, and again repeated the same promises. The new king of the Romans was then complimented and reconducted, under a canopy, to the palace by the electors, who all had their ornaments. The emperor had his imperial

perial crown and habit, and the young king was dressed after the Hungarian fashion, having on his head the crown of that kingdom, for he did not receive that of king of the Romans till the 26th of January in the year after, in the cathedral church of Augsbürg, being then twelve years of age.

Besides, all that has been said of the formalities of the election of an emperor, and of the ceremonies of his coronation, is almost wholly observed at the election and coronation of a king of the Romans: among other things there is this particular, that after the election of the king of the Romans is made, and before it be proclaimed, the emperor is entreated by the electoral princes to come to the assembly to agree to it and ratify it. Moreover, the king of the Romans is not crowned with an open crown, which is called Roman, and no oath of fidelity is taken to him, till after the death of the emperor; and likewise he has only the title of August, and not that of Always August, which is reserved for the emperor; and the eagle displayed, which he bears in his arms, has only one head. But the king of the Romans is without dispute, by virtue of this title, successor of the emperor after his death; and during the life of the emperor, he is the only and universal vicar, the second head and agent of the empire. When the emperor is absent from the empire, the king of the Romans has the supreme command in virtue of his dignity, on account of which, any suits that may be raised against him for debts or otherwise, are submitted, as those against the emperor, to the jurisdiction of the count Palatine, and he cannot be obliged in those cases to appear before the emperor.

The king of the Romans has many advantages that are common to him with the emperor, as that of presiding at the diets, of calling them with the consent of the electors, and of dismissing; of making counts and barons; of giving letters of ennobling; of granting privileges to universities; of putting rebels to the ban of the empire; and with the ordinary formalities; of recalling proscribed persons; of exchanging penalties, &c. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the emperor for his superior, and takes care as much as possible to act only in the name and by the order of the emperor. And even in the imperial capitulations, which he is made to sign at his election, it is expressly stipulated, that he shall have no administration or authority while the emperor lives.

It must be observed, that when one is elected king of the Romans, who is not eighteen years of age, he is subject to this condition, that in case the empire happens to
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become vacant before he attains that age, he shall only act as emperor under the authority of the vicars of the empire, who shall serve him as guardians till he has acquired the years of majority stipulated by the golden bull, with this restriction; nevertheless, that all acts and ordinances pass under his name.

It may likewise be remembered, that the king of the Romans has not all the rights, honours, and prerogatives, above mentioned, but in case of the absence of the emperor; for when the emperor is in the empire, he has no office, unless in the name, with the consent, or by the order of the emperor, to whom he is obliged to refer every thing.

The king of the Romans is entitled as royal majesty by all the princes, and in procession or other ceremonies, he marches on the left hand of his imperial majesty a step or two behind him. When he is alone, the marshal of the court carries the sword before him, only in the scabbard, whereas it is carried naked before the emperor. The king of the Romans entitles the emperor Majesty, and calls him his Lord; but the emperor gives him only the title of Dilection.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Vicars of the Empire.

THE power of the emperor ceasing by his death, by his abdication, or by his deposition, vicars have been established, who, in such cases, are to take the reins of government into their hands, and charge themselves with the administration of the empire. These vicars are of two kinds, some are established during the life of the emperor, upon account of absence or other hindrance; others are only during the vacancy of the empire. During the life of the emperor, the king of the Romans is by right vicar-general of the empire, and exercises this office either by the concession of the emperor, or when the emperor is prevented by some hindrance. The other vicars are those of the kingdom of Germany, of the Roman empire, of the kingdom of Italy, and the kingdom of Arles; although in the last interregnum the vicars of the kingdom of Germany have exercised the rights of vicariate in Italy.

Anciently indeed, under the Saxon emperors, neither law nor custom had yet established perpetual vicars. When the emperors went into Italy, or when they undertook any other journey without the bounds of the empire, they either

ther caused their sons to be declared kings of the Romans, or they named some other persons to be provisors of the empire. Thus Otho the Great being called into Italy, trusted to Herman Billing the administration of his duchy of Saxony, a province then so large, that bestowing that government upon him, was in a manner bestowing upon him the government of the whole empire. The same emperor, when he went against the Hungarians, trusted the care of the empire to his brother Bruno; and when after the death of Bruno he went a second time into Italy, he established William, archbishop of Mentz, as vicar of the empire; lastly, before his third expedition into Italy, he appointed a diet at Worms, where he caused his son Otho II. to be elected king of the Romans, and declared his successor. Thus likewise Otho III. before he went to Italy, put the government of the empire into the hands of Mathilda, abbess of Quedlinburgh, his aunt. This princess even assembled two diets, the one at Dornburgh, the other at Merseburgh, although the dukes of the provinces of Germany appear to have exercised, each in his district, the rights of vicariate of the empire during the absence of the emperor.

Under the French emperors, vicars of this kind may likewise be observed. Conrad II. proposing to go into Italy, appointed his son Henry, yet an infant, as his successor, and put him under the guardianship of Bruno, bishop of Augsburgh, to whom at the same time he trusted the government of the empire. During the minority of Henry IV. the empress Agnes his mother was regent of the empire, and conducted herself chiefly by the counsels of Henry, bishop of Augsburgh. After Henry was taken from under the guardianship of his mother, it was regulated that each bishop, in whose diocese the young king should be, should provide for the public good, and judge the affairs that were brought before the court of the prince. But during the troubles which arose under the reign of Henry IV. the power of the counts palatine of the Rhine increased. Henry IV. when going upon his expedition into Italy, established Henry du Luc, count palatine of the Rhine, as vicar of the empire. However, Henry V. trusted the government of the empire to his brothers-in-law Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederic, duke of Franconia.

The emperors of the house of Suabia likewise established vicars according to their pleasure. Frederic I. when he went to be crowned at Rome, named Uladislus, king of Bohemia, as vicar of the empire. Frederic II. when he was about to undertake the same journey, left Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne,

Cologne, as provisor of the empire; the same emperor afterwards established Henry Raspon, procurator or regent of Germany. And during the interrègnum, when the emperor Richard returned into England, Werner, archbishop of Mentz, Philip of Falkenstein, and Philip of Hohenfels, were each declared vicars in the different provinces that were assigned them.

Nevertheless, it may be observed, that under these same emperors of the house of Suabia, that the authority and power of the counts Palatine gradually increased. Under the reign of the emperor Henry IV. the credit of the counts Palatine was very considerable at the court; and by the German law, the count palatine of the Rhine enjoys not only during the absence of the emperor, but likewise during a vacancy of the empire, the right of the ban, beyond the Rhine, till within a mile of the city of Metz, and as far as the Ocean, as well as in Flanders. However, this right of the ban has not been granted to him by the emperors. There is likewise an ancient ordonnance, in which the office of count Palatine is mentioned; it imports, that the count Palatine is always by right the representative or lieutenant of the kingdom. Lastly, how great the power of the counts Palatine was, may be understood from this, that in the election of Rodolphus of Hapsburgh, and in that of Henry VII. the other electors promised to acknowledge him as emperor whom he should name.

Although the power of the counts Palatine had, as it were, secured to them the vicariate of the empire, nevertheless, the emperors still reserved to themselves the right of establishing vicars. Henry VII. at the diet at Spire, trusted the government of the empire to his son John, king of Bohemia. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria granted to Theodoric, count of Cleves, the vicariate of Westphalia between the Rhine and the Weser. The same emperor established Otho of Austria vicar of the empire; and in 1338, at the diet of Frankfort, he created Edward, king of England, vicar-general through all Germany. Charles IV. established Rodolphus II. count Palatine, and his brother-in-law, as vicar through all Germany, and likewise granted the same title to Rupert the Old; and although by the golden bull he ordained, that the elector Palatine and the elector of Saxony should be vicars of the empire at the death of the emperor, yet some years after, he named his brother Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburgh, and Prenislaus, duke of Teschen, vicars of the empire. At last, in the year 1375, he granted the vicariate of the empire to the Palatine

by a particular decree. Nevertheless, the emperor Wenceslaus established new vicars according to his fancy. But as he abused his power, the electors, while he was prisoner, named Rupert count Palatine, as vicar of the empire; at the same time they determined, that the right of choosing such a vicar did not belong to the emperor, but to the electors of the empire.

In the year 1401, the emperor Rupert established his son Lewis the Bearded, vicar of the empire, with this clause, that hitherto it had been observed, and the electors Palatine had the right, as they have still, of exercising the vicariate of the empire in Germany, France, and the kingdom of Arles, during the absence of the emperor or king of the Romans, when they went into Italy. Nevertheless, the emperor Sigismund gave Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, the title of vicar, with full power in the empire; and when he carried his arms into Bohemia, he established Conrad III. archbishop of Mentz, vicar of the empire. However, Lewis, count Palatine, having protested against this disposition, the archbishop of Mentz renounced the vicariate in presence of Otho, archbishop of Trier, and Theodoric, archbishop of Cologne, who had been chosen as arbiters in this affair. When the same emperor went to be crowned at Rome, he left Lewis, count Palatine, as vicar of the empire, who nevertheless took only the title of vicar, in the countries which follow the law of Franconia. Under the reign of the same emperor, it was proposed to establish four vicars for the support of the public peace, to each of which vicars a standard of the empire should be given; but this scheme never took place. When Frederic III. went into Italy to his coronation, Frederic, count Palatine, in virtue of the right of his palatinate, exercised the vicariate, and was confirmed in that exercise by the electors. And when it

A. D. 1495. was deliberated in the diet of Worms, about establishing a regency in the empire, to administrate the government during the absence of the emperor Maximilian I. granted to Philip, count Palatine, that he, his heirs and successors, should enjoy the vicariate in the empire without any opposition. However, at the diet of Constance, the emperor

A. D. 1507. Maximilian I. granted to Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, the right of exercising the general vicariate, when the emperor should be absent; however, he gave him as assistants, some princes of the empire. But the elector Palatine Philip, who was then proscribed, protested against this concession. The same emperor, eight years afterwards, established the king of Hungary his vicar-general, and that
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of the empire. But afterwards the vicariate was confirmed to the counts palatine of the Rhine, by several privileges of Charles V. Rodolphus II. and Maximilian II.

The time is not agreed upon when the elector of Saxony began to enjoy the vicariate. Some authors affirm, that the dukes of Saxony were from the beginning vicars of the empire; they found their affirmation on this, that the Germans have always been divided into Franks and Saxons, and likewise, that Herman Billung, duke of Saxony, was settled provisor of the kingdom of Germany by the emperor Otho I. But although Charles IV. seemed to have regard to that distinction in the golden bull, yet it cannot be from thence concluded, that the first dukes of Saxony enjoy the vicariate, since, under the French emperors, and under those of the house of Suabia, there was no law that established vicars in the empire. It is more probable, that the dukes of Saxony have arrived at the dignity of vicars by means of the power and authority of the office of arch-marshal, which in the twelfth century was united to their duchy. In effect, the marshal of the empire had the direction of the troops, and his office gave him great power, especially in the absence of the emperor. From whence it happened, that while the count Palatine regulated the public and civil affairs, the direction of the troops by degrees procured to the marshal the right of vicar in the empire. However, there was this difference between the duke of Saxony and the elector Palatine, that the last was vicar in virtue of very ancient titles, whereas the duke of Saxony enjoyed it only by concession.

The elector of Saxony then exercises this right of vicar as arch-marshal of the empire, according as it is expressed in the German law. But this prerogative is not attached to the duchy of Saxony, or else the other dukes of the empire might pretend to the same right; nor is it attached to the right of palatinate of Saxony; for anciently the title of palatine was given to counts, and at the time when the German law was committed to writing, the landgrave of Thuringen enjoyed the same right. By degrees the office of arch-marshal acquired to the electors of Saxony the privilege of vicar, till Charles IV. confirmed it to them by the golden bull.

But although by the golden bull the vicariate has been granted to the elector Palatine and that of Saxony, at least during the vacancy of the empire, nevertheless the emperors even since that time, have named other vicars, when they have undertaken any journey out of the empire. In this case, the electors Palatine and of Saxony took precautions

to secure their vicariate, and procured a writing, bearing that this disposition should not in any manner prejudice their right; and even when Maximilian went into Italy, and established Frederic III. called the Wise, as his lieutenant, and that of the empire, he gave a writing to the two electors, in which he declared, that he did not pretend in any manner to prejudice them in the vicariate; which still more confirmed their right. Lastly, Charles V. did the same when he went into Spain, and at the time of his expedition into Africa.

Anciently, after the death of the emperor, the elector Palatine enjoyed alone the vicariate of the empire; however he exercised it very rarely, because the greatest part of the emperors took care to make their sons be acknowledged as their successors. The original of their right seems to be owing to this, that sometimes the counts Palatine were charged with carrying the marks of honour to the new emperor, as count Eberhard, who carried them to Henry the Fowler; and count Henry, who presented them to Frederic II. This right might likewise proceed from this, that the count Palatine was the only one beside the archbishop of Mentz, who could convoke to the election under the pain of the ban. However, it is thought that the first confirmation of this right was only given by Rodolphus of Hapsburg; for although pope Clement V. claimed this vicariate by a particular constitution which he published, the diet of Frankfort, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria vigorously opposed this encroachment. And when John XXII. claimed the same right, Charles IV. opposed him by the golden bull. The same emperor confirmed the vicariate to the elector Palatine and the elector of Saxony. Maximilian I. did the same, and Charles V. approved the concessions of those two emperors. Charles IV. ordained by the golden bull, that as oft as the holy empire should become vacant, the count palatine of the Rhine, arch-steward, shall be provisor or vicar of the empire in the division of the Rhine and of Suabia, and in the countries which follow the the law of Franconia, upon account of the principality and the privilege of the county Palatine; and the elector of Saxony, arch-marshal of the empire, shall be provisor in the countries which follow the Saxon law.

By this division, Charles IV. seemed to have in view the ancient division of the people of Germany into Franks and Saxons, because the law of Franconia and the Saxon law were the laws most followed in Germany. In consequence of this division, the rights of the vicariate of the count Palatine extend over all where the law of Franconia was formerly

formerly received ; and according to the division at present used in Germany, they extend over the seven circles of Austria, Bavaria, Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, the Lower Rhine, and Burgundy. But the countries of Austria, Bavaria, and Burgundy, have withdrawn themselves from the vicariate of the count Palatine ; the two first under pretence that they never followed the law of Franconia, and the last, pleading the transaction of Augsburgh ; by which transaction they affirm, the right of vicariate over Burgundy was granted to the king of Spain, although in reality the terms of that transaction rather imply, that the lands of Burgundy should be under his protection, keeping, and defence, as the other princes and states of the empire. Besides, some time after, Charles V. demanded the vicariate of the Low Countries for his son Philip, without being able to obtain it.

A.D. 1548.

The vicariate of Saxony comprehends the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony, and that of Westphalia ; so that it extends over all Saxony, and over the Marche, Westphalia, East-Friesland, Thuringen, Misnia, Pomerania, Holstein, Bohemia, Luface, and Moravia. The vicariate of the elector of Saxony is not at present disputed by any one ; but the elector of Bavaria not a long time ago claimed both the electorate and vicariate of the count Palatine. The Bavarian pretended that the rights of the electorate belonged anciently to the house of Bavaria, and by the translation of the Palatine electorate into his house, these rights acquired a new force ; and as the vicariate was united to the electorate, the electors of Bavaria could not be invested with the one, without being invested with the other. The Palatine pleaded, that the vicariate was not united to the electorate, but to the county Palatine, which had not been transferred to the house of Bavaria, and that he having been re-established in that county by the treaty of Westphalia, the investiture given to the duke of Bavaria was annulled by this same peace. During the whole interregnum, this difference was often debated with much eagerness, and occasioned great disturbance in the electoral college ; however, nothing was then decided, unless that the elector of Saxony and the imperial chamber acknowledge the vicariate of the elector of Bavaria. In the year 1670, William Egon, of Furstemberg, proposed a certain project of union, and Maximilian Henry, archbishop of Cologne, having been chosen for mediator with Philip William, count Palatine of the Rhine, it was proposed to create a third vicariate ; but this not succeeding, it was proposed a-new to render the vicariate common betwixt the two electors, which likewise did not succeed, so that the question is still undecided.

The rights of the vicars of the empire are fixed by the golden bull; they are to be provisors of the empire, with power to administer justice, to present to ecclesiastical benefices, to order the collection of the revenue and public money, to give the investiture of fiefs, and to receive the oaths of fidelity for, and in the name of the empress. However, they have appropriated to themselves several other rights, in virtue of the privileges which they have obtained, or by means of the customs which have been introduced. But what is not granted to the emperor, cannot be permitted to the vicars; in particular, they are prohibited from alienating or mortgaging the possessions of the empire, two things, which at the time of the golden bull, were not forbid to the emperors, by any perpetual law.

The first right that belongs to them is the exercise of justice. As soon as the emperor is dead, the aulic council is shut up, and the vicars, each in their district, cause an edict to be published, by which they give notice, that they will administer justice to every one. Each vicar then forms a council in his court, which is called the regency of the vicariate, and which exercises the rights of the aulic council, even in cases which concern royal fiefs. But the imperial chamber, which equally depends upon the states of the empire, and whose jurisdiction extends over all Germany, is continued under the name of the two vicars. All dispatches which come from it are sealed with their seal, and signed by the president of the chancery, and the first secretary. The chamber of Rotweil, and the rest in Franconia, act only under the authority of the Palatine, under his name and seal, because their jurisdiction does not extend over the lands of this vicariate. The right of proroguing the diets with the consent of the electors, and that of publishing decrees, ought likewise to be added to the rights of the vicars.

By the second right, which consists in presenting to ecclesiastical benefices, is ordinarily understood the right of first prayers, which the vicars of the empire may exercise, in case any benefice become vacant during the interregnum. However, as this right of first prayers has always been reserved to the emperor and the exercise of it claimed by John George, A.D. 1657. elector of Saxony, during his vicariate, remained without effect by the opposition that it met with from the new emperor; and besides, as it is opposed by the treaty of Osna-
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 burgh, ordains the first prayers to be regulated according to the custom of the year 1624. Some affirm, that by this right of first prayers, is meant only the right of patronage, which belongs to the emperor over the prebends of Aix la
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Chapellé, Spire, Bamberg, Straßburgh, and Rome. Nevertheless, in the last interregnum, as well as in others, the vicars of the empire have enjoyed the right of first prayers, which they have addressed to the chapters within the bounds of their vicariate; but indeed this right of first prayers only takes place over the prebendaries, which become vacant during the interregnum.

The third right of the vicars of the empire, authorizes them to collect the revenue and public money of the empire. As it is a public collection, it follows, that it must not be turned to their own advantage, but be undertaken gratuitously for the good of the empire, for the advantage of which they may employ this money, but are still bound to give an account of it to the new emperor.

The fourth right, which is the power of giving the investiture of the fiefs of the empire, and to receive the oaths of fidelity, for, and in the name of the empire, suffers an exception. The fiefs of the princes, counts, and barons of the empire, are exempted from the jurisdiction of the vicars, and the investiture of these belongs only to the emperor, or king of the Romans:

Besides other rights are attributed to the vicars of the empire, of which no mention is made in the golden bull. For instance, it is said they may create nobles, legitimate bastards, grant privileges, &c. These rights are supported by particular privileges, such as those of the emperor Rupert granted to Lewis, elector Palatine; or upon long established customs. The power of the vicar expires upon the return of the emperor to the empire, or when a new emperor is elected. However, the presence of the new elected is requisite; for, from the death of Maximilian I. to the arrival of Charles V. the vicars continued to exercise their rights in the empire, and this is likewise confirmed by the last capitulation, which ordains, that the powers of the vicars shall continue till the emperor has signed the capitulation, against which clause, however, the other states of the empire protested. When the emperor is present, the vicars resign the empire into his hands, and give him the register of the acts which have been made during the interregnum; and the emperor is bound to approve and ratify all that they have done. The capitulation of Charles V. contains the ratification of what passed during the vicariate; this ratification is omitted in the capitulations of the emperors Leopold and Joseph, but it has been inserted in that of Charles VI.

The vicars of the Roman empire, and the kingdom of Italy, were distinguished from the vicars whom we have mentioned. Some, even contrary to the truth of history, have

have attributed to the popes the right of vicariate; but it appears, that the counts of the palace of Lateran, who were charged with defending the rights of the emperor, were the ordinary vicars of the Roman empire, for sometimes extraordinary vicars were established. In the time of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the principal senators of Rome were called vicars, and it was them who crowned that prince. If Benedict XII. after having excommunicated Lewis of Bavaria, took the title of vicar of the Roman empire, the decree of the diet of Frankfort fully derogated from that pretended right. In the last interregnum, the vicars of Germany regulated also the affairs of Italy.

Several emperors established other particular vicars. Otho III. established Hugh, marquis of Tuscany, vicar of Italy; Thomas, count of Savoy, called himself the vicar of Frederic II. in the Romagna. The same emperor left in the Marche of Italy, count Gevehard, of Saxony, and count Theatin, to take care of the affairs of the empire in that province, and named the bishop of Turin as his vicar. In the time of Rodolphus of Hapsburg, Rodolphus Hohence and Pinzival Flise, were created vicars of Italy, and John d'Axenes, vicar in Tuscany. Adolphus of Nassau sent John de Gabilon into Tuscany, with the commission of vicar. Henry VII. established vicars at Turin, at Ast, and Padua. Louis of Bavaria granted the vicariate of the city and county of Pistoia to Castruccio, and established Otho, of Austria, vicar at Padua. In a writing of the emperor Sigismund, Burnor de Seala is called vicar-general of Verona. Under the reign of Rupert, Nicholas, marquis of Est, entitled himself vicar for the holy Roman empire in the city and territory of Modena; and at the same time, Francis de Carra was vicar of the empire at Padua.

The vicariate of Milan still continues at this day. Matthew, viscount of Milan, was established vicar of the emperor through all Lombardy, by Adolphus of Nassau; and all the people of that country were enjoined to obey him as proxy of the empire, an office confirmed by the emperors Albert and Charles IV. In the year 1373, Charles IV. revoked the office of vicar of Savoy; but in 1422, Lewis, duke of Savoy, obtained of the emperor Sigismund, the vicariate of the empire over all the cities, fortresses, castles, towns, dominions, and territories, which he possessed in Piedmont. And although in the act then made, there was no mention made of his successors, this prince, however, assumed the title of perpetual vicar of the holy Roman empire. Maximilian I. granted to Philibert the Fine, duke of Savoy, the vicariate over the bishoprick of Lyons and its neighbourhood; and by a privilege of Ferdinand II. this

vicariate

vicariate was extended over the other territories of Savoy, especially over those which, by the peace of Ratisbon, A.D. 1630, have been dismembered from the marquissate of Montferrat, and ceded to the house of Savoy. In the last century, Charles III. duke of Mantua, having taken the party of the emperor and king of Spain, Ferdinand III. gave him the title of vicar of the empire. But the duke of Savoy having protested against this disposition, and at the time of the election of the new emperor having demanded that the vicariate of Mantua might be suppressed, he obtained by the capitulation what he desired. The office of vicars of Italy consisted in representing the emperor, as well during his life as after his death; in receiving the homages of vassals, in deciding differences, and in exercising several other rights of this nature. Besides, all rights of superiority were ceded to them within the bounds of their vicariate; however, they could not exercise them as lieutenants and legates.

The kingdom of Arles has also had its vicars. Among others, mention is made of two, Charles, dauphin de Viennois, who was established vicar during his life, and the count of Savoy. Charles IV. established Amadeus, count of Savoy, vicar of the empire through all the extent of his country; but only during the good pleasure of the emperor. Sigismund confirmed to Amadeus VIII. all the rights which his predecessors had granted him. Maximilian I. and Charles V. confirmed the same vicariate; adding, that the dukes of Savoy ought to be true vicars of the empire, especially in the cities and dioceses of Lyons, Macon, and Grenoble, as far as they are subject to the empire, and under the jurisdiction of the duchy of Savoy; so that all the vassals of the empire should pay the homages for their fiefs in the name of the empire, and carry their appeals to the tribunal of the said duke. This same vicariate was afterwards extended to the other territories of Savoy by the emperors Charles V. Ferdinand I. and Rodolphus II. which was confirmed by the emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II. Charles, duke of Burgundy, demanded likewise to be established vicar of the empire in the territories of Burgundy, and offered to restore to the empire all the lands which formerly were under its dominion; but Frederic III. refused his demand, under the pretence that it could not be granted without the consent of the electors. Lastly, we shall observe, that by the capitulation of Joseph, king of the Romans, the guardianship of that prince was trusted to the vicars of the empire till he arrived at the age of eighteen years. Whereas, formerly, the nearest relations were chosen for guardians to the emperors and kings of the Romans, during their minority.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

The History of the Imperial Cities.

SOME distinguish the cities of the empire into free cities, mixt, and municipal. They call those free cities which hold immediately of the empire, and which have a seat and voice in the diets; those are called mixt cities which have put themselves under the protection of some prince, and have neither seat nor voice in the diets, but are exempt from the jurisdiction of their protectors, to whom, nevertheless, they pay a quit-rent, and promise fidelity; lastly, the municipal cities are those which are entirely subject to the states.

If antiquity be searched, it will be granted that there has been mixt cities, as well as imperial and municipal cities. The cities of Erford, Brunswick, and Magdeburgh, are examples of this; they did not hold immediately of the empire, and yet were not subject to any particular state. But, at present, the cities are only either imperial, when they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the states, and hold of the empire; or municipal, when they depend upon some particular state. It is thus that the cities of Germany, are distinguished in the records of the empire.

Some of the municipal towns enjoy several privileges, which they have obtained from their lords by money, or which they have preserved since the alliance of the Hanse Towns; of which number are the cities of Straisund, Wismar, Brunswick, Rostock, Hildesheim, Osnaburgh, &c. although they enjoy many immunities.

Likewise, those ought not to be called mixt cities, which, although holding immediately of the empire, upon account of criminal jurisdiction, or some duties, yet depend upon a neighbouring prince, by virtue of a particular convention, or by the title of advocacy, or imperial prefecture. As they are entirely immediate, and have a seat and voice in the diets, they are purely imperial cities. In effect, we see even principalities and counties, which, although other states exercise several rights in them, yet are acknowledged as states purely immediate. Cologne and Wetzlar, consequently, are imperial cities; although the criminal jurisdiction be exercised in the first by the elector of Cologne, and in the second by the landgrave of Darmstadt.

There

There are cities appointed for the general affairs of the empire; for example, Frankfort upon the Main is appointed for the election of the emperor; Aix la Chapelle for the coronation; and Nuremberg for the first diet which the new emperor holds: they have a power of reversion granted to them, in case these solemn acts are done in other cities. There are also cities that have the right of convocation, that is, to demand an assembly as oft as necessity requires it; these are, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Ulm; but the first does not depend, at present, upon the empire. Lastly, the city of Rutlingen, by a privilege of the emperor Maximilian, enjoys the right of a general sanctuary of the empire.

The interest of all the imperial cities, which are divided as has been seen, into those of the bench of the Rhine, and those of the bench of Suabia, consists in the peaceable enjoyment of their franchises, rights, immunities, privileges, and especially of their immediateness. They find it so much the more easy to maintain this, as the emperor has his own interest in preserving and protecting them against those who would trouble them. The emperor, in truth, considers these cities as states which support his authority, and which counter-balance that of the electors and other princes; besides, it is these cities alone which pay into the coffers of the empire the greatest part of the Roman months, and of the tax of the chamber of Spire. It is upon this account, also, that this chamber follows, and seconds, upon all occasions, the intentions of the emperor, to concur with him in their protection. They themselves regulate the form of their own government: they make themselves laws, customs, and statutes, coin money, with their arms; have a right to raise among themselves what is to supply their public wants, and to regulate the taxes and contributions. In short, they do within themselves, and in their territories, whatever the princes of the empire can do within the extent of their states. To speak properly, they are aristocratical republics, mixed with democracy; the principal citizens compose the senate, whose authority is moderated by the tribes. Yet the city of Nuremberg must be excepted, which ought to be considered as a pure aristocracy. All authority there is in the hands of a certain number of patrician families, who form the senate.

S E C T. I.

*The Cities of the Bench of the Rhine.**Cologne.*

THE city of Cologne is the first and greatest of this bench, as also the most constant in the Roman religion, having inviolably preserved the ancient doctrine of the church; here is, likewise, the most famous university of Germany.

The magistrates, at the expence of the citizens, support the fortifications and garrison; and, as the particular interest of this city depends upon the continual vent which they have of commodities going up and down the Rhine to Germany and Holland, its principal correspondence towards the head of the Rhine is with the cities of Nuremberg, Straßburg, and Frankfort; as that which it hath towards the mouth, is with the United Provinces and Low Countries. In the time of the Romans, it was called Colonia Ubiorum, a colony of the Ubii; because it was inhabited by a people called Ubii, who had been brought on the side of the Rhine, there to inhabit, after having taken the oath of fidelity. It was after that called Colonia Agrippina, whether upon account of Agrippa, the great and wise captain, who had commanded the Roman armies towards the Rhine, and who was son-in-law to the emperor Augustus, or upon account of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, and mother of Nero, who was born in this city.

The emperor Otho III. made Cologne an imperial city, and granted it, in the year 993, at the diet of Worms, all the privileges which it enjoys (A). Nevertheless, we know that Conrad of Henstat, Engelberg of Valckhemburg, Sigfrid of Westerburch, and many other archbishops have contested about its liberty, till the year 1297. But then, under the reign of the emperor Adolphus, the inhabitants presumed to march a body of troops against their arch-

(A) These privileges consist in this, that there is no appeal from the decisions of its magistrates, unless the action be for a sum above three thousand florins of the Rhine; that there is no appeal from their sentence likewise, for penalties or corporal punishments; in an en-

tire exemption from the paying of toll by its inhabitants, those of Doppart, Werden, and Douisburg; and that no fortress, or redoubt, shall be built between Rheindorff and Sudendorff, upon the two banks of the Rhine.

bishop,

bishop, as far as Woringen, in the country of Brabant; there having offered him battle, and thrown the keys of their city upon the field, as the reward of the victory, they gained it, and with it their keys and their liberty. They celebrate the memory of this every year with a great deal of ceremony.

The government of this city is in the hands of tribes, at the head of each of which are two tribunes; the office of consul is the chief: there are six of them, two of which are consuls-regent every year. There are also particular magistrates for the civil and criminal administration. All these magistrates are changed every year. But the two syndics and two secretaries of state are during life. The militia is divided into eight battalions, which are composed each of eight companies.

Aix la Chapelle was so called upon account of the devotions which the emperor Charlemagne commonly paid at the solemn feasts in the great church which he had caused to be built, and endowed to the honour of the holy Virgin, in which he kept a chapel, as the emperors his successors have practised, and still practise in the places where they have their residence. We have said already that in Latin it was called Aquisgranum, upon the account of very healthful hot baths, which one Granus had found there, and caused to be fitted up. It has been the most magnificent of all the imperial cities; it has been called also the Royal City, because, perhaps, the golden bull ordains, that the emperor shall there receive the first crown. There is still preserved Charlemagne's sword, with the sword-belt, and the book of the Gospel in gold letters, which usually serve for the consecration of the emperors, as they served in the year 1658, at Frankfort for that of Leopold, and at Augsburg for the consecration of Joseph, in 1690. The government is in the hands of the great and little senate; the first is composed of one hundred and twenty-nine persons; it judges criminal affairs, and the different interests of particular persons! the two consuls-regent are at the head of that council, and collect the votes. The little senate has forty-one members; the affairs of the police, and those that concern trade and commerce, are carried before it; it is also charged with the administration of the public revenues. The duke of Brabant has the right of protection of the city. The duke of Juliers is named burgomaster, or perpetual mayor of the burghers, and the trades name every year to the offices of consuls, senators, sheriffs, and other magistrates. The inhabitants profess some the catholic

tholic religion, and others the protestant, according to the treaty of the peace of Westphalia.

Straßburg.

Straßburgh, that is, Town of the Street, through which is the passage from France into Germany; inasmuch, as Attila, after having ruined the city, made a high road of it. It hath been always called in Latin, Argentoratum, and some have also called it in German, Silberthal, that is, Money Town, because the Romans kept their public exchequer of the tribute there. It is the richest and most regular fortified city of Germany. The river Ill, which passes through the middle of it, divides it into two parts, which have a communication with one another by several bridges. The city also maintains a wooden bridge of piles over the Rhine, which brings in a great revenue for the toll, and it has a very fine magazine. As to religion, the magistrates and rectors of the university all profess the confession of Augsburg, and were formerly in possession of the cathedral church, and of all the other churches; so as that the catholics had only a small church of the commandery of St. Anthony, where they had the exercise of their religion. But things are altered there with regard to this, since the Most Christian King has made good his pretensions to that city, and likewise to the other states, which, like it, depend upon the Lower Alsace. He made himself master of it the 1st of October, 1682, by the lucky and prudent negociation of the marquis de Louvois: it has been since yielded to him by the truce of 1683, and by the treaty of Ryßwick.

Lubec.

Lubec (B), an imperial city, was the ancient abode of the Schavonians and Henetes, and, at present, the chief of the Hanse Towns, situated in Lower Saxony, in Wagria, between the rivers Trave, Slecknis, and Wacknis. This place having been seized sometimes by the duke of Saxony, sometimes by the king of Denmark, was, at last, restored to its liberty by the authority of the emperor Frederic II. after the Danes had been expelled; and thus the city was

(B) This city was built at the entry of the Cimbric Chersonesus by Adolphus, count of Holstein, in the time of the emperor Conrad III. Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria and Saxony, having taken it shortly after, founded a bishoprick there, according to an inscription which is read upon the front of the castle of Eulin,

where that bishop resided. After the death of this duke, Lubec returned to the count, then fell to Canute, king of Denmark. The Danes after that being expelled, it became an imperial city under Frederic II. It is governed aristocratically, and Hamburg by a mere democracy.

declared

declared free and imperial in the year 1209; since then it has become elegant and rich, although it has suffered greatly by fires, and from the furious attacks of those that wanted to seize upon its liberty; and, for the better preservation of this, it keeps up its fortifications with great care. Its principal traffick is with the cities of the Baltic Sea, and with the northern countries, by the means of the port which it has at the mouth of the Trave, commanded by a fort called Travemonde. The catholics have neither a church, nor the public exercise of their religion there. All the inhabitants of the towns and villages around follow the confession of Augsburg, as do also the bishop and canons of Lubec. Its government is, in some manner, aristocratical; for only the principal families have the privilege of a seat in the senate; it is composed of twenty-two members; namely, four burgomasters, two syndics, and sixteen counsellors, each of which has its distinct department. Ecclesiastical affairs are determined by the consistory, which is composed of a syndic, who presides, of a superintendant, five ministers, and four counsellors. The appeal from their decisions is carried before the senate. This city manages its commerce, and its interests, so prudently with the kings of the North, and the houses of Brunswick and Holstein, that it makes itself respected by the other princes and the neighbouring states, as well as by the emperor. Its principal privileges are, the having the liberty to present alternately, with the circle of High and Low Saxony, an assessor for the imperial chamber, and to judge, in the last resort, as far as five hundred florins.

Worms is a pretty considerable city, of note, upon account of its antiquity, and situated on this side the Rhine. *Worms.* In the time of the Romans, it was known under the name of Borbetomagus. It was almost entirely ruined in the war of 1688; and the losses which it suffered were estimated at almost nine millions. The catholics there are in possession of the cathedral churches, with some monasteries; but the magistrates, and the most of the citizens, are of the confession of Augsburg. The senate of this city is composed of twenty-five members, thirteen of whom are perpetual. There is an appeal from their judgements to the council of the bishop; but that prelate, by an agreement with the city, must send the appeals to be laid before the imperial chamber. The elector Palatine has the right of protection of this city, which, nevertheless pays homage to its bishop.

Spire is a pretty large city, situated, likewise, on this side the Rhine. It is principally noted for the imperial chamber.

ber, which assembled there (C). The catholics, as at Worms, are in possession of the cathedral church, with some monasteries; and the magistrates, as well as the most of the citizens, are of the confession of Augsbourg. The government is in the hands of tribes. The bishop appoints the pretor, together with the officers of the mint and customs. The city even swears allegiance to him, yet upon condition that he shall make no attempt upon their privileges and liberties; on his side the prelate is bound, before he makes his entry, to shew to the magistrates his bulls from Rome, and the emperor's patents of investiture in the original. The city had obtained from the emperor Charles IV. the privilege of hindering any castle, or fort, from being built within the distance of three leagues of its walls; and this privilege was confirmed to it by the emperor Sigismund. Yet Philip Christopher, elector of Triers, and bishop of Spire, caused the fort of Philipsburg to be built, without meeting with any opposition from the emperor or empire. It preserves, among other privileges, that of freedom in its commerce with Mentz and Cologne. This city, and that of Worms, remain in peace, or at least a neutrality, in case of war, that they may enjoy their liberties and privileges.

Frankfort.

Frankfort is an elegant and large city (D), and well fortified, which the river Main divides into two. The greatest division retains the name of Frankfort, where the golden bull assigns the electors their place of assembling, when there is to be an election of the emperor, as was observed in the election of the emperor Leopold (E). Here are held two celebrated free fairs, for five days, in spring, and in autumn. The other part of the city is called Saxenhausen, serving as a citadel for the other. They have a communication by a stone bridge over the Main. The government is in the hands of two senates: the first judges of important affairs; the second of the police, and of the differences which arise in commerce. The people, and artificers, are, at this day, excluded from these two councils. The troubles of 1616, gave occasion to the

(C) Since the war in 1688, the imperial chamber has been transferred to Wetzlar, as we before mentioned.

(D) It was anciently called Teutoburghin, and Hellonopolis, which signifies, *the Passage of the Franks*; because it served them for a retreat when they

returned from the Gauls.

(E) In the city of Frankfort, over the gate of Saxenhausen, there is an inscription in honour of the emperor Leopold, in which he is called Trismegistatos, that is, *thrice most mighty*.

magistrates

magistrates to revoke, under the imperial authority, all the rights and privileges of the tribes. The magistrates and citizens are protestants (F), and are in possession of the churches; except those of St. Bartholomew, of Our Lady or Lifraberg, of St. Leonard, of the Carmelites, Dominicans, and Nuns Hospitallers of the order of St. Anthony, and of the Teutonic Order, in Saxenhausen, where the catholics have their exercise. The Calvinists have no public exercise of their religion there.

Wetzlar, a protestant city in Weteravia, is situated at *Wetzlar* the confluence of the rivers Dile and Lohn. The senate is composed of twenty-four members, from which every year are chosen two burgomasters, who govern the states. The provostship of the city (G) belongs to the landgrave of Darmstadt, and, therefore, he intrusts it to a mayor, who is always one of his creatures, and in his name, presides over the justice of the place: since the war of 1688, the imperial chamber has been transferred to this place from Spire.

Gelenhausen, situated in Weteravia, is also a protestant city. The elector Palatine and the counts of Hanau *Gelenhausen* pretend to the superiority of it, having acquired the rights for eight thousand florins, from Gunter, count of Schwartzburgh; to whom the emperor, Charles IV. had mortgaged that city in 1349; the process is still depending between the parties before the imperial chamber (H):

Haugenau is the first of the cities of Alsace depending upon the prefecture, whose tribunal was established in the same city. After the treaty of Munster, the king of France, in imitation of the landgraves of Alsace, his predecessors, had at first preserved this provincial council, in which his great-baillie, or lieutenant presided; but as it was entirely ruined in the late war, the most Christian king has transferred this council to Brisac. This city then, as well as the other nine, acknowledged the king for protector, upon the same conditions that they acknowledged the emperor, and the princes of Austria, in that quality, without derogating from their immediateness, by virtue of which, these ten cities pretended to remain free states of the empire. But they have submitted to the right of sovereignty,

(F) All the citizens are not protestants: those of the confession of Augsburg are only the greatest number.

Nassau, who have yielded it since to the house of Hesse,

(H) It enjoys almost the same privileges as the city of Friedbourg.

(G) This dignity was given by the emperor to the house of

with which the king of France is invested, and have renounced this immediateness.

The other nine cities are, Colmas, Schlestat, Weissemburg, Landau, Oberhênheim, Kaiserberg, Munster, in the valley of St. Gregory, Rocheim, and Turchein.

Dortmond.

Dortmond has always been an imperial city (in Westphalia) in the county of Marck; but the elector of Brandenburg, to whom the county belongs, at this day pretends to the sovereignty over it, as over a municipal town depending upon his county (I).

Friedberg.

Friedberg, in Wetteravia, is still a free state, like other imperial cities, and depends immediately upon the empire (K).

S E C T. II.

The Imperial Cities of the Bench of Suabia.

Ratisbon.

RATISBON is called by the Germans Regensburg, from the river Regens, which runs under a fine stone bridge, and throws itself into the Danube below the city; and the rivers Luber and Nab mix with it above the city. The French call it Ratisbon, in imitation of the Latins; it hath formerly been subject to the kings of Bavaria, who made it the place of their residence; but it was declared free by the emperor Frederic I. which does not hinder the dukes of Bavaria from dividing the toll with the citizens, according to an agreement between them. These princes have also the criminal jurisdiction, for which the magistrates of the city pay them homage. It is the first city of the bench of Suabia, and contains, at present, within its walls, five different free states of the empire; namely, the bishop, the abbot of St. Emmeran, the abbesses of the Low and High Munster, and the city. The inhabitants of Ratisbon have the privilege not to be cited before other tribunals, unless for actions above four hundred florins. The senate is composed of seventeen mem-

(I) The empire hitherto has had no regard to the pretensions of that prince. The city of Dortmund holds of the empire in fief the county of the same name. And among other privileges, enjoys the freedom from entries and tolls through the whole extent of the em-

pire. It hath an university, founded in 1543.

(K) This city enjoys great privileges granted to it by the emperor Frederic II. They consist in safe-conducts, in the receipt of tolls and entries, and in the rights of bridges and marches.

bers,

bers, and there is a council of ten, which is charged with the government of the state. The citizens have a right to elect a chief, who judges of the affairs of police. The catholics have the exercise of their religion in the cathedral church, and others, and the Lutherans in three churches, which they have built.

The magistrates and officers of the city are all protestants; and it is to be remarked, that although there are about two and twenty catholic churches, yet there are very few catholic citizens, the magistracy not allowing the freedom of the town to be given to catholics living there.

As this city is large, elegant, and full of magnificent houses, it has been chosen many years for the place of holding the diet, upon account of the conveniency, to many neighbouring princes and states, of sending their provisions by land and water, without great expence.

Augsb^{urg}. Augsb^{urg}, or the city of Augustus (L), so named, because the emperor Augustus had established a Roman colony there, after having reduced it by Germanicus. It is very large and very magnificent; its churches, and other buildings, are stately; and it is embellished with several fountains, which keep the houses and streets very clean. The river Lech runs nigh the city, over which are two large stone bridges. The town-house is a magnificent palace, where Ferdinand IV. was elected king of the Romans, the ceremony having been performed the 3d of May, 1653, in the church of the abbey of St. Ulrick. The Lutherans call their confession of faith by the name of this city, because here it was composed and published. It still preserves the exercise of it as in the year 1624, at which time there were in the magistracy as many catholics as protestants. As to single offices, they are administered alternately by the catholics and protestants; I mean, a catholic succeeds a protestant, and a protestant a catholic. The citizens are for the most part merchants and artificers, especially in works of gold and silver, in which they excel; its manufactures are so esteemed, that they are exported through the whole world. And, as the city is very popu-

(L) In this city the construction of two engines is admired, which raise the water, and convey it through the whole city by more than three hundred canals, which can afford a fountain to every house. The Night-gate, through which

there is a passage for horse and foot, is of a very curious construction. Four or five gates open and shut after one another of their own accord, without any one putting a hand to them. Its arsenal is very fine, and its streets very neat.

lous, and well fortified, it endeavours to maintain itself by its own resources, living in good understanding with its neighbours, to avoid all insult.

Since the year 1548, the authority of the tribes has been quite annihilated in this city, by a decree of the emperor Charles V. The government is in the hands of the patrician and noble families. They are distinguished into two classes; the old, who filled the offices in the year 1668, when the people revolted and changed the form of government; and the modern families, who have only entered into the magistracy since the reign of Charles V. The senate is composed of forty-five members, who divide among themselves the whole administration of affairs. But there is another senate more numerous, consisting of two hundred and sixty persons, patricians as well as plebeians; but it has the management of no affairs, and subsists only to preserve in the state a form of a republic.

It was in this city, in the year 1690, the emperor Joseph was elected and crowned; when, during the life of the emperor Leopold his father, that prince was chosen king of the Romans. This city is esteemed for its cleanliness, and the only one in Germany which approaches nearest to the cleanliness of those in Holland.

*Nurem-
berg.*

Nuremberg, or rather Norimberg, has been so called upon account of the hill, upon which stands the castle, called, in Latin, *Castrum Noricum*, round which the city was begun to be built, and where the emperors formerly lodged; and here they lodge still, when they pass by that city. They there preserve, as precious relics, the crown, sceptre, cloaths, buskins, and other ornaments of Charlemagne (M), which served, also, the emperor Leopold, when he went thither after his election, to receive the homage of the city. The small river Regnitz, which runs through it, and those of Rednitz and Schwarzsack, which pass by its walls, furnish the inhabitants, besides other advantages, with the means of making all sorts of stuffs, dyes, and

(M) These ornaments are, a mitred crown, enriched with rubies, emeralds, and pearls; the dalmatic of Charlemagne, richly embroidered; the imperial mantle powdered, with embroidered eagles, and its border thick set with large emeralds, sapphires, and topazes; the buskins covered with plates of gold; the gloves embroidered; the apple, the golden sceptre, and sword. The ancient custom of the empire is, that the emperor is bound to assemble in this city the first diet that he holds after his election and coronation.

other

other manufactures (N), and toys, which are carried and sold even in the Indies.

There are certain families called patricians, which, to the exclusion of the rest, possess the offices of the senate, composed of forty-two persons (O), and over which two castellans, or perpetual seneschals, preside, the first of whom has his residence in the castle. These castellans assemble, sometimes, in the castle, with five or six of the chief members, to hold a secret council (P). And, as this city glories in being one of the first which embraced Lutheranism, it preserves the privilege of that in civil matters, not admitting any catholics to the magistracy or freedom of the town; the catholics there having the liberty only of remaining under the protection of the rest, and performing their religious worship in a commandery of Malta, and this but at certain hours, not to disturb the Lutherans, who likewise assemble there, although in possession of all the other churches.

This city is particularly noted for its antiquity, grandeur, fortifications, its triple walls of hewn stone, its large and deep moat, its fine houses, large churches, its wide streets, always clean, and for its curious and large library, and its magazine stored with every thing proper for its defence. It likewise renders itself respected by the other cities and bailliages, which it hath acquired from the electors Palatine, and other princes of the Rodolphic branch, either by mortgage or by pure and simple purchase, in the High Palatinate; such as Altorf, a fine city, with an university, Heimbrouck, Lauf, Engental, Gravenberg, Hilpoltstein, Ho-

(N) There is in Nuremberg, and in the neighbouring villages depending upon it, an infinite number of workmen, very ingenious in making several kinds of toys of wood, which are carried through all the fairs of Germany, and from thence through all Europe. These toys are called Nurembergs, and they have so great a sale, that it even exceeds description. This employment affords a livelihood to the greatest part of the inhabitants of the city; and they make a very considerable profit from this traffic.

(O) Of these forty-two members, there are only thirty-four chosen from the patrician families; the other eight are taken from among the burghers, and make in a manner a small separate body.

(P) This secret council is composed of seven principal chiefs of the republic, and for that reason is called septemvirate. It determines the most important affairs; and it is the depository of the precious stones of the empire, of the imperial crown, the ensigns, seals, and keys of the city.

henstein, Leichtenau, Petzenstein, Reichenneck, and Wel-den, which at once serve both for the support and retreat of the principal families of the city.

Its particular interest is first to defend itself from the electors of Bavaria, and the princes of the Willielmine branch, who pretend to claim all these bailliages and cities, because they were alienated without their assent. And in the second place, to regulate the right of conduct, which the marquis of Anspach, burgrave or lord of Nuremberg, endeavours to extend even as far as the city itself, over all persons and merchandize which go out or come in. This right consists in providing for the security of the people, of the attendants, baggage, and goods of those who go to Nuremberg, or who come thence, and pass through the lands of the burgraviate. This occasions it to cultivate and espouse the authority of the emperor as much as it can, against all these pretenders, who, besides the power which the imperial dignity gives him, is their neighbour by the kingdom of Bohemia.

Ulm.

Ulm has its name from the Latin word *ulmus*, that is, *an elm*, upon account of the great number of elms growing near that city. It is situated upon the Danube, and has a very fine stone bridge over that river, which begins at this place to be navigable (Q). It is rich, populous, trading, regularly fortified, and embellished with a great number of fountains. It was formerly but a town, which Charlemagne gave to the abbey of Reichenaw, and which Lotharius II. caused afterwards to be destroyed. But the inhabitants of the country settling there again, purchased from the abbey of Reichenaw, for a sum of money, their liberty and independency, and got themselves matriculated among the imperial cities; so that it has become the first of the province of Suabia; it keeps itself in favour not only with the emperor, but with all the other princes, its neighbours. The catholics are not very numerous there, and have only two churches, the protestants having got possession of all the rest in the city. The senate is composed of forty-one persons, the two eldest and five of the chief of which, compose the secret council, to which the catholics are not admitted;

(Q) This city, though small, possesses a great extent of territory, and forty baillages and lordships depend upon it; its riches have been always admired, which consist in ready money; so that there is a Ger-

man proverb, which says, that the ready money of Ulm, the cleanliness of Augsburg, the industry of Nuremberg, and the arsenal of Strasburgh, are the most considerable things of Germany.

This

This city has many fine privileges: it hath the keeping of the archives of all the imperial cities of Suabia; it is the place of their assemblies, alternately with the city of Spire. Its inhabitants, like those of Nuremberg, cannot be cited to foreign tribunals. Its decisions are without appeal to the imperial chamber, as far as the sum of six hundred florins. It can lay taxes upon the ecclesiastics of its territory; and the empire can neither mortgage, sell, nor alienate it.

Memingen (a very ancient city of Algau) hath this privilege, that a citizen may join to its ordinary judges a supernumerary judge, taken from one of these cities, namely, Augsburg, Ulm, Ravensburg, Biberach, or Kempten, which happens when a process is to be judged in the first instance. It has also the privilege of affording a sanctuary to those who are condemned to the imperial ban. The magistrates, who govern it, are chosen partly from the ancient families, and partly from the privileged tribes. They are all protestants as well as the citizens. *Memingen.*

Kaufbeuren, (in Algau) as to the public offices, is like the city of Augsburg, some catholics, some protestants. *Kaufbeuren.*

Eßlingen owes to the emperor Frederic II. its liberty and privileges; among others, that of not being dismembered from the empire by sale, or by mortgage. Its inhabitants cannot be called before a foreign tribunal; and no ecclesiastic can purchase land estates within the extent of its territory. The form of its government is purely democratical; its magistrates are chosen from the tribes. It is under the particular protection of the duke of Wirtemberg (R), a protection not hereditary. *Eßlingen.*

Reutlingen, likewise, owes its liberty to the emperor Frederic II. and, like Eßlingen, it has voluntarily put itself under the protection of the duke of Wirtemberg. For acknowledgement, in time of war, it ordinarily furnishes him with an aid of seventy men, and sometimes this subsidy is increased according to the occasion. The government is in the hands of a council, composed of twenty-eight members, at the head of whom are the three burgo-masters, who rule each four months in the year; nevertheless, the tribunes of the people have admission into the council, where they take care of the interests of the public: they have also the inspection of the different tribes, and of the trades-people. This city is Lutheran. *Reutlingen.*

(R) Every new year's-day the city of Eßlingen sends the duke of Wirtemberg a hundred florins of gold in a green velvet purse, in acknowledgement of his protection.

The

Nortlingen. The city of Nortlingen is famous upon account of two great battles fought in its neighbourhood. It is also considerable of itself, especially for its greatness: it obtained its liberty from the emperor Conrad, about the year 1251. Its senate is composed of fifteen counsellors, and twelve superior judges, at the head of which are three burgomasters, who change every four months. It glories in being the first imperial city that embraced the doctrine of Luther.

Donawert. Donawert has been yielded to the elector of Bavaria (S).
Dincken-spiel. Dinckenspiel (in Suabia) is governed, as to the offices of the city, like Augsburg; that is, by two burgomasters, or first consuls, the one catholic, the other protestant, and by four counsellors, two of whom are catholic, and two protestant; and in single offices, the one succeeds the other alternately. The magistrates in all are sixteen in number, one half catholics, and the other protestants. It is remarked, that within the territory of this city, are found as many lakes and ponds, as there are days in the year.

Biberach. Biberach is governed, likewise, as to its offices, like the city of Augsburg. According to the treaty of Westphalia, it ought to have as many catholics as Lutherans in the senate. This city was known in the year 751, under Pepin.

Aalen. Aalen is so called, upon account of the river Kocher, which runs through it, and is in that place full of eels, which, in German, are called *aalen*. This city is Lutheran: anciently it was under the dominion of the kings of Bohemia, and had the counts of Dettingen for lords. These sold it to Ebherhard, count of Wirtemberg (T.) Aalen, as also the other cities remaining to be mentioned, endeavour to raise themselves from their ruins, and to render themselves as considerable as they were before the last wars. They preserve, nevertheless, their franchises and immunities with care.

(S) This city was put to the rank of imperial cities, and gives it a seat and voice in the diets.

(T) This small city belonged formerly to the counts of Wirtemberg, and was lost by Ebherhard the lame, in the war which he had with the cities of Suabia. The emperor Charles IV. against whom Ebherhard had revolted, declared it restored to the empire.

Popfingen is little worth note, unless for its privilege of *Popfingen.* being in the number of imperial cities. It is protestant.

Gingen belonged formerly to the counts of Holffenstein, *Gingen.* to whom the empire gave it in mortgage. It hath since purchased its liberty. It follows the confession of Augsburg.

Rotenberg, or Rotenburg, is one of the most ancient *Rotenberg.* cities of Germany. It was part of the dominion of the ancient dukes of Franconia. After the extinction of that house, it returned to the empire. The emperor Henry V. made a present of it, with the duchy of Franconia, to his nephew Conrad III. duke of Suabia, who took the title of duke of Rotenburg. But that prince dying without issue, in 1628, that city returned again to the empire. It was declared an imperial city by the emperor Frederic I. who established a prefect or superior judge there; and lastly, Charles IV. suppressing that prefect, restored to the inhabitants their perfect liberty. Their senate consists of forty members.

Hall was formerly the ordinary rendezvous for the tour- *Hall.* naments and single combats; it had its liberty at the same time with the city of Aalen, and upon the same occasion; that is to say, when Ebherhard, count of Wirtembrg, their lord, was put to the ban of the empire. The emperor keeps a prefect in the city, who presides at all the assemblies. Their council judges without appeal, to the sum of four hundred crowns.

Rotweill is chiefly remarkable for a chamber, or impe- *Rotweill.* rial chamber, called the chamber of Rotweill. This chamber was not fixed anciently; it was the emperor Conrad III. who settled it at Rotweill, in reward for the city's fidelity to him, and having given him assistance against Lotharius. The emperor Maximilian I. confirmed that disposition in 1496. This chamber depends upon the emperor alone, and its jurisdiction is confined to the circles of Austria, Suabia, the Rhine, and Franconia. It does not only extend to the states and immediate members, but extends also to their subjects: it concurs also with the ordinary magistrates; and it even enjoys the right of prevention. But some states, by particular privileges, or by convention, or by virtue of prescription, are free from this jurisdiction. Of this number are the electors, the princes of the house of Austria, the bishops of Bamberg, Wurtzburg, and Strasburg, the counts Palatine, the margraves of Brandenburg, the dukes of Wirtemberg, and several prelates, counts, imperial cities, and immediate nobles; yet there are certain affairs in which the privilege of exemption cannot take place, excepting only with regard to the

the electors, the princes of the house of Austria, the bishop of Strasburg, and the duke of Wirtemberg.

The judge, or president, of this jurisdiction, is appointed by the emperor; and, although anciently that office was arbitrary, since the emperor Rupert, the counts of Sultz possess it. In 1687, after the death of John Louis, the last of the counts of Sultz, Mary Anne, his daughter, wife of Ferdinand, prince of Schwartzenberg, inherited the county of Sultz, and her children obtained the hereditary dignity of president of this tribunal. The vice-president, who must be a count, or baron, is in the nomination of the president; the assessors are chosen partly from the senators and septemvirs of Rotweill, and partly from the body of the nobility; but neither of them are received, before the president and assessors, already in place, have examined them.

This tribunal is reckoned an ordinary jurisdiction, which makes it, at the death of an emperor, continue its sessions under the authority of the vicariate Palatine. There is an appeal from its judgments, either to the imperial chamber, or aulic council; but in case of delay, or denial of justice, nullity, or other such objections of that kind, the appeal is only to the aulic council.

The states have often complained against this tribunal, they even demanded the entire suppression of it, at the time of the treaty of Westphalia; but that affair was left to the following diet. In 1653, at the diet of Ratisbon, it was moved again to abolish that jurisdiction; but the count of Sultz, and the senate of Rotweill, presented a memorial, in which they made appear, that that tribunal had been established in the city of Rotweill, as a compensation, and that the office of president had been given under the title of a sief to the counts of Sultz. Since that time, the electors in the capitulations obliged the emperor Leopold and his successors, to promise to abolish the abuses which were committed in that tribunal, as well as in the jurisdictions of the empire. In truth, the reformation of that tribunal belongs to the emperor alone; and although the decree of the diet of Ratisbon in the year 1532, declares that the reformation shall be made by the deputies of the imperial chamber, that ordinance was granted only with the consent of the emperor, who remitted his prerogative at the entreaty of the states.

As the city of Rotweill is fortified, and an object of jealousy to its neighbours, especially to the duke of Wirtemberg, it has made an alliance with the Swiss Cantons, which

which has continued since the year 1519. The magistracy and inhabitants profess the catholic religion.

Überlingen, upon the lake Constance, has been looked upon as a considerable place; its moats being cut out of the rock, and of an extraordinary depth: it professes the protestant religion. Its senate is composed of patrician and plebeian families; there is no appeal from its decisions, but to the superior tribunals of Friburg, Rotweill, and Ravensburg. It has the right of protection over the imperial city of Buchorn. *Überlingen.*

Pfullendorff was given to the empire in 1180, by Itha, daughter of the last of the counts of Pfullendorff, and wife of Adelbert III. count of Habsburg. *Pfullendorff.*

Weill, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, obtained its liberty and privileges from the emperor Frederic II. It is famous for the battle fought there in 1688. Its religion is the catholic. *Weill.*

Hailbron, upon the Neckar, has its name from the salutary springs which are found there in more than two hundred fountains: it follows the confession of Augsberg; there is but one catholic church, which is a commandery of the Teutonic order. This church has privileges, and serves for a sanctuary to criminals, except declared murderers. This city has the same privileges for fairs as Frankfort. *Hailbron.*

Buchorn, after the extinction of the counts of Altorff and Ravensburg, was united to the empire. It is the staple of the merchandize, which comes from Swisserland into Germany by the lake of Constance. *Buchorn.*

Wangen, in Algau, is famous for its woollen manufactures: it hath preserved the catholic religion. *Wangen.*

Gemund (U) became an imperial city at the death of the last duke of Suabia. It was formerly governed by the nobles: the burghers taking the opportunity of their dissensions, seized upon the magistracy, which they have still preserved. The catholics alone can stand candidates for offices. *Gemund.*

Lindau is called the Venice of Germany, by reason of its situation in an island of the lake Constance. It has a communication with the continent by a bridge of one hundred and ninety paces. The members of its senate are chosen among the nobles and tribes. It can neither be alienated nor mortgaged by the empire. The abbess of *Lindau.*

(U) This city is called in Latin Gaudia Mundi, upon account of the many tournaments, which the lords of Suabia formerly celebrated there.

Lindau.

Lindau has great pretensions upon that city, but they never have had any effect.

Ravensburg.

Ravensburg (in Algau) became an imperial city during the interregnum of the empire. Its government is divided like that of Biberach, among the catholics and protestants.

Winsheim.

Winsheim (in Franconia) had been mortgaged by the emperor Sigismund; and, in consideration of having paid off the mortgage itself, it obtained the privilege of never being alienated or mortgaged. Its religion is protestant. The senate is composed of twenty-four members, and there is no appeal from its judgments in criminal matters.

Wimphen.

Wimphen, anciently Cornelia, is situated upon the Neckar: it is famous for the battle fought there in 1622, between general Tilly and the margrave of Baden Dourlach. All the members of its senate are of the confession of Augsburg, although some of the citizens are catholics.

Offenburg.

Offenburg (in Ortnau) owes its origin, as is pretended, to an English knight, called Offen. It hath preserved the catholic religion; and is under the protection of the house of Austria.

Zell.

Zell (in Ortnau) is also catholic, and under the protection of the house of Austria.

Buchau.

Buchau (in Algau) has a nunnery, and all the nuns must be countesses or baronesses; they may all marry, except the abbesses.

Leutkirch.

Leutkirch, in Algau. Its senate is composed of twelve members, and both the religions are professed there.

Schweinfurt.

Schweinfurt, in Suabia. Its government is in the hands of four colleges; the first, composed of six members, is the superior tribunal; the second is also composed of six members, each of which have their department for the public good; the third consists of twelve persons, who enter into the assemblies, to watch over the interests of the people, especially with regard to taxations; the fourth is composed of eight members, who make a kind of chamber of accounts.

Kempten.

Kempten depended upon the abbots of Kempten till 1525, when it redeemed itself, and became an imperial city. In 1530, it embraced the protestant religion. Its senate is composed of fifty-eight members, who have two consuls at their head.

Weissenburg.

Weissenburg (in the Nortgau) has been mortgaged to Nuremberg; it redeemed itself in 1360, and hath since preserved its liberty and privileges. The decisions of its magistrates are without appeal, as far as the sum of three hundred florins.

Gingenbach (in Ortnau) professes the catholic religion. It has within its walls an abbey; the abbot, who is a state

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in the empire, is under the protection of the house of Austria, as well as the city. *Gingembach.*

C H A P. LXXXV.

History of the Republic of the Swiss.

THE Swiss Cantons being a part of Germany, formerly made a very considerable part of the empire; and although, at present, they pay but a very small submission to it, yet they acknowledge it in some measure; and demand of the emperor the confirmation of the privileges and liberties, which they only hold from their predecessors. Their state is composed not only of thirteen cantons, which are all sovereign, but also of their allies. The cantons are Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, Basil, Friburg, Soleure, Schafhausen, and Appenzel. Their allies are the abbot and city of St. Gal, the Grisons, the bishop of Sion, the country of Valais, the cities of Rotwel upon the Neckar, of Mulhausen in Sundgau, of Bienne, Geneva, and the county of Neuchatel.

It must be remarked, that the cities of Basil and Schafhausen are not situated in the ancient Swisserland, nor are their allies, excepting the abbot of St. Gal, and the city Bienne, and that a part of the cantons of Ury and Glaris are in the Alps, and among the Grisons.

It cannot be denied, that the three cantons of Ury, Schuitz, and Underwald, belonged formerly to the empire, which gave them their provosts, who judged sovereignly in criminal causes; not but that they had always very large privileges, confirmed by several emperors, and particularly by Frederic II. upon account of the services which they had done him in his quarrels with the holy see: but that did not hinder them from acknowledging the empire; for, notwithstanding the alliance which the towns of Ury, Schuitz, and Zurich, made between themselves in the year 1251, that is a hundred years before the canton of Zurich allied itself with the three, the emperor Rodolphus I. failed not to give them governors, in the name of the empire; and the act of the year 1291, is still to be found, by which the same emperor confirmed their privileges, calling them people of free condition.

Albert of Austria, son of Rodolphus, declared himself a sworn enemy to their liberty, as well upon account of the hatred

hatred which he bore to Adolphus of Nassau, who had favoured it, as to increase his dominions on that side, which made many prelates and lords, who depended immediately upon the empire, begin to acknowledge the house of Austria. The canons of Ury, Schuitz, and Underwald, not being able to bear the yoke of that house, shook it off in the year 1308, and made an alliance with one another for two years, which they changed to a perpetual one in the year 1315, after the victory which they obtained at Morgarten, over Leopold of Austria, son of Albert, in the month of December, 1314.

The emperor Louis, of Bavaria, continued to give them governors, but it was with the provision of suffering them enjoy their liberty, and not alienating them from the empire. These letters are dated upon St. John's day, 1329, and have been confirmed by the emperors his successors in the most authentic form.

Lucerne seeing itself threatened on all sides with the loss of its liberty, made an alliance with the three cantons on the Saturday before the feast of St. Martin, in 1332.

Zurich was formerly subject to two collegiate churches, which were within its own walls; but after the death of Bertold, last duke of Zeringen, who was provost of these churches and of the city, Frederic II. received them into the protection of the empire, upon condition that it never should be alienated. It was from this, that Richard of Cornwall, having been raised to the imperial throne, declared by his letters given at Haguenaw the 20th of November, 1262, that the city of Zurich depended immediately upon the empire, against the pretensions of Conradin, grandson of Frederic II. who affirmed that the property of it belonged to him. Since that time, Louis of Bavaria, intending to give it with the cities of Schafhausen, Brizach, Rhinfeldt, and Newburg, to Frederic, duke of Austria, in payment of the money which he had promised him, to oblige him to renounce the empire, those of Zurich and Schafhausen opposed it, and remonstrated to him, that they were so incorporated with the empire, that they could upon no account whatever be alienated from it. The dukes of Austria did not cease to persecute the city of Zurich, so that not being able to hope for assistance from the emperor Charles IV. it allied itself in the year 1351, with the four cantons, continuing still annexed to the empire, from whom it received its judges; till in the year 1400, it bought from the emperor Wenceslaus the privilege of appointing a criminal judge for itself from their body. Ulric Zuinglius preached the reformed religion there in the year 1419, and
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in the year 1514, images were taken out of their churches. Although the city of Zurich be the fifth in the order of the alliance, yet it holds the first rank, upon account of its greatness and wealth; it convokes the assemblies or diets, and also it is to its magistrate that the ambassadors of foreign princes address themselves, when they demand these assemblies.

Glaris was conquered by the five cantons, and honoured with their alliance in the month of November, 1351.

Zug was besieged and taken the following year, 1352, and likewise received into the alliance.

Berne (W), built by Berthold, last duke of Zeringhen, was by him given and submitted to the empire under the reign of Frederic II. who ratified that donation of the duke in the year 1218. The civil wars which harassed the empire after the death of Frederic, obliged that city to put itself under the protection of the dukes of Savoy; but in the year 1352, it made an alliance with the three small cantons, yet in such a manner, that those of Zurich and Lucerne were comprehended in it, seeing the three small cantons had obliged themselves to bring these two last to the assistance of the Bernois, if they were required; the same three cantons likewise had engaged themselves to bring the Bernois to the assistance of the cantons of Zurich and Lucerne.

Friburg having been built a little time before Berne; by the same duke of Zeringhen, after his death fell into the hands of the counts of Kyburg, who sold it to Rodolphus, king of the Romans; and thus it remained two hundred years under the dominion of the house of Austria. It did not fail in the year 1403, to make a perpetual alliance with the Bernois.

Soleure, a very ancient city, and therefore called the Sister of Triers (X), has been a long time an imperial city; yet so, that the bishop of Geneva, and some collegiate

(W) Berne is situated in a ways maintains one. In its peninsula, formed by the Aar, arsenal, the statue of William and almost all built of Ashlar Tell, citizen of Schuitz, is to stone. It was called Berne upon be seen, who, with an arrow, account of a bear which was struck off the apple put upon taken there when they were his son's head by the governor laying the foundations: Berne, Griser, and by that means saved in German, signifying *bears*: his life, which occasioned the it bears one in its arms, and al- beginning of the Swiss republic.

(X) In Celtis nihil est Soloduro antiquius, unis
Exceptis Treviris, quarum ego dicta soror.

churches there enjoy the same rights, which we have said those of Zurich enjoy in their city; but having been oppressed by many lords, it made, in the year 1551, a perpetual alliance with the Bernois, and friendship with the other cantons, with whom afterwards it allied itself more particularly.

Basil; the capital city of the country of the Rauraci, is the greatest in all Swisserland (Y); it was in the number of the free cities of the empire, in consequence of great privileges which it had long before obtained of the Roman emperors. As it was in the neighbourhood of the Swiss, the better to secure their friendship, it made at once a perpetual alliance with all the cantons.

Schaffhausen, anciently an abbey, has likewise been one of the free cities of the empire, after having shook off, by the authority and privileges of the emperors, the yoke of the abbot's dominion, who was lord over part of the city. But the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, sold it to the dukes of Austria, who possessed it eighty-five years; after which, the emperor Sigismund, having confiscated it from Frederic, duke of Austria, re-united it to the empire. Yet the princes of Austria having afterwards raised their pretensions to it, the city of Schaffhausen, seeing itself vigorously pressed by them, for its defence made an alliance at first with the cantons of Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Schuits, Zug, and Glaris; afterwards, being engaged in new wars, it entered into a perpetual alliance with all the cantons in the year 1507, and made the twelfth canton.

Appenzel is a village which gives the name to the whole canton, and which formerly depended upon the abbot of St. Gal, from whom it purchased its liberty for ready money, and thus began to acknowledge the empire immediately. Afterwards it was received into the number of cantons in the year 1513.

But it ought to be observed, that the cantons are not equally allied with one another, nor obliged to assist one another indifferently (Z). That of Zurich, is particularly allied

(Y) The town-house is adorned with three fine pictures; nigh the burying place of the French church, the famous John Holbens' dance of the dead is to be seen. It is a picture of many figures as big as the life, of every age, and quality, which Death, who

leads the dance, is conducting to the tomb.

(Z) It is a mistake: the thirteen cantons compose together only one body. By the first perpetual alliance, the three first cantons are united together by a solemn act. They admitted afterwards

allied with the six first cantons, and with that of Berne ; and consequently, they are obliged mutually to assist one another (A). The Bernois are particularly allied with those of Ury, Schuitz, and Underwald ; those of Lucerne, with these three small cantons, and they with all the rest ; the canton of Zug with Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, and Lucerne ; that of Glaris with Zurich, and the three small houses.

Moreover the three small cantons, and that of Glaris, cannot make alliance with any one, without the permission of the rest.

The rest may make new alliances provided they be not contrary to the old one.

The cantons, formerly subject to the empire, as Zurich, Berne, Ury, and Schuitz, protest, in all their treaties, that their alliances shall not prejudice what they owe to the empire. Also those of Zug and Lucerne except in all their treaties the house of Austria.

With regard to the allies of the thirteen cantons, we will begin with the abbot and city of St. Gal. The abbot was formerly a very powerful prince of the empire ; but although his power since that time has received a remarkable diminution, yet he is still very rich and considerable. He was the first ally of the cantons, and this alliance was made with four cantons in the year 1451, in the time of Gaspard of Landberg, fifty-seventh abbot. The city of St. Gal, an imperial city imitated his example, and made one also with six cantons in the year 1454.

The Grisons are divided into three leagues (B). The first called the High League, comprehends nineteen communities,

afterwards five other cantons into the alliance, and to the same conditions. Lastly, the five other being likewise joined to the first eight, accepted of the same conditions, they cannot any longer but make the same body, since they are allied by the same treaty. They have not needed to make a general treaty and a relative one between one canton and another, since it was sufficient for them to enter into the first, and (1), accept of its conditions.

(A) If any canton was attacked by a foreign power, an assembly of all the cantons should immediately be called, who should all concur in giving that mutual assistance which they reciprocally owe one another (2).

(B) Burnet says. in the first part of his Travels into Switzerland, that the three leagues have each their government separate ; but by a confederacy like that of the United Provinces, or Swiss cantons, they make but one bo-

(1) *Les Etats & les Delices de la Suisse*, tom. i. p. 223. & suiv.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 319.

munities, as does the second, called the League of the House of God ; and the third, called the League of the Ten Jurisdictions comprehends ten communities. The high league made a perpetual alliance with seven cantons in 1497, and that of the House of God assented to it in the year following. The third is not allied with the cantons, but continues to live in good intelligence and friendship with them.

The people inhabiting from the source of the Rhine to the lake of Geneva, are called the Vallois, or the Vallevians, and the country the Pays de Vallois. They have the bishop of Syon for their prince, who is their temporal and spiritual lord, and they are divided into seven communities, five of which made their first alliance with Lucerne, Ury, and Underwald, in the year 1417. But in 1475, they all made an offensive and defensive league with the Bernois, and renewed it a hundred years after, namely, in 1575. A long time before this renovation, that is, in the year 1533, they had made a particular alliance with the seven catholic cantons, Lucerne, Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, Zug, Friburg, and Soleure, for the culture and conservation of the Roman religion, against those who wanted to deprive them of the exercise of it by violence.

Rotweil is an imperial city, honoured with a chamber of justice, for the neighbouring country. It made its first alliance with the Swifs in the year 1463, which was changed into a perpetual alliance with all the cantons in the year 1513.

Mulhausen was likewise an imperial city, situated in the Sontgaw ; it made its first alliance with the cantons of Berne, Friburg, and Soleure ; and by the mediation of the Bernois, seven cantons took it under their protection in 1464. In the year 1506, it was received into the corporation of Basil ; and the 19th of January, 1515, it made an alliance with the thirteen cantons.

Bienne was formerly subject to the bishop of Basil ; it made its first alliance with Berne in 1303, it renewed it in 1352, and since in 1555.

dy, whose affairs are treated of from time to time in a general diet composed of sixty-seven votes. That the Grisons league sends twenty-eight, the league of the House of God, twenty-four, and that of the Ten Jurisdictions, fifteen ; and the ge-

neral diet is held by turns in the capital of each league. From twenty to twenty years, this diet executed a chamber of justice for the examination of the nobility and magistrates, of which the people complained.

Geneva hath always maintained a friendship with the Swiss, often making treaties of alliance (C) with Berne and Friburg, for a certain time, as occasion required. But at last it made a perpetual alliance and confraternity with the Bernois, which they confirmed in 1536.

The county of Neuschatel is allied with the cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, but more particularly with Berne.

Besides these allies, there are bailliages which are governed in common, as that of Baden, of which the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, and Berne, are lords. The same cantons, excepting that of Berne, are also lords of the bailliage of Turgow.

The Free Provinces, situated upon the river Reus, acknowledge the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, Zug, and Glaris.

The country of Sargans is also subject to the Swiss; yet it enjoys the privileges of electing its own magistrates, and administering justice in its own name.

The Rhintal acknowledges for lords the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Ury, Schuitz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel, which send thither their baillies each in its turn.

The four bailliages, which the Swiss call those beyond the mountains, namely, Lugano, Locarne, Mendrize, and Lawal-Madia, were given to the Swiss, by Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, in the year 1513, and are subject to all the cantons, except to that of Appenzel, which had not then been admitted into the number of cantons.

The city of Bellizone belonged formerly to the counts of Mitau, who sold it to the counts of Ury, Schuitz, and Underwald; but a duke of Milan took it from them in 1422; yet they got possession of it again in 1500; and Maximilian Sforza, when he gave them the four bailliages above named, confirmed them in the possession of Bellizone; which is composed of three bailliages, named Bellizone, Walbrune, and Riviere, and governed by the three cantons in their turn, each canton sending a bailly to each bailliage.

The state of Swisserland is popular, and governed aristocratically.

(C) Those of Geneva are allied with the Swiss, and particularly with the cantons of Zurich and Berne. They have a magazine well fortified, in which are kept with care, the scaling-letters which the Savoyards raised against the walls of the city to surprise it, the 22d of December, 1602.

When any affair, concerning the common good of all the cantons, is to be deliberated upon, general assemblies are called, to which they all fend their deputies, who have a deliberative voice.

If the affairs regard only the bailliages, governed by the seven or eight first cantons, none but they fend their deputies there; but if it is for the affairs of the bailliages of Italy, all the cantons assemble.

Since religion has begun to divide their affections, they begin likewise to make other particular assemblies, namely, the Protestants, which are, Zurich, Berne, Basil, and Schaffhausen, and part of Glaris and Appenzel, at Arau; and the Catholics, sometimes at Lucerne, sometimes elsewhere. The general assemblies are ordinary held about the middle of June, in the town-house of Baden; and it is, as has been said, the canton of Zurich which calls them, and there makes the first propositions.

Although they have an hereditary alliance with the princes of the house of Austria, they have one likewise with the crown of France (D); and as their country is so well-peopled, that if they did not dismiss their young people by sending them abroad to serve in war, they would not have within themselves sufficient to subsist them, they freely permit these crowns to make considerable levies of troops among them. By this policy they manage these foreign powers so well, that they live in peace, and enrich themselves at the expence of their neighbours (E).

(D) The Swifs have no hereditary alliance with France. The peace which they have with that crown is called hereditary, and was made in 1516. Indeed, the kings of France, Louis XI. Charles VIII. and Louis XII. made alliances with the Swifs; Francis I. made one, which was to last all his life; and even three years after his death. Each king since has done the same. Henry IV.

when renewing that alliance treated for himself, and for Louis XIII. his successor: Louis XIV. renewed the same alliance; and Louis XV. continued for several years a pretty difficult negociation, for the renewing of the same alliance. (E) They are so many adventurers scattered in the different courts of Europe. See l'Estat. & Delices de la Suisse. tom. i. p. 342, & suiv.

C H A P. LXXXV.

The History of Geneva.

S E C T. I.

*Containing the Description of Geneva and its Territory;
with a Sketch of its History to the Year 1500.*

THE town or city of Geneva stands on an eminence, where the Rhone issues from the lake Lemán; and below it this river joins the Arve. Spon, the learned historian of Geneva, is dissatisfied with the derivation of the word Geneva from the juniper shrubs that grew upon the eminence whereon it is built; “as if, says he, the Latin or French tongues were spoken four ages before Rome was built.” But he does not consider, that both the Latin and Greek tongues, as well as the French, have their roots in the Celtic, of which the Tuscan itself was no other than a dialect. Geneva is divided by the Rhone into three unequal parts, which are joined by four bridges. The largest division lies towards Savoy; another, called St. Gervais, adjoins to the Pais de Gex, in France; and the third consists of an island in the Rhone, seven hundred feet in length, and two hundred broad. Its inhabitants in general are Calvinists. It contains six churches, of which the finest is the cathedral of St. Peter. The professors of philosophy read their lectures in the chapel of the Maccabees, where the Italians and Germans are allowed to perform divine worship; and in the year 1707, the Lutherans obtained the like indulgence, but within a private house. The town-house of Geneva is a stately building; and its university, which was founded in 1558, and has twelve professors belonging to it, is, to this day, famous all over Europe.

The territory of Geneva is very small and inconsiderable, consisting of a few districts and parochial villages, which, however, are generally fertile and well peopled; particularly Le Maudement de Peney, which is bounded on one side by the Pais de Gex, belonging to France, and parted by the Rhone from the dominions of Savoy. Over this tract, which is very fruitful, the city every three years appoints a castellan, who is a member of the great council.

Many circumstances contribute to render Geneva, small as its territory is, a most delightful place. The air of tranquillity, freedom, and politeness, visible among the better

*Description
of Geneva.*

*Manners
of the
inhabi-
tants.*

fort of the inhabitants, is very inviting to strangers, especially those of a studious or contemplative cast, to reside amongst them. Its neighbourhood both by art and nature, is enchantingly pleasant; its air wholesome; and its inhabitants, mechanics especially, are industrious and ingenious. The city and small territory about it, is served with excellent provisions, and at a cheap rate; and it is a general thoroughfare for traders and travellers to and from France, Germany, and Italy. These and many other advantages, joined to the modesty and regularity of the magistrates, and literati, have brought a great resort of young foreigners of the highest distinction, to study under their professors, and to complete themselves in the French language. The city contains two hospitals, a house of correction, and an armoury, together with a kind of a large dock-yard for public barges, yachts, and other vessels.

Government.

But that which, perhaps, contributes most to the importance and independency of Geneva, is its form of government, which is that of a free republic, the supreme power of which is vested in the general council of citizens and burghesses. This council may be called the legislature of Geneva. It is subdivided, or rather modelled, into three other councils; one of twenty-five or the lesser council, another of sixty, and a third of two hundred. The twenty-five are part of the council of sixty, as the latter are of that of two hundred, which are formed out of the general council. In the assemblies of this last the syndics, who in fact are the heads of the government, are chosen; as are other subordinate magistrates. The syndics are only chosen from among the council of twenty-five, who are charged with the executive part of the government, and who elect the members of the council of sixty; but the great council elects the lesser council. The council of sixty meets only by summons from the council of twenty-five; but the proceedings of both are controulable by the great council. Depending upon those councils are subordinate colleges, in which a lieutenant and his assistants preside; and there is likewise a chamber of appeals, from which causes may be brought before the lesser council. In short, every branch of the Genevan government is a check upon the other; and the whole is admirably well calculated for preserving the freedom and independency of their state. Their ecclesiastical discipline is under the direction of a consistory, who report matrimonial cases to the lesser council. Their military establishment is formed by certain divisions of the inhabitants in the city and territory, properly regimented; and the field officers are members of the lesser council; but their

their garrison consists of twelve companies, of sixty men each, into which foreigners are enrolled. Upon the whole, though the republic of Geneva is far from being a powerful state, yet its policy is so admirable, its members are so unanimous, and their œconomy so excellent, that the neighbouring kingdoms and states treat them with the highest esteem and regard; and the court of France always keeps a resident in the city. The independency, however, of their government is owing to the importance of the situation, which would make the acquisition of it so valuable to any particular power, that they all join in its defence, and the preservation of its liberty^a.

The Genevois, like other states, run up their antiquities to times long before the Christian æra. Certain it is, it early received the Christian religion, and the inhabitants were reckoned amongst the Allobroges. It suffered in common with other European states, by the incursions of the barbarians, about the year 400; and in the year 440, we find one Isaac, bishop of Geneva, whose jurisdiction was pretty extensive. It was at this time that the Vandals, who had over-run Gaul, settled in the country of Vaud; and having built several boroughs, were called Bourguignons, and, according to modern orthography, Burgundians. Those people at last were consolidated into a monarchy^b. The name of their first king, or tetrarch, was Gonderic, who, dying, divided his kingdom amongst his four sons, Gondeband, who had Vienne; Chilperic, Lyons; Godesigile, Geneva; and Gotmar, Besançon. The brothers, as usual in such partitions of territory, carried on bloody wars against one another; and Godesigile being slain in a church, was succeeded in the government of Geneva by Sigismund, who was either his son or nephew. The barbarity of the times prevents our knowing much either of the civil or military government of Geneva till the year 620; but to make up this loss, the names and acts of its bishops are related in ecclesiastical records, the laity being too rude and uninstructed to keep any; and this silence, as to temporal affairs, has probably given the first handle for the claim of the bishops of Geneva to be its sovereigns. The names of Cariatho and Appellinus, which last lived till the year 613, are however preserved as sovereigns of Geneva. In the year 620, Clothair, king of the Franks, drove out the Bourguignons, and gave the Genevois the form of a civil government; and his grandson Theodoric II. erected several

Its antiquity.

Kingdom of the Bourguignons.

^a Busching's Geography, vol. iii.
City and State of Geneva, p. 13.

^b Spon's History of the
churches

*Meeting of
the states
at Geneva
under
Charle-
magne.*

*Rise of the
bishops of
Geneva.*

churches and religious houses in that city. Between the years 650 and 773, we have only the uncertain names of the Genevois bishops and princes, which seem to be confounded together. Towards the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne called an assembly of his states at Geneva, to consult about a war with Didier, or Desiderius, king of the Lombards. That great monarch confirmed both the civil and religious privileges of Geneva, and erected his own statue in marble over the gate of the church. After the death of Charlemagne, we have nothing relating to Geneva but a dry catalogue of its bishops and counts, who carried on their contests about the sovereignty: by this defect of materials, we are obliged to descend to the year 1050, at which time we find three competitors for the sovereignty of Geneva; the bishop, the count of Genevois, and the count of Savoy; and the city was more than once brought to the brink of destruction during their contests. The reader is to observe, that the county of Genevois is distinct from the present jurisdiction of Geneva, though those counts often call themselves counts of Geneva. In the year 1120, Wide, son to a count of Genevois, was bishop of Geneva; and, to strengthen his family claim to the sovereignty, or rather the superiority over that city, he gave his brother an investiture of several villages and castles belonging to the diocese of Geneva, as Bonmont and Haute-combe, with all his temporal jurisdiction in Geneva. But Humbert, his successor in the bishoprick, disputed this grant; and the archbishop of Vienne, metropolitan of the province, and apostolical legate, ended the difference by a treaty in 1124, by which it was agreed, first, that the bishop should have the administration of justice and lordship in the city, the coining of money, and confiscation of estates, as likewise the fines of those who had dwelt a year and a day at Geneva: that the count should not build any fort without the bishop's consent: that he should have a vidame, or lieutenant, for secular affairs: that he should moreover do homage to the bishop, not respecting any one but the emperor before him: and several other articles touching toll, forfeitures, and fines. Arducius, a man of quality, succeeded Humbert as bishop of Geneva, under the patronage of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa: he got the better of the count of Genevois, who had made encroachments upon his jurisdiction; and the count, in the pope's bulls, is designed under the title of a faithful steward to the bishop. The emperor, however, afterwards gave to

the duke of Zeringhen the sovereignty of Geneva, which he resigned in favour of Amadeus, count of Genevois. Arducius, the bishop, by his zeal and assiduity, prevailed with the emperor to annul his grant, as having been obtained by surprize, and to confirm the bishop's right of sovereignty. Those grants in favour of the bishops founded their temporal claims, which the citizens of Geneva afterwards opposed. They denied that the emperor could, without the consent of the empire, give away the sovereignty of an imperial city, as theirs was; and they quoted the oath of their bishops, who, at the time of their admission, swore to maintain the privileges and liberties of the city. They admitted, however, that the confidence their ancestors had in their bishops, had rendered them too remiss; but they brought a stream of authorities to prove that their bishop had no temporal jurisdiction over them, and that their power arose entirely from their ecclesiastical capacity. Notwithstanding all their arguments, the bishops seem at times to have acted as sovereigns of the state; though it does not appear that the people, or lay-magistrates, ever made any formal renunciation of their liberties to those ecclesiastical usurpers.

Arducius, who held his see fifty years, was succeeded by Nantelinus; and this last was so pressed by William, the count of Genevois, that he was obliged to have recourse to the friendship of Thomas, the first count of Maurienne and Savoy, to whom the bishop granted several lands and castles, which the count of Genevois pretended were his property. This alienation produced a war between the two counts, in which the count of Genevois was worsted, and obliged, after the death of Nantelinus, to submit to the arbitration of the archbishop of Vienne, and Grandson, or Grandison, bishop of Geneva, who built fort de Peney, which still belongs to Geneva. After his death several bishops succeeded, who exercised temporal jurisdiction over Geneva, and had many contests with their neighbours, in which they were always befriended by the counts of Savoy; one of whom, Amadeus IV. in the year 1285, came to Geneva, and with menaces demanded to be reimbursed for the charges of the war he had carried on with the count of Genevois, in behalf of the city. William of Constance was then bishop, and proposed to compromise matters with the count of Genevois; but the Savoyard party amongst the inhabitants prevailed, and the count of Savoy obtained the possessions of the count of Genevois within the city, which was likewise to serve him as a place of arms, he promising, at the same time, to defend it, at his own

*Succession of
its bishops.*

own cost, against all enemies, and that there should be a free intercourse between his states and Geneva. It was likewise agreed, that the count should become vidame of Geneva, and that he should have a bailiff under him, as being possessed of the count of Genevois's property there. This treaty, to which the bishop was obliged to consent, continued in force some years.

*Attempt of
the dau-
phin de-
feated.*

In the year 1291, Humbert, dauphin of Vienne, and a friend to the count of Genevois, attempted to surprize Geneva, while the count of Savoy was fortifying the place. His design was discovered; but he encamped before the city, with an intention to besiege it regularly. The bishop endeavoured, by intreaties, to divert him from his design; but the courage of the inhabitants proved more effectual than his submissions, for they forced the dauphin to raise the siege. In his retreat he took and plundered two castles belonging to the bishop, by whom he was excommunicated. War continued between the counts of Savoy and Genevois, after the death of William of Constance, whose successor was Martin, as his was Amadeus. The prélate equally dreaded both counts, and was therefore suspected by both; and under him the count of Genevois, who had built a castle called Gaillard, within a league of Geneva, gained ground; for, he made an alliance with the bishop and commonalty of that city, and paid homage to the church for several lands. This bishop is noted for a remarkable decree he issued, that the inhabitants of Geneva should begin the computation of their year from Christmas, and not as they had always done before from Easter.

*Disputes
about Ge-
neva.*

Geneva, however, remained still a bone of contention between the two counts; and in the year 1307, the dauphin of Vienne got possession of the castle of Entremont, belonging to the count of Savoy, who was shut up at Geneva, where he still maintained his footing; but he marched out of that city to retake his castle. The count of Genevois and his friends laid hold of that opportunity to appear at the head of an army before the city, which sent out deputies to treat with him. His proposals seemed reasonable to the deputies; but when they made their report, the city was divided into two factions, which came to blows with each other. That of Savoy prevailed; for though the count of Genevois and his followers were introduced into the city, they were driven out of it by the Savoyard party, with the loss of one hundred and thirty-two men; and the Savoyards put to death, in a judicial way, several of their antagonists, and confiscated the estates of others. Next year a difference happened between the bishop and the
count

count of Savoy, which last had coined money at Nion, which lay within the diocese of Geneva; but his right to that coinage was confirmed by arbitrators, upon condition that the stamp should be different from that of Geneva; that he did homage for the same; and that the eighth part of the profit should go to the bishop. The year 1309 was remarkable for the disputes that happened between the bishop and the people of Geneva, who complained that he had illegally extended his power. The bishop cited them before his metropolitan, the archbishop of Vienne; but the people declining his jurisdiction, he excommunicated them, and obliged them to submit to his terms. The people of Geneva, however, considered this submission, not as a proof of his legal right, but of his usurped power. Peter of Forigny succeeded Amadeus as bishop of Geneva; and in the year 1313, William, count of Genevois, did homage to him for his possessions. The bishop soon after accepted the like homage from Edward, count of Savoy; and this produced new wars amongst all the three, which continued many years. In 1321, a fire reduced great part of Geneva to ashes; and in 1330, the battle of Monthouz, or Monthon, was fought between the counts of Savoy and Genevois, in which two thousand men were killed; but the advantage lay on the side of the Savoyards. Another great fire broke out, which consumed two-thirds of the city of Geneva in 1334.

In 1342, Peter of Forigny, bishop of Geneva, was succeeded by Alamand; but the differences between the counts of Savoy and Genevois were now compromised. Amadeus VI. count of Savoy, in his minority, did homage to Alamand, for his Genevois possessions; but growing up, he was by Charles IV. emperor of Germany, made vicar of the empire in that country; and, in that capacity, joined with that of vidame, he claimed the temporalities of Geneva. William of Marcoffay was then bishop; and the emperor coming, in 1366, to Geneva, he and the syndics prevailed upon him to revoke the vicarship he had granted to the count. The latter, however, refused to give up possession, and the emperor was obliged to publish four several decrees against him, with penalties in case of his non-compliance. The bishop appealed to pope Gregory XI. who then resided at Avignon, to whose arbitration the count likewise submitted. His award imported, that the count should resign his letters of the vicarship, and relinquish all he held belonging to the church; but that he should be confirmed in the vidamate, and in possession of the castle of the isle. The count submitted to this decision,

which

The Genevois make peace.

The liberties confirmed.

which seems to have restored peace to Geneva. In the year 1387, Ademar, bishop of Geneva published an act, confirming the liberties and privileges of the city: he ordained, that all processes brought before the vidame, or steward, should be transacted by word of mouth, in the mother tongue: that criminal cases should be tried by the syndics, chosen by the citizens: that no one should be put to the rack by them: that it should be lawful to none but citizens to sell wine: that the care of watching the town should be committed to none but citizens; and that neither the bishop, or any other deputed by him, should exercise any authority after sun-setting: that the citizens, burgeses, and freemen, of the city, might chuse every year syndics, or recorders, for the town, to whom the commonalty should give full power and authority.

The count of Genevois out-lawed.

Notwithstanding these excellent regulations, the counts of Savoy did all they could to establish themselves masters of Geneva; but the spirit of the people rendering that scheme impracticable, they invented various pretexts for keeping some footing in the city; but the magistrates always took care that it should be upon sufferance; and the requests and concessions on both parts are still carefully preserved, as evidences of Geneva's independency on the house of Savoy. In the year 1398, William of Lornay, bishop of Geneva, had the courage to cite the count of Genevois to appear before him, to answer a charge of felony; and the count not appearing, he was out-lawed, and his estate declared to be forfeited to the church. Two years after this transaction, the emperor Wenceslaus gave Geneva a confirmation of her rights, in so ample a manner, that no succeeding emperor or king of the Romans could violate them with any shadow of reason. Next year died the count of Genevois; and Odo his uncle, and successor, made a compromise with Amadeus count of Savoy, to whom he resigned his estates, part of which was claimed by Humbert's daughter; but the count of Savoy did homage to the bishop for the whole. In the year 1409, John de Bertrandis having succeeded William of Lornay, was called upon by the count of Savoy's vicar-general, to do homage to that count for Geneva; but the emperor Sigismund interposed, and the claim was dropt.

A cardinal bishop of Geneva.

This Bertrandis was a cardinal, assisted at the council of Constance, and was suspected of being a favourer of John Huss. He afterwards made a visit to Charles VII. of France, and laid before him the injustice of his subjects intermeddling in the quarrel between the city of Geneva and the counts of Savoy; and obtained an order, prohibiting such practices for the future. In the year 1415, the emperor
Sigismund

Sigismund paid a visit to Geneva, where he was magnificently entertained for three days. Two years afterwards he erected Savoy into a dukedom, in favour of Amadeus, the eighth count, who paid a visit to Geneva, in company with pope Martin V. and fifteen cardinals, in the year 1420. The purpose of this visit was to petition the pope for the sovereignty of Geneva, of which John of Pierrencize was then bishop; and to him the pope referred the duke's suit, which was founded upon the inability of the bishop to punish crimes in the city and territory, unless assisted by the power of Savoy. The bishop summoned the people to a general assembly, and laid before them the duke's request, which had been approved of by the pope. It was unanimously rejected by the inhabitants, who, in their turn, required the bishop to be true to his charge, in which case he might depend upon their assistance for maintaining his just rights, and those of the city.

*Pretensions
of the count
of Savoy.*

This noble spirit encouraged the bishop, and produced a most excellent act in favour of liberty; for he entered into a formal agreement with the people and the syndics, never to alter the constitution without their consent. This act was ingrossed in writing in Latin; and the observance of it sworn to by the bishop, the syndics, and the council, under the title of "A transaction between the reverend father John, patriarch and minister of the bishoprick of Geneva, on the one part, and the citizens, burgesses, and commonalty of Geneva, on the other, against the endeavours and suit of duke Amadeus to pope Martin." It was then subscribed by all the magistrates, commonalty, and clergy of Geneva, to the number of seven hundred and twenty-seven; and the year after, was confirmed by the emperor Sigismund, who declared Geneva to be an imperial city, under the title of *Nobile Imperii Membrum*, and took it into his immediate protection against all princes, the duke of Savoy in particular. John of Pierrencize was succeeded by John of Courteuiffé, who was bishop for no more than one year. His successor was John of Brogny, who in his younger days kept swine. He was then so poor, that not being able to buy a pair of shoes at Geneva, the shoe-maker gave him credit for them, upon condition he should pay him when he came to be a cardinal. A cardinal taking a liking to the boy, brought him up to literature; and becoming cardinal of Ostia, and bishop of Geneva, he rewarded the generous shoemaker by making him steward of his household. He erected the chapel adjoining to the church of the *Macca-bees*, where the philosophy lectures are held; and was so little ashamed of the meanness of his birth, that he bore a

*The constitution
of Geneva
settled.*

*History of
John of
Brogny.*

hog

hog for his arms. He was succeeded in 1426, by Francis of Mies. In 1430, another great fire happened in Geneva, which burnt down St. Peter's church, with a great part of the town.

In 1432, Amadeus I. duke of Savoy, turned hermit at Ripaille, near Tonon, upon the lake Lemman, resigning the title, but not the revenues, of duke of Savoy to his eldest son Lewis, and that of count of Genevois to Philip his younger son^a. He obliged the duke his son to live at Tonon, in so frugal a manner, that he amassed money enough to purchase the popedom at the council of Basil. His history as pope, under the title of Felix V. is foreign to this part of our work. His dignity, however gave him authority enough to strip the bishop of Geneva of the greatest part of his revenues, and, upon that prelate's death, he made himself administrator of the bishopricks of Geneva and Lausanne. He held the bishoprick of Geneva from the year 1444 to 1451, and governed it by an administrator or vicar; but, in the meantime, the emperor Frederic III. paid a visit to Geneva, and persuaded Felix to resign the popedom. It is remarkable, that while he was in possession of that bishoprick, he and his sons were so far from invading the sovereignty of Geneva, that they were at great pains to confirm all its rights and privileges. In the year 1450 the Genevois assisted Felix against the Friburgers, with a body of troops under Burdignin, their chief syndic. Next year Felix died; and is said to have been buried with a Bible under his head, at the end of which was a Latin inscription, importing, that the city of Geneva is situated amongst mountains; that it was of small extent, sandy, and its inhabitants desirous of novelties.

*Pope Felix
bishop of
Geneva.*

*Succeeded
by his
grandson.*

Felix left Cyprian, archbishop of Tarantaise, his vicar in Geneva; and the people were so well pleased with the conduct of the house of Savoy, that Peter, his grandson, though but eight years of age, was appointed bishop of Geneva, which see he held by his administrator for seven years and eight months. He was succeeded by his younger brother John Lewis, son of duke Lewis, who, having a warlike turn, vigorously maintained his own authority and the privileges of the people, and forced his brother Janus, count of Genevois, to resign the title of count of Geneva, which he assumed; but this intimacy with the house of Savoy soon cost the Genevois dear. Duke Lewis had a son, Philip, who not only accused his mother, a Cyprian, of lavishing her husband's riches upon her lovers, but was

^a Spond. p. 34.

guilty of so many riots and murders about his father's court, which was held at Tonon, that the latter applied to his son the bishop, and the syndic of Geneva, for an asylum in that city, where he was accordingly received, and was lodged in the convent of the Grey Friars of Rive.

There appears to have been some truth in part of Philip's charge against his mother; for he interrupted a cargo of cheese going to Fribourg, in which a large sum of gold was concealed. On this discovery he found means to get admittance into Geneva, where he informed his father of his mother's practices, and restored to him all the money, excepting what he had bestowed upon his accomplices. After this adventure Philip attempted to apprehend and punish all the Cyprians who were about his father's court; but they having taken refuge amongst the inhabitants of the city, he was obliged to leave Geneva. The uxorious duke, far from being pleased with this discovery and restitution, accused the citizens of conspiring with his son against him; and one of the syndics was hanged on that account. This execution did not appease the duke: he prevailed with his son to put him in possession of the archives of Geneva, which he carried to France, and presented to Lewis XI. who sent them to Lyons, where Spon, who was a physician in that city, consulted them, when he composed his history. The duke, at the same time, prohibited all merchants, travelling to or from his country, to go by the way of Geneva; and prevailed with the king of France to imprison Philip, whom he offered to set at liberty, if the Genevois would acknowledge the duke for their sovereign; but they rejected the terms. In the year 1465, duke Amadeus IX. of Savoy, prosecuted his father's designs against Geneva; but was at last obliged to restore the intercourse between his subjects and the Genevois; an act which the late duke had made use of as an argument of their dependency upon the house of Savoy. Amadeus IX. died in 1472, and left his wife Yoland, sister to Lewis XI. of France, guardian to his children. John Lewis of Savoy was still bishop of Geneva, which he governed by vicars; and the duchess Yoland was in that city when Charles, duke of Burgundy, being defeated by the Swiss at the battle of Morat, took refuge at Gex, in the neighbourhood of Geneva. The duchess went with her children to pay him a visit; but the duke detained her prisoner by force, and would have seized the person of the young duke her son, had he not been hid in a corn-field by one of her domestics. The duke's Lombards, as they are called,

*Remark-
able ad-
venture at
Geneva,*

*which loses
its records.*

*Troubles of
Geneva.*

ravaged the neighbourhood of Geneva; the bishop of which, by way of retaliation, hanged up all the duke's subjects that were found in Geneva, to the number of two hundred. This step did not prevent the victorious Swiss from ravaging the state of Geneva in their turn; but they were, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to desist, and to agree to a conference at Fribourg, where the Genevois and Savoyards consented to raise a sum of money, of which two thousand eight hundred crowns of gold were to be furnished by the Genevois for paying the Swiss troops. The interruption of the intercourse with Savoy had impoverished the Genevois so much, that they were unable to raise the sum so soon as the Swiss demanded it; so that about two thousand of them mutinied, and, breaking from their commanders, would have plundered the city, had not the people of Ligne interposed, and obtained time for the Genevois to raise the money; which they did with the utmost difficulty, by melting down their church-plate, and that of private citizens, besides laying heavy taxes on the people. Next year the bishop, wisely considering the Swiss as the natural allies of Geneva, proposed a perpetual league between them and the Genevois; but the latter were so jealous of their bishop's intentions, that they rejected his proposal; and he was obliged to limit the duration of the league to the term of his own life.

A.D. 1476.

*Leagues
with the
Swiss.*

A.D. 1477.

*History of
the bishop's
favourites.*

This year was distinguished by some very remarkable adventures at Geneva. The bishop had two favourites, the one Pommieres, the other Chiffy; the former of whom being disgusted, retired to France, and, by representing the duke of Savoy and the bishop of Geneva as enemies to that crown, obtained the bishoprick of Vivieres. He proposed to the French king, at the same time, to surprise Chiffy at the bishop of Geneva's court, and to carry him into France, till he should be forced to reveal all the bishop's secrets. He himself undertook to execute this infamous exploit, and accordingly repaired, with three or four of his brethren, to Geneva, on pretext of seeing their friends, and staid there fifteen days; during which time their other accomplices, by degrees, dropt into the city, till Pommieres thought them numerous enough to execute his purpose. Being well acquainted with the bishop's court and manner of living, and knowing that his guards served only for shew, early in the morning the conspirators rushed into the bishop's bedchamber, where they found Chiffy, whom they carried out in his shirt, with his hands bound behind him; to be put on horseback, the bishop not daring to op-

pose

pose them. The youngest brother of Pommieres, during this transaction, was amusing himself in entertaining some ladies of the court; and, before he could make his retreat, was taken prisoner, and, by the bishop, put into the custody of the relations of Chissy, who thereby obtained his liberty by being exchanged for the other. This exchange did not satisfy the bishop, who, in the year 1479, understanding that the bishop of Vivieres was at Piedmont upon a party of pleasure, he surprised him at the head of about forty horse, and killed him with his own hand.

In the year 1480 the city of Geneva was visited by a famine, and so great a mortality, that seven thousand of its inhabitants died, as did their bishop, John Lewis, the year following, of a pestilential fever at Turin. This prince and prelate has the character of being brave and generous, but very amorous. Though he was in general vindictive, yet he had sentiments of justice, as appeared by his forgiving a miller, who beat him for being too intimate with his wife, and making him a present of the cloaths he wore when he underwent that discipline.

Famine in Geneva.

Upon the death of the bishop John Lewis, the pope, the chapter, and the people, were divided in giving him a successor. The pope appointed his nephew, Lauro Vere, cardinal of St. Clement's; the people were for Francis, archbishop of Auch; and the chapter chose Urban of Chivron, who resigned his right to Francis of Savoy, as the cardinal of St. Clement's ceded his to Compois, bishop of Turin. Francis of Savoy, however, by the assistance of his family, drove Compois out of Geneva, and took possession of the see. He is noted for spending four hundred crowns at an entertainment which he gave to his brother Philip, lord of Bresse, and his nephew Charles, duke of Savoy. Compois sought relief at Rome, and, after some struggle, matters were so compromised, that Francis of Savoy remained bishop of Geneva. Being, like his predecessor, a laic, he had vicars who officiated under him, and took upon himself the title of administrator and protector of that church. Being settled in his new dignity, he prevailed with his nephew, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Genevois, to rescind some acts which they had passed in prejudice of the church of Geneva; and the duke obtained leave to reside in that city. Upon the death of Francis, Charles of Seyssel was chosen bishop of Geneva; but Anthony Champion, chancellor of Savoy, was appointed by the pope. Both parties obstinately standing to their claims, Champion having got the metropolitan of Vienne on his side, and being assisted by the lord of Bresse, took arms and drove his an-

Disputes about the succession to the bishoprick.

A.D. 1490.

tagonist out of the city. In the following year, one John Gay instigated the peasants about Foucigny, to an insurrection against their nobles, by whom they were oppressed. They were encouraged by the example of the cantons of Switzerland, to make this attempt for asserting their liberty; but being no more in number than one hundred and twenty, they were prevailed upon by the lord of Bresse, with fair words, to return home, after committing many outrages, and being dispersed, they were taken and executed as rebels.

*Philip of
Savoy
bishop.*

Upon the death of Champion, Philip of Savoy, who was but seven years of age, was chosen bishop of Geneva; and his election was confirmed by pope Alexander VI. who assigned the bishops of Lausanne and Nice for his guardians. Like some of his predecessors he had a warlike turn, and, after his father's death, threw off the ecclesiastical habit. In 1498, Philip, duke of Savoy, came to Geneva, and was so delighted with its situation, that he obtained leave of the bishop and the magistrates, not only to reside there, but to keep courts of justice for his own subjects only. He was attended by René, his natural brother, a young man, of a haughty tyrannical disposition; and to him the duke, who was immersed in pleasure, committed the management of his affairs. René having a particular spite against the Genevois, sought to make his brother absolute in that city. Under the colour of the court of justice that had been erected, he arrested one Levrier, a Genevois, a circumstance which was so much resented by the the bishop and syndics, that they cut off the right hand and head of a Savoyard, who had been guilty of coining money within their state.

S E C T. II.

Geneva recovers its Liberty from the Duke of Savoy; Imprisonment of the French Ambassador; History of Berthelier of Geneva; Origin of the Word Hugonots; Alliance between Geneva and Fribourg; Struggles between the Genevois and the Dukes of Savoy; the Dawnings of the Reformation in Geneva; Agreement between the Protestants and Romanists in that City.

*Geneva
asserts its
liberty;*

THE Genevois maintained their liberties against the repeated attacks made upon them by the dukes of Savoy, under most amazing disadvantages. As those princes were in a manner possessed of the keys of their city, the little trade the Genevois carried on lay at their mercy; and money

money, almost unknown to the inferior ranks of the people, was very scarce with their superiors. Notwithstanding all those discouragements, their love of independency made them happy ; and they had the spirit to oppose René in all his tyrannical practices. The residence of the duke of Savoy in their city, though it brought them some money, corrupted the manners of their youth, and gave René hopes of succeeding in his schemes of tyranny. He accused one Eyria, a Genevois gentleman, of having entered into a conspiracy with a physician of Lyons to poison the duke ; and having trepanned the physician, he was brought bound hand and foot to Geneva, where he was thrown into the prison of the island, and beheaded, after having been put to the rack by René's orders. This inhuman execution exasperated the magistrates and inhabitants of Geneva, who had in vain remonstrated against it, so greatly, that René durst not venture to put to death Eyria, who escaping out of prison, fled to Bern in Swisserland, and prevailed with those virtuous republicans to lay the oppressions and misconduct of René before the duke his brother. At the same time, a bare-footed friar, in preaching before the duke, compared him to a great purse, which was filled with a great many smaller purses, all stuffed with money, alluding to René and his associates, but, properly speaking, had none belonging to itself. This sermon, and the remonstrances from Bern, opened the eyes of the duke, who gave René three days for leaving his dominions, upon pain of death. Philibert, at the same time, perceiving he had no right to Geneva, retired to Chambery ; and thus Geneva once more recovered its independency.

and recovers it.

Eyria was then called home ; but soon after the plague broke out in the city, and dissensions prevailed amongst the citizens. By the constitution of Geneva, no man could be judicially put to death, without confessing the crime for which he suffered. One Cotton, being capitally convicted, died on the rack rather than confess ; and this accident was represented in such colours to the duke of Savoy, that he renewed his claim of jurisdiction over the city. The Genevois were forced to suffer the matter to be referred to arbitration ; and the arbiters, though most of them were the duke's subjects, giving sentence against him, he swore by God and St. Peter, that he would desist from his claim, and leave the death of Cotton to the cognizance of his nephew the bishop, when he should come of age. This incident happened in the year 1503, while Geneva was afflicted with an intolerable famine.

Duke of Savoy renews his claims upon it.

A remarkable robber.

Next year was remarkable for the practices of one Mortel, a thief of peculiar art and address, in Geneva. Neither locks nor bolts could withstand him; but he was so moderate in his depredations, that he generally left behind him more than he carried off; and he was so punctual in paying his debts and tavern bills, that he was every where well received. The common people entertained a notion, that he was assisted by fascination, or witchcraft. He was, however, sometimes apprehended; but so extraordinary was the strength of his constitution, that he endured the torture, and even made slight of it, so that he was always acquitted. He was as singular in his death as in his life. He fell sick of the plague, and his mother who attended him, seeing him deprived of speech, and afraid that he might recover, through the strength of his constitution, caused him to be shut up in a coffin, and buried alive.

Beginning of the alliance between Geneva and Friburg.

Duke Philibert of Savoy, a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, died in 1504, and was succeeded by his brother Charles. This prince, more ambitious than Philibert, being at variance with the inhabitants of Valey, obtained of the Genevois an aid of two hundred men, which were sent him under captain Burdignin. He then demanded from them six pieces of ordnance, which, at the instigation of Peter Faccon, Levrery, de Fonte, Hurich, and other leading men, was refused. The duke vowing revenge against those citizens, they purchased, by the payment of a crown a year, the protection of the canton of Fribourg, with liberty to reside still at Geneva. The duke of Savoy refused either to enter the city, or to swear to maintain its privileges, till Levrery was delivered into his hands; upon which the latter was imprisoned by the bishop's chancellor. The canton interposed; and the other cantons shewing a disposition to protect the liberty of Geneva, Levrery was not only set at liberty, but sent to the bishop, who was then at Piedmont, to complain of the encroachments of the duke's officers upon Geneva. Anthony Pecolat, another citizen, was sent to complain to the duke himself, who being apprehensive of a confederacy of the Swiss cantons against him, consented to come to Geneva, where he and his mother received small presents of plate from their state, and not only swore to maintain its privileges, but acknowledged that the court of justice, which he held in the town, was merely by the indulgence of the syndics and council.

In the year 1510, Philip of Savoy, after having been bishop of Geneva for fifteen years, resigned his bishoprick to Charles

Charles of Seyssel, brother to that bishop who had been driven out by Champion. Charles himself was made count of Genevois, and afterwards duke of Nemours, in France. Seyssel, soon after his election, obtained from the emperor Maximilian, king of the Romans, a confirmation of the city's privileges. Next year the walls round St. Gervais, one of the divisions of Geneva, were finished; the expence being defrayed by an excise on wine, and a loan of money. The duke of Savoy offered to assist them with workmen, and they accepted of his offer; but not till he had given it under his hand, that he assisted them only as a neighbour, and not on account of any right he pretended over their city. Notwithstanding this declaration, he laid a deep scheme for subverting the liberties of Geneva, by effecting a peace between the king of France and the Swiss, whom he persuaded to interpose in his behalf with the Genevois. It had been usual for the latter, before their breaches with the house of Savoy, to hold annual fairs; and the disuse of them was of great prejudice to both parties. The duke proposed to restore them, and thereby to renew the footing of his family in Geneva, as well as to increase his revenue, by the toll upon goods brought through his country. The terms, however, that were annexed by the duke to this proposal were,

Succession and disputes of the bishop.

“First, that the city and bishop should appoint an officer to keep account of the profit of each fair, one third part of which should be given to the duke, bishop, and city. Secondly, that the city should, once a year, make a present to the duke. Thirdly, that the warding the gates should belong to the duke, during the time of the fairs. Fourthly, that the duke should have, thenceforward, fines paid for every new building, both in the city and suburbs.”

Proposals of the duke of Savoy.

As these proposals tended towards a direct superiority of the duke over the city, the Genevois unanimously rejected them. Nevertheless, the duke, who was a thorough politician, tried other means to accomplish his ends. Several meetings were proposed, and some were held, but all to no purpose; so jealous were the citizens of his views. Corn this year was so scarce at Geneva, that one Francis Mallet, the dean of the chapel of the Maccabees, lent his plate to the magistrates of the city, who caused it to be coined for the supply of the poor; and he was for this generous humanity made a citizen gratis.

rejected.

A D. 1512.

It must be acknowledged, notwithstanding all the precautions the Genevois had taken to secure their liberties against the house of Savoy, they were still very precarious. The duke's vidame was in possession of the island of the Rhone, where

Danger of Geneva from the duke of Savoy.

where the prison for lay-persons stood, as that for the clergy did within the bishop's jurisdiction. The vidame's jailor had been excommunicated for debt, and was arrested by the bishop's officers; which last, were in their turn, imprisoned by those of the vidame. A tumult ensued, and the vidame was forced to surrender himself prisoner to the bishop's people; but at last mutual releases passed on all sides, and all appeared satisfied.

Both the duke of Savoy and the bishop were then absent from Geneva; but both of them, on this occasion, repaired to that city. The duke seized the opportunity to revive his claims upon the sovereignty of Geneva; but the matter being fairly discussed, it appeared that the vidame was to blame. Not satisfied with this discussion, the duke still insisted upon his rights, and that the bishop should put to death the citizens we have already mentioned, who had obtained the protection of the canton of Fribourg. The bishop manifesting a becoming firmness against this demand; the duke told him, that as he had made him bishop, he would strip him of that dignity, and render him the poorest priest in his diocese. The bishop, however, died in 1513, lamented by the people of Geneva, for the prudence, rectitude, and steadiness of his conduct; and his death bade fair to overthrow the constitution of Geneva.

A.D. 1513.

*and the
pope.*

The Genevois, who were no strangers to the encroachments of the pope, and the ambition of the house of Savoy, shut the gates of their city upon the death of their bishop Charles of Seyffel; and the chapter chose for their bishop, Amadeus, abbot of Beaumont; an ecclesiastic of noble extraction, and a fair character, only too much addicted to women. This choice being made, the chapter obtained the concurrence of the confederate cantons; and a joint letter was sent, with a deputation, to the pope, at the abbot's expence, for a confirmation of his election; but his holiness had already been prevailed upon by the duke of Savoy, to grant the dignity to John of Savoy, prothonotary of Auch. This John of Savoy was the reputed natural son, by a common woman, to Francis of Savoy, bishop of Geneva, and had been provided for by the duke in an obscure station in the church. Being of a mean appearance, and of an abject disposition, the duke thought him a proper person to be preferred to the see of Geneva, as fearing from him no opposition to his ambitious views. It is even said, not without probability, that John, before his promotion, took an oath, by which he promised to comply with whatever the duke should command, with regard to his claims on the city. The Genevois, unable to withstand at once the papal and

*John of
Savoy
bishop.*

and the ducal power, were obliged to receive him as their bishop. He began his office with great pomp, and at first with appearances of moderation and generosity; for he even obtained a promise from the duke of bringing the fair from Lyons to Geneva.

Towards the end of the year, Villeneuve, the French king's minister, having disoblged the Swiss cantons, in his return to France stopped at Geneva, where deputies from Bern and Friburg demanded of the magistrates and council, that he should be put into their hands; and in case of non-compliance, they threatened them with an immediate invasion. The bishop was then absent, and the danger was pressing; for the protection of France was at too great a distance to shelter them from the resentment of the cantons. After deliberation, it was resolved to put the ambassador under arrest; that a guard should be raised, and the gates shut, to preserve the public peace; and that, in the mean time, he should be lodged in the episcopal palace. Nothing, however, would satisfy the cantons, but that the ambassador should be immediately delivered up, while the court of France as strenuously insisted upon his being released. The syndics and magistrates applied to the bishop, who refused to give the ambassador up, because his enemies might put him to death; and advised the magistrates not to comply, because their compliance would be a kind of acknowledgement of superiority in the cantons over the city, besides making the French king and nation their enemies. The Swiss, however, proving intractable, and seeming determined to put their threats in execution, the magistrates told them, that though they could not deliver the ambassador up, yet the deputies might take him by force, which they accordingly did; and he was carried prisoner to Bern, where he underwent the rack; but was afterwards set at liberty.

*Dispute
about a
French am-
bassador,*

*who is car-
ried off*

The connection by marriage that happened between the family of Medici and the duke of Savoy, gave the latter great hope of prevailing with pope Leo X. to authorize his claim upon the sovereignty of Geneva. To facilitate this project he obtained from the bishop a concession of all his rights over that city. The pope would readily have agreed to this request; but it was opposed by the conclave, who were of opinion, that the bishop's resignation of his temporalities to the duke was invalid. Mean while it appeared, that the bishop was no better than the dependent and vassal of the duke. He was deeply in debt on account of the expences of his nomination at the court of Rome; and the duke of Savoy received the revenues of the bishoprick, and abbey of Pignerol; so that the prelate used to say, that he

*and about
the rights
of the Ge-
nevois,*

had

who pre-
vail:

had nothing belonging to a bishoprick about him but his mitre and crozier staff. His poverty led him to oppress the poorer clergy, and those who had suits in his court; so that he soon became equally hateful and despicable in the eyes of the Genevois. At last, being supported by the vidame, he wrongfully imprisoned a lawyer of good character, one Vandel, who had four sons, who resolved to set him at liberty. The people taking their part, the bishop and the vidame were abandoned, even by their own creatures, and obliged to release the prisoner; but he harboured an implacable resentment against those who had been most forward to oppose him, particularly against one John Bernard and John Pecolat.

Persecution
of Pecolat,
and other
Genevois.

The latter, in conversing with the bishop of Maurienne, and the abbot of Beaumont, who were complaining of the wrongs they had suffered from the bishop, jokingly desired them to be easy, intimating that the prelate (A) would not be long lived, being already far gone in the venereal disease. These words being repeated to the bishop by one of his spies who overheard them, he pretended that they implied a design against his life; and one of his servants happening to die of eating too heartily of a dish of unwholesome fish that had been prepared for the bishop's table, he pretended that the man had been poisoned by Pecolat.

Amongst the reasons urged by the cardinals against the validity of the bishop's cession of his temporalities, the strongest was, that it could not take place, but in cases where the people are in rebellion against their bishop, and he too weak to reduce them. The duke of Savoy and the bishop, therefore, omitted no means to provoke the Genevois to rebel; and the natural vivacity of the Genevois laid hold of every opportunity to turn the bishop and his officers into contempt. At last, upon an occasion which is too ridiculous for history to transmit, the duke and the bishop came to Geneva, with an intention to punish some young men, particularly one Berthelier, who had been guilty of some frolics against the bishop's officers. They were attended by the archbishop of Turin; but upon examination, the affair was so far from deserving the name of rebellion, that, by the archbishop's advice, the prosecution was dropt against all but Berthelier, and one or two of the principals, who were particularly obnoxious to the ecclesiastical power, and to the Savoyards.

(A) His expression was proverbial, "Non videbit dies Petri," which is applied to popes when they are near their end (1).

(1) Spon. page 53.

The bishop began now to despair of being able to prevail against the Genevois within the city, and withdrew to Focigny; where, in concert with the count of Genevois, the duke of Savoy's brother, and other noblemen of that court, he apprehended Pecolat at the village of Piesinge, together with his companion, and one servant. Pecolat's process had been privately drawn up by the vidame of Geneva: being brought prisoner to the bishop's house at Focigny, he was there three times put to the rack, to make him confess a design against the bishop's life, on account of the words he had dropt, and the accident of the dish of fish. He denied all; but at last, overcome by the force of torments, and being told that his companion's servant had accused him, he answered whatever they desired him to say. The inhabitants of Geneva took Pecolat's part, and remonstrated to the duke of Savoy upon the injustice of imprisoning him without the city, and trying him before any jurisdiction but that of the syndics, who were his lawful judges; upon which he was carried to Geneva, and being imprisoned in the castle on the island, he retracted all he had said, as having been extorted from him by the force of torments. A dispute then arose between the syndics on the one part, and the duke and the bishop on the other; the latter insisting that Pecolat ought to be racked again. The syndics, though they were afraid of the duke, hesitated upon this proposal; and the prisoner, under pretence that he was a clerk, and not amenable to a temporal jurisdiction, was carried to the bishop's prison. The barbarity of his enemies went so far, that perceiving him to be proof against the rack, they imagined that he was assisted by some supernatural power which lay in his beard, and ordered a barber to cut it off. Pecolat, knowing what torments were intended against him, and afraid of his own weakness, had the resolution to snatch the barber's razor, and to cut out part of his own tongue. This action, with the torments he had suffered, procured him many friends; and the officer who was to pronounce sentence against him, not only refused to perform that office, but advised him to appeal to the archbishop of Vienne, who sent an order to stop all proceedings against him, even by the bishop himself. One Victor, a young man of spirit, had the courage to serve this order upon the bishop; upon which Pecolat was removed to the castle of Peney, belonging to the duke. The consequence was, that the bishop, disregarding the summons of his metropolitan, was excommunicated, as were all his officers, a circumstance, which created such a tumult in the city, that

*Cruelty used
against
Pecolat.*

*who cuts
out his own
tongue.*

that the clergy joined with the people, and forced the bishop's officers to release the prisoner just at the time when an order came from Rome, annulling the summons and the proceedings of the metropolitan. Pecolat afterwards recovered the use of his speech, because he had cut off only part of his tongue; but he attributed his retrieved faculty to a miraculous intercession.

*Remark-
able perse-
cution of
Berthelier.*

In the mean time, the case of Berthelier proved still more interesting to the duke and the bishop. He was a young man of great resolution, vivacity, and address, and had always distinguished himself against the family of Savoy. Perceiving that the duke and the bishop were resolved, at any rate, to put him to death, he escaped in disguise to Friburg, where he had purchased the privilege of a citizen, and engaged the Friburgers so much in his interest, that they not only sheltered him, but sent a messenger to the duke and the bishop, to request that Berthelier should either be tried at Friburg, where they might send lawyers to assist at the trial, or before the syndics of Geneva, if they would furnish him with a safe-conduct to that city; but with a condition annexed, that some of the Friburgers should be present at his trial. The duke and the bishop declined both these proposals; and the duke himself made a journey to Friburg, but without being able to prevail upon the Friburgers to deliver up Berthelier. At last, rather than exasperate the Friburgers, and embroil themselves with the other cantons, the duke and the bishop granted a safe-conduct to Berthelier, on the terms he had demanded, and he presented himself before the syndics. He boldly justified all he had done against the duke and the bishop, and set aside Pecolat's evidence as being extorted by the rack; so that nothing appearing against him but a few youthful frolics, the syndics would have acquitted him, had they not been deterred by the power of his persecutors, who offered him a pardon, which he refused to accept of, as having been guilty of no offence.

*His cour-
age.*

Berthelier was so far from being intimidated by this prosecution, that during its continuance he was pursuing the plan of an alliance between Friburg and Geneva, as the only means of securing the independency of both states; and the house of Savoy was equally intent upon defeating it, great numbers of the inhabitants of Geneva being Savoyards, and attached to that interest. This consideration encouraged the duke to proceed with cruelty against such of the Genevois as he found in his own dominions; and he put to death at Turin, two young gentlemen of respectable families

families at Geneva, as being accomplices with Berthelier, after having extorted a confession from them by the force of torments. A copy of the confession was sent to the syndics of Geneva, who paid no regard to it, and who sent deputies to the duke and the bishop, complaining loudly of what had been done. The duke dissembled; but the bishop threatened the city with the utmost efforts of his indignation, if the magistrates would not renounce their connexions with Friburg, and give up Berthelier and his accomplices to punishment^a. The deputies had been debauched by the duke and the bishop, who gave them an answer in writing, such as the deputies themselves dictated; but the letter was not to be delivered till the syndics and council of Geneva had sworn to comply with the contents. The deputies returning, after an absence of five or six weeks, acquainted first the lesser, and then the greater council with the preliminary conditions; adding, at the same time, that if they were not complied with, the duke had sworn that no Genevois should possess his property in safety. The council treated this absurd and imperious method of proceeding with the indignation it deserved. They refused to take the oath; and returning the letter unopened, it was with difficulty the people were prevented from throwing the deputies into the Rhone.

Threats of the bishop against the Genevois.

The independent Genevois were now sensible that nothing could save their liberties and estates from ruin, but the conclusion of the alliance proposed by Berthelier with Friburg. Besançon Huges, one of the syndics of Geneva, recommended it warmly; but the Savoyard party was so prevalent at Friburg, as well as Geneva, that it met with great difficulties; at last Besançon proposed, that if the alliance could not be rendered general, an association should be entered into between its friends in both cities: in Geneva, three hundred of the principal and most resolute of the citizens, had set their names to the form of an association for that effect. Those associators were, by the Savoyards, termed Eignots, a Swiss or High German word, which signifies *confederates by oath*; and Spon, with great appearance of justice, thinks that from thence arose the famous word Hugonot, notwithstanding the various other etymologies that are assigned to this term. The Eignots, on the other hand, called the Savoyard party Mamalukes, in allusion to the Egyptian soldiery, who, being originally Christians, had renounced both their religion and liberties, to become slaves to the sultan. The Savoyard party in Friburg objected to

Their alliance with Fribourg.

Origin of the word Hugonot.

^a Spon, p. 61.

the proposed alliance, because it was not clear to them that the Genevois were an independent people, and at liberty to enter into such an engagement. This objection being reported by the deputies at Geneva, the citizens were split into factions and cabals. The duke of Savoy and the bishop, perceiving that the Eignots had the majority in Geneva, complained to the Friburgers of their debauching their subjects from their allegiance. The Friburgers, in answer to this charge, affirmed, that the magistracy of Geneva, in temporals, were independent of the bishop; and that if the duke would prove his sovereignty over that city, they would proceed no farther in the alliance; mean while they were willing to enter a saving clause in the treaty as to his rights, till they could be judicially discussed. They added, that they were so far from being enemies to the bishop's ecclesiastical authority, that they were ready to defend it against all invaders.

*Complaints
of the duke
of Savoy
and the
bishop.*

The duke and the bishop, far from being satisfied with those answers, complained of the Friburgers in the next general assembly of the confederate cantons, for admitting the Genevois into their burghership, alleging, that the Genevois by their constitution could pretend to no right of burghership, being only *hindersassen* or *inhabitants of their own country*, by sufferance from the house of Savoy, by whose dominions they were surrounded. This plea was refuted by the Genevois, who produced evidences that the dominions he held about Geneva, had formerly belonged to them. While those disputes lasted, the abbot of Beaumont, and Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, two young citizens, warm in the cause of liberty, and several other inhabitants, with the consent of the council of Geneva, took up their burghership in Friburg; at last the alliance between that city and Geneva was fully completed, and Berthelier was formally acquitted by the syndics, of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, having only a slight fine imposed upon him for his youthful excesses.

The duke of Savoy now perceived that the Genevois set both his and the bishop's power at defiance. At first he proceeded with temper, and joined with the bishop in sending one Salleneuse, a man of experience in business, to be their temporal deputy in Geneva; but the inhabitants disowned his authority. The duke had no better success in the complaints he had brought before the general assembly of the cantons; and while he endeavoured to amuse both the Friburgers and the Genevois with terms of accommodation, he secretly assembled an army of seven thousand men at St. Julien. Before he began his march towards Geneva he
sent

sent a herald, who demanded audience in a full assembly of the council; which being convened, the herald refused to seat himself along with the syndics, but placed himself in a chair above them, alleging, that he appeared there as representing the duke of Savoy, the lord and master of their city. He then delivered his commission, which contained a demand, that the council should provide splendid and magnificent lodgings for the duke in their town-house, and that they should furnish him and his company, which consisted of ten thousand men, with victuals, and all fitting entertainment, because the duke intended to appear with that equipage to do himself justice.

The reader, from what we have already mentioned, may easily form an idea of the arguments made use of to evade this demand; upon which the herald declared them rebels; and with his attendants left the city. The magistrates were not wanting to themselves on this occasion; they made the best dispositions they could for their own defence; they obliged even the Savoyard party to take arms, and all of them appeared determined to defend their liberties to the last extremity. They sent messengers to acquaint the Friburgers with what had happened, but they were intercepted by the duke's army, and put to the strappado, till they discovered all they knew with regard to the city. By this time the duke's army was increased to the number of ten thousand, and he advanced as far as Gaillard. The Friburgers suspecting what had happened, sent Marty, one of their number, to endeavour to persuade the duke to proceed no farther against their allies the Genevois. Marty reported his commission to the duke, who pretended, that he only wanted to enter Geneva as a friend, to put an end to the dissensions and heart-burnings of the inhabitants, and he sent Marty to persuade the Genevois to give him admittance; but in the mean time his army, which was destitute of great artillery, appeared at the gates of the city, while the citizens, who had never seen any action, deserted their posts, and a general confusion ensued. The magistrates in public demanded from Marty what they had to trust to from the Friburgers, a suspension of arms having been granted by the duke till next morning. Marty frankly acknowledged that, however well affected his countrymen were towards the Genevois, their assistance would come too late to defend them from the duke; upon which the inhabitants threw down their arms, and gave over all thoughts of resistance.

Next morning Marty and the syndics sent to Gaillard, to capitulate with the duke, who promised to enter the city only

They declare the Genevois rebels,

and take Geneva, only

only at the head of five hundred men, besides his ordinary train. This capitulation, however, was most infamously broken. The count of Genevois, the duke's brother, ordered the walls to be broken down, that the duke might enter as a conqueror through the breach; and soon after the whole Savoyard army marched into the city, where the soldiers were guilty of all manner of abuses and enormities, while the count of Genevois took up his quarters in the town-house, and seized upon the public arsenal and artillery, as well as the keys of the gates. Not contented with this breach of faith, proclamation was made by the duke's orders, that no citizen should presume to appear in the streets, or even to put his head out of a window, under pain of being publicly scourged. It is probable that the Eignots within Geneva, still depended on succours from Friburg, where the spirit ran so strong in their favour, that the Genevois deputies obtained a company of infantry, which was soon after augmented to six or seven thousand men, some of them Savoyards, and they formed themselves into separate bodies, under different colours. They set out on their march with incredible expedition. Perceiving that they could do nothing against Geneva, they marched to the country of Vaud, where they seized the duke's governor Lulius, and desired him to acquaint his master, that he ought to beware in what manner he treated the Genevois, because they were determined to make severe reprisals upon his subjects.

*but it is
relieved by
the Fri-
burgers.*

The duke was sensible that his soldiers were all undisciplined; and he took the advice of the Friburgers, who entered Morges without resistance. He immediately ordered another proclamation to be made, ordering, that none of the Genevois should be molested either in person or estate, on pain of death; and then sent a body of horse to guard the important post of Nyon, which lies between Morges and Geneva, on the side of the lake. He sent for the deputy of Friburg, and desired him to repair with his deputies to Morges, to endeavour to pacify matters, promising that no harm should come to the Genevois. The deputy reflecting on the duke's late scandalous breach of faith with the Genevois, treated his request with a mixture of indignation and scorn. The duke's deputies therefore repaired to Morges by themselves; but meeting with no success in their commission, he sent them to the other cantons, to prevail with them to interpose their authority with the Friburgers. Mean while he assembled the general council of Geneva, and demanded of the members, that they should renounce their burghership with Friburg, and send deputies to
Morges,

Morges, to assure the Friburgers that they had suffered no outrages, and that Huges and Malbreiffon, his coadjutor, had no public commillion from them. The Friburgers treated this message as a thing extorted by force, and carried their point (B). The duke was forced to agree to make an immediate payment of four thousand crowns, upon their promising to return home, without doing any other damage to the country than living at free cost, and to withdraw his army from Geneva, without injuring either the city or inhabitants, whom he was to leave in full possession of their privileges. He found himself, however, under great difficulties to raise the money; but at last the Genevois agreed to pay one half, and the count of Genevois pledged his plate for the other, which was to be redeemed by the Genevois. The duke remained at Geneva some time after his army had left it, and thence, on account of the plague, he retired to Tonon, in the Chablais, from whence he sent a safe-conduct by the vidame Configli to Huges and Malbreiffon, desiring them to attend him. They obeyed him, but had so indifferent an opinion of his honour, that they left the safe-conduct in the hands of the wife of Huges, with instructions to send it to Friburg if she heard they were detained. This was a necessary precaution; for they had not travelled a mile from Geneva, than the vidame inquiring about the safe-conduct, was told that it had been sent to Friburg, but that they were very willing to return to Geneva. When they arrived at Tonon, the duke, surprised and vexed at his disappointment, put them under a strict arrest; but dismissed them, after having compelled them to swear they would renounce the burghership of Friburg. Soon after, by arresting Porral, who was secretary of Geneva, he got into his hands the contract of burghership between that city and Friburg.

In May, 1519, the differences between the duke of Savoy and the two confederate states, Friburg and Geneva, were laid before a general meeting of the cantons at Zurich, and accommodated on the following terms: that the duke should desist from all attempts against the bishop and city of Geneva; in which case no ule should be made of the confederacy between Geneva and Friburg; and the Friburgers, who demanded more money, were exhorted to be content with the four thousand crowns they had already received. This accommodation being made under the

(B) This expedition happening during Lent, when little food besides herrings were to be had, it was called the Herring Campaign.

Duke of
Savoy bas-
sied ;

sandion of the cantons, for some time restored peace to Geneva ; and the Eignots and Mamalukes began to resume their intercourse with one another

Though the duke of Savoy was thus baffled in his attacks upon the independency of Geneva, yet having the bishop at his devotion, he was still very powerful in that city. Having still an implacable thirst of revenge against Berthelier, he employed the vidame Configli, who was a thorough paced ruffian, to arrest him in the bishop's name, which he did near the gates of Geneva. Berthelier, on this occasion, behaved at once like a philosopher and a patriot ; though offered his life if he would submit to the duke, and own him as his master, being carried to the prison on the island, he refused to be examined by any but his lawful judges the syndics ; upon which, without any farther ceremony, his head was next day struck off (A), by the sentence of the bishop's provost. The Eignot party were struck with consternation at Berthelier's death, and the Fribourgers demanded satisfaction for it ; but the duke threw the blame upon the bishop. By this time the Savoyard party had got a great ascendancy in the government of Geneva ; and the Fribourgers, who sought only a pretext to break with the duke, demanded more money, while he, on the other hand, insisted on satisfaction for the damages his country of Vaud had sustained, and referred the Fribourgers for payment to the Genevois, whom, at the same time, he advised to pay no more. This management increased his party amongst the citizens, who were disgusted at the new

(A) The reader perhaps will not be displeased, at being informed of a few more particulars of this extraordinary person. When, he saw the vidame approaching to arrest him, he knew his fate, but refused to make his escape, though he might have done it. When he gave his sword to the vidame, he boldly told him to keep it well, for he must account for it ; and when shut up in close prison, he was so unconcerned, that he diverted himself with a little squirrel, which he commonly

carried about with him in his bosom. Though in mean circumstances, yet he had learning and great parts ; and being told he must die, he wrote upon his prison wall, " Non moriar sed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini." *I shall not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord.* When he came to the place of execution, he was not suffered to speak in public, and took very little notice of a confessor who was offered him. His epitaph was as follows :

Quid mihi mors nocuit ? virtus post fata virescit.
Nec cruce, nec savi gladio perit illa tyranni (1).

(1) Spon. p. 71, 72.

demands

demands of the Friburgers; and he had even interest enough to get the new syndics set aside, on pretence that they had not been legally elected, and that they had encouraged the Friburgers in their exorbitant demands. In their room were chosen citizens of the Savoyard party.

The magistracy and council being thus new modelled in favour of the duke and the bishop, two deputies, Richardet and Goulaz, were sent by the syndics to the cantons at Zurich, to clear the duke from having had any hand in Berthelier's death, and to vindicate the bishop's proceedings in that matter; to throw the blame of the Friburgers demands upon the displaced syndics, and to exhort the deputies of the cantons to interpose with the Friburgers to renounce their alliance with Geneva. In answer to those instructions, the Friburgers justified themselves with great spirit and firmness, and represented the death of Berthelier in the blackest light; but, notwithstanding all they could do, the sense of the cantons, who were for preserving the public peace, was in favour of the Savoyards. The duke of Savoy at this time resided at Geneva; and, upon his departure thence, he appointed the sieur Salaigne to be his vidame there, instead of Consigli, who was extremely unpopular. In the year 1522 died John of Savoy, bishop of Geneva, whose body is said to have been so emaciated with the venereal disease, that after his death it weighed no more than twenty-eight pounds. He had in his lifetime made Peter of Baume, who was of the noble family of Montivel in Bresse, his coadjutor: and he died expressing great remorse for the troubles he had brought upon the Genevois, at the instigation of the house of Savoy. Next year Peter, being chosen bishop of Geneva, entered upon his office, after having taken the oaths to qualify himself, which were as usual administered by the syndics upon the bridge of the Arve. The new bishop prevailed with the syndics and the magistrates to postpone the entertainments and shews, designed for him, till the arrival of the duke and duchess of Savoy. A few days after, their entry was made at an enormous expence. The young gentlemen of the city were dressed in silks, velvets, and cloth of silver, and the ladies formed themselves into a troop of Amazons, armed and disciplined in the ancient manner. The duchess, however, having been disappointed in her favourite ambition of lodging in the town-house, gave little attention to the honours that were offered her, and beheld the Genevois with a disgusting coldness. The Savoyard party apologized for her behaviour as owing to her education, and the customs of her native country, which was

but prevailed against gain.

Death of John of Savoy.

Portugal. At last the Genevois were better reconciled to her manners. The residence of the duke at Geneva making money circulate, nothing passed but mutual entertainments and feasts; and the duchess was brought to bed of a son at Geneva, who died soon after in Spain, before the father could perform his promise of making him prince of Geneva, the sovereignty of which was most passionately coveted by the duchess.

*Danger of
the Gene-
vois losing
their liber-
ties.*

The duke of Savoy by thus enervating the minds of the Genevois made them forget the care of their liberties; and their independency, which they had hitherto so jealously preserved, received daily violation. The inhabitants either neglected, or through their expences were unable, to repair the fortifications of their city; their bishop, though well intentioned, was voluptuous and indolent, and possessed so many livings under the duke of Savoy, that he durst not disoblige him; but above all the Genevois were deprived of all hopes of protection, either from the emperor or the king of France, who were at war with each other, while the duke kept himself neuter, with a view of becoming master of Geneva. In this state of affairs the duke, notwithstanding the last accommodation, carried his claims upon the sovereignty of Geneva higher than ever; and Levrery, the son of the lawyer of that name already mentioned, having the courage to oppose him, was put to death, almost in the same manner as Berthelier had been, whom he imitated in his courage, constancy, and behaviour, disdainng to fly when it was in his power to have made his escape. While this tragedy was acting, the bishop, who ought to have interposed his authority to prevent it, was in Piedmont, but had left the care of the bishoprick to his brother Sorlin, who was of the same character with himself, and withdrew to Remilly, to avoid being solicited to interpose in favour of Levrery.

*The Eignot
party wor-
shed.*

The death of this patriot brought the Genevois to a sense of their danger. Richardet was chosen one of the syndics, and called upon Boulet, the treasurer of the Soyoyard party, to account for the public money which he said had been idly dissipated. Boulet, instead of complying, upbraided Richardet with being an Eignot; upon which the latter broke his syndical staff upon the treasurer's head. Boulet complained to the duke's council at Chambery; but the syndics refusing to acknowledge its authority, their estates in Savoy were confiscated, and they applied for protection to the bishop, whom they empowered to carry their complaints by way of appeal to Rome, he pleading inability to give them redress. But he was now in-
tirely

tirely at the devotion of the court of Savoy; and he not only put into his own pocket three hundred crowns, which had been given him to carry on the appeal, but prevailed with the general council to retract it, and to refer the matter to himself. This affair at first met with some approbation; but the duke's vidame proceeding to violence, forced the heads of the Eignots to fly from Geneva, some of whom were taken in their flight; but Hugues the chief, and a few of his friends, escaped to Friburg. There they applied to the magistrates for protection in terms of the alliance between them; but receiving only fair promises, they addressed themselves to the states of Zurich, who at their request sent deputies to the duke. Upon their application, he readily agreed to the release of the prisoners, and the return of the exiles; but it was upon conditions so dangerous to the public liberty, that they rejected them, and once more applied for a general alliance with the confederate cantons.

By this time the doctrines of Luther had made vast progress both in Germany and Swisserland; and the cantons were so much divided in matters of religion, that they gave less attention than they otherwise would have done to the affairs of Geneva. The duke of Savoy was sensible of this advantage. Coming from Chambery to Geneva, he ordered a general council of the inhabitants to be summoned, where he appeared attended by his chancellor and guards in all the state of a sovereign prince. His chancellor, without much preamble, demanded that the assembly should immediately recognize the duke's sovereignty, renounce all alliance with the Swiss, and disclaim all connections with the fugitives. But the people were less terrified than amazed at his proceedings, and refused to comply with any of his demands. He then changed his method of proceeding; and both he and his officers endeavoured to win them over by friendly protestations and fair promises, which made some impression upon the counsellors; but the syndics persevered firmly in their opposition. In about twelve days after, the Swiss deputies, from the cantons of Friburg and Soleurre, came to the Genevois, and promised the inhabitants their assistance against all attacks upon their liberties and independency. This offer was delivered, and debated upon in a general assembly of the Genevois. But, the Savoyard party had such an ascendancy, that the deputies were ordered to acquaint their principals, that the subjects of Geneva, who had applied to them for protection and assistance, had no legal authority for so doing, and that they were well satisfied with the duke of Savoy's pro-

*Rise of the
reforma-
tion.*

ceedings and intentions: letters to the same purpose were sent to the cantons of Bern and Lucerne.

*Ambition of
the duke of
Savoy.*

On the 10th of December, the duke ordered another general council to be convoked, where, amongst other things for the establishment of his own authority, he demanded, that they should renounce all foreign connections, a measure which was accordingly agreed to and proclaimed. The chief Eignots disowned the authority of this council, as being partial, irregular, and under undue influence. On the 22d of the same month, John Bandieres, and the secretary Vandelli, presented themselves before it, at the head of the wives and children of the fugitives, and above two hundred other citizens, who had signed a writing given in by Vandelli, approving of all that had been done with regard to the foreign alliances by the fugitives. This bold stand gave a favourable turn to the Eignot party; and it was agreed, that the bishop should be invited to return from Pignerol, and resume his functions at Geneva.

*The Eignots
pre-
vail.*

He was, by this time, tired of the mortifications that had been imposed upon him by the duke of Savoy, and complained heavily of them to the syndics, promising to maintain their privileges to the utmost; but recommending to them secrecy in their proceedings, and their voting by ballot, as at Venice. This was a wise advice; and at the next election of syndics, John Philippe, who had great credit with the cantons of Friburg and Bern, was chosen the chief. The Eignots now carried every thing before them. The fugitives returned to Geneva; and Huges, as spokesman, acquainted the council, that the cantons of Bern and Friburg had agreed to enter into a defensive alliance for twenty-five years, or for ever, as should be thought most proper. The citizens had three days granted them to deliberate upon this proposal; and then another general council being held by the ringing of the great bell, not above five or six members dissented; but the bishop, who was present, protested against every thing that might prejudice his authority. Thus the alliance was completed, and the foundation of the Genevois liberty was laid. Eight Genevois deputies swore to the agreement at Bern and Friburg, and as many from those cantons did the same at Geneva, where they were received under the discharge of the city cannon, and entertained at the public expence, amidst the loud and general acclamations of the people.

*Exile of
the Maman-
lukes,*

The clergy, being in general, devoted to the house of Savoy, were startled at this revolution, but the syndics promised them protection, provided they behaved dutifully. The duke of Savoy represented the new alliance as inconsistent

sistent with the engagements between him and the two cantons; but he received no other satisfaction than that those engagements were ready to be dissolved when he pleased. The chief Mamalukes, to the number of forty-two, were obliged to leave Geneva, and take shelter in Savoy; but it was intimated to them by the Genevois syndics, that they were at liberty to remain in Geneva, if they would behave like honest men. According to Spon^a, that was far from being their intention; for they entered into a conspiracy with the vidame, who remained still at Geneva, for seizing the chief Eignots, and cutting off their heads. This conspiracy being discovered, the conspirators were summoned by sound of trumpet to appear, and upon their remaining contumacious, they were declared traitors, and their estates forfeited. Gruet the bishop's vicar, being suspected of favouring the duke, was deposed, and his place filled up by the abbot of Beaumont. The vidame himself at last fled, as did his deputy and jailor; and thus an end was put to all the authority of his court, which was the greatest grievance the Genevois had suffered. The syndics proceeded with great formality, and executed by their own authority a malefactor, who was confined in the vidame's prison, their own common serjeant acting the part of his provost. The arms of the duke of Savoy, over the castle gate in the island, were broken down, and his officers never more exercised any jurisdiction in Geneva.

This great revolution was planned and completed, with a perseverance, moderation, and regularity, which do not always reside with the spirit of liberty; and it must be acknowledged, it was chiefly owing to the discernment, honesty, and abhorrence of tyranny in the Friburgers, who brought the Bernois into their confederacy. The Genevois did not, as was too often the case with the other republican states of Italy, proceed with rancour against their antagonists. They agreed, at the bishop's intercession, to readmit into the city such of the Mamalukes as should behave with moderation, upon their paying a fine; but this reconciliation was prevented by the duke of Savoy, who threatened, if the Mamalukes agreed to it, to treat them as enemies, and if they did not, to restore them upon honourable terms. His chief dependence was upon his interest with the confederate cantons; but the allies gave him to understand, that he had no grounds for hope from that quarter, and that they would hear no arguments he could urge in favour of his claims upon Geneva. Those alter-

and expulsion of the Savoyard power out of Geneva.

A. D. 1526.

^b Spon. p. 32.

cations were renewed next year; when the duke refused to make satisfaction for some murders committed by his subjects upon the Genevois, or to suffer the fugitive Mamalukes to appear at Geneva, though they were offered letters of safe-conduct by the bishop.

*Danger of
the bishop.*

A.D. 1527.

The latter was now so much in the interest of the confederates, that the duke's party formed an ambuscade for carrying him off, as he was going to say mass without the town, and this attempt obliged him to retire to Franche Comte, having first cancelled all the evidences of his opposition to the confederacy. Fifteen days after his retreat, he sent a letter, or the copy of one, written by the emperor to the duke of Savoy, injoining him to desist from all his claims of sovereignty over Geneva, which was an imperial city. By this time the Mamalukes had removed their cause before the archbishop of Vienne, but the great council of the Genevois, encouraged by the imperial letter, refused to acknowledge that tribunal; and an act was passed, that no Genevois from thenceforward should prosecute a suit before that court. Mean while the duke of Savoy was so much exasperated with the bishop, that he confiscated all his livings in Savoy, but offered to restore them if he would join him in establishing the vidamate in Geneva; which the bishop was so far from doing, that he remitted all his own temporal power to the syndics, for the ease of the suitors in his court.

*History of
the fraternity
of the
spoon.*

A whimsical institution which took place at this time, had almost overthrown the new established liberty of Geneva. Certain Vaudois' gentlemen eating broth with wooden spoons at the castle of Vaud, some of them proposed in jest to join together, to oblige the Genevois to make use of the like spoons: the joke soon grew serious; a fraternity of the spoons was instituted; each member hung his spoon about his neck by way of badge; and Francis of Pontverre, who had the reputation of a good soldier, was chosen their captain. The duke of Savoy seemed to dislike this association at first, but was better reconciled to it, when he perceived that those knights of the spoon made war in earnest upon the Genevois: so that in a very short time, he and they came to a good understanding. The Genevois applied to their confederate states for succour; but unfortunately for them, the two cantons of Bern and Friburg were at variance together, on account of religion. All they did at first was to send deputies to persuade the knights to forbear hostilities; but that expedient proving ineffectual, they sent two companies of soldiers, of about eight hundred each, who, pretending that they were ob-

liged

liged only to defend the city, and not to act offensively against the duke's subjects, with whom they were in alliance, lay idle in and about Geneva, where they ate and drunk of the best at free cost. The truth is, neither of the cantons at this time chose to provoke the duke; and nothing worth mentioning was done to suppress the knights for above two years. During this time, the Mamalukes continuing contumacious, sentence of death was pronounced against them by the syndics.

In the year 1528, the Genevois found themselves in a very perplexing situation. Their friends, the Bernois, had driven the Roman catholic religion out of their jurisdiction. while the Friburgers zealously retained it: and the Bernois wanting to propagate their new faith amongst certain peasants, whom the Friburgers pretended to be their subjects, each state applied to Geneva for assistance. This was a case that had not been provided for by the articles of the alliance; and the Genevois, to please both parties, sent each a company of one hundred and fifty men; that designed for the assistance of Bern, being commanded by John Philippe, and the other by Richardet. The reconciliation that was soon after effected between the two cantons, prevented any bad consequences from the absurdity of this conduct; for both parties returned home without coming to action. All this while the knights of the spoon were insulting the Genevois under their own walls; and a difference happening between Huges and Bonivard, no care was taken to repel them effectually. The Genevois laboured at this time under a more essential difficulty. Their city was filled with the reformed fugitives from Fribourg, and Roman catholics driven from Bern. The latter state exhorted them earnestly to forsake the errors of popery, and the Friburgers to stick close to the religion of their ancestors, under the forfeiture of their friendship. Both parties agreed upon the necessity of reforming the clergy; and the Genevois consulted Bonnivard, the abbot of St. Victor, on that head, he being a man of honesty and understanding. His answer was, "If you will be ruled by me, you shall do one of these two things: if you continue debauched, as ye are at present, you must not wonder if others be so too; and if you will reform the clergy, you must first shew them the way by your good examples." An incident that happened soon after, more fully explained Bonnivard's sentiments. The Mamalukes had obtained from the archbishop of Vienne a writ of excommunication against the Genevois, for their contempt of his authority, and it was fixed up in most public places. Bonnivard travelling along with the Genevois deputies,

deputies, observed one of those writs fixed up in the high road, and stopped to read it, which they were simple enough to dissuade him from doing; "for (said they) as soon as ever you shall have read it, you will stand excommunicated." He smiled at their simplicity, and replied, "You are much mistaken; for if ye have condemned the Mamalukes unjustly, ye are excommunicated by God himself; but if justly, what power has the archbishop of Vienne over your consciences?"

*Rise and
progress
of the re-
formation
at Geneva.*

A.D. 1529.

These are incidents material to the knowlege of the original of Geneva's reformation. The good sense of Bonniard created doubts, and a spirit of inquiry in the minds of the Genevois; and being already sufficiently exasperated by the spiritual claims of the Romish clergy, the more they inquired, the more they were disposed to embrace the doctrine of the reformers. While this suspense lasted, there was a cessation of hostilities between the Genevois and the knights of the spoon; but Pontverre, in marching through Geneva, openly expressed himself in terms so insolent, and at the same time so threatening to the Genevois, that they were alarmed, but without daring to shew their resentment. Next year, as he attempted to pass through the city slenderly attended, some of the inhabitants who knew him put him to death; but the syndics, though they did not approve of the action, protected his followers, and sent his body for interment to his friends, who complained to the duke of his murder. Though the duke had no great regard for him, yet he sent deputies into Swisserland, who complained bitterly of the Genevois; but they were so well vindicated by Vandelli, who escaped all the ambuscades laid for him by land, by crossing the lake in a boat, that the cantons would take no cognizance of the matter. This indifference exasperated the fraternity of the spoon still more, who received fresh assistances from their allies; and the cantons of Bern and Zurich interested themselves so far in their quarrel, that they sent deputies to inquire into the grounds of it, and to report the same at a meeting of the cantons, to be held at St. Julien. Their report was so favourable for the Genevois, that, after various negociations, the duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to pay the auxiliaries from Bern and Friburg, and to admonish the knights of the spoon to forbear their hostilities against the city. His admonitions were disregarded, and their insults continued even to the plundering some houses in the suburbs. The rest of the year was spent in various altercations about dissolving the fraternity of the spoon, which was generally looked upon as an illegal and predatory institution; but nothing effectual

was

was done, saving that the Bernois and Friburgers renewed their assurances of friendship for the Genevois, and cancelled their treaty of alliance with the duke of Savoy.

By this time the bishop of Geneva had given up all business; so that the magistrates were obliged to re-establish a kind of commission for managing the affairs of the bishoprick, and Richardet was chosen his steward, with four assistants, who have ever since been called auditors. When this regulation was intimated to him in the Franche-comté, he approved of it; but was so immersed in indolence, that he desired to have no further concern in the matter, that he might do nothing farther to exasperate the duke of Savoy, with whom he had renewed a correspondence. Next year the plague raging in Geneva, a set of miscreants, who had recovered from it, entered into a confederacy for propagating it; but being discovered, were punished with the most exquisite tortures. Both the duke and the knights of the spoon continued their hostilities against Geneva; and the bishop, who remained still in Franche-comté, was prevailed on to give them his countenance. This encouraged them so much, that they formed a scheme for surprising the city itself, by scaling the walls in the night. Their courage failed them in this attempt; but they plundered the suburbs of St. Leger. Not only the allies, but the other cantons of Switzerland, considered the case of the Genevois as a common cause; and, says Spon^a, "There set out from Bern seven thousand men, and twelve pieces of ordnance, under the conduct of the governor of Erlach; from Friburg two thousand, with four pieces of cannon, and some time after, five hundred from Soleure, with two pieces of cannon. Two or three thousand volunteers joined this army." All these auxiliaries arrived at Morges, where they staid four days, while the knights thought proper to break up their camp. This army, however, which was more formidable than any that had been seen for some hundreds of years in those parts, struck the duke of Savoy with very serious apprehensions; and he sent de Vauru to assure the Genevois, that he knew nothing of the late attempt upon their city, though de Vauru had appeared as one of the heads of their knights.

The leaders of the confederates, while at Morges, proposed terms of accommodation between the duke and the Genevois; but the latter earnestly desired to have a conference with him at Geneva. The army of the cantons decamping from Morges, and looking upon the knights of the

Increase of the power of the magistrates.

Danger of Geneva,

which is delivered by its allies.

^a Spon, p. 92.

A peace.

spoon, as no better than out laws and ruffians, burned down the castle of Rolle, and most of their houses in the Vaud, and then marched to Geneva, where they arrived about the 8th of October. A peace was proposed between the duke and the Genevois, and hastily concluded at St. Julian; on condition that the prisoners should be released on both sides; and that no acts of hostility should be committed on either party, under penalty, on the duke's part, of the forfeiture of the county of Vaud; and on that of the Genevois, of the revocation of the alliance. It is probable, that the Genevois agreed to this peace, chiefly with a desire to get rid of their friends, who had consumed all their provisions, and left the inhabitants on the point of starving. Nothing had been stipulated either as to the vidamate or

*A.D. 1530.**Differences
arise a-
new.*

the alliance; and the duke of Savoy continued to insist upon the revival of the one, and the dissolution of the other, in an assembly of the cantons held at Payerne. He likewise insisted that the fugitive Mamalukes should be restored to Geneva, and to all their honours and estates; and that he should be paid two hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify him for the expences of the war. The deputies of the cantons were for referring the matter to the emperor; but that expedient was rejected by the Genevois, who insisted upon referring it to a general assembly of the cantons. The affair being brought before the latter, their determination was, that the business of the fugitives should be postponed; that the alliance with Geneva should be confirmed; that Bonnivard, who had been illegally imprisoned by the duke, should be released; and that the duke should pay to the three cities twenty-one thousand crowns, which he was to raise upon the bishop of Geneva, and the knights of the spoon; and that the agreement at St Julien should stand good, but that the vidamate should be restored to him.

*Conduct of
the duke of
Savoy.*

The duke rejected all the terms of this arbitration that were not favourable for his interest; and appointed a person to act as his vidame. The Genevois would not admit him, because the other articles were not complied with, and fortified their city, so as to secure it against all surprise; while the duke, on the other hand, threatened to raise an army of ten thousand men to reduce them, and prohibited all manner of provisions from being carried into the city out of his dominions. But the religious disputes, which now began to be very warm at Geneva, promised him greater advantages than all he could hope from his arms, as they threatened an utter dissolution of the confederacy.

Certain

Certain young Genevois, either from a spirit of controversy, or the love of truth, fixed up in all public parts of the city a number of propositions, which they undertook either to defend or confute; but the tendency of the disputations was generally against the established religion. The reader who reflects upon that invincible love of liberty that was inherent in the natives of Geneva, and the perpetual struggles they had with their bishops, whose lives were far from being exemplary, cannot be surprised that the Genevois imitated their neighbours the Swiss, in canvassing the absurdities in religion. By what can be gathered from their history, the ecclesiastics amongst them differed in little or nothing from the laity, excepting in performing their modes of worship; for they served in their armies, and wore swords when they appeared abroad. One Veily, a canon, drew his sword upon one of those young Genevois disputants, who stood upon his own defence; and a fray ensued, in which several persons were wounded. Upon this occasion, the syndics published an order against all such public disputations for the future, and against the broaching of new doctrines. Soon after this order was published, the Bernois, who were extremely zealous for the conversion of the Genevois, persuaded William Farel, an eminent reformer, and Anthony Saunier, to repair to Geneva, where, though in defiance of the civil power, they preached the new doctrines as they were called, and gained many secret converts. The clergy took the alarm; and though two syndics befriended these reformers, they were obliged to leave the city. Their place was supplied by Anthony Froment, one of Farel's disciples; a lively young man, who introduced himself under the character of a reading and writing tutor into many families, where he instructed his pupils, their parents, and friends, in the principles of the reformed religion; but his success chiefly lay amongst the women. His mission was not long a secret; for his audiences soon grew so crowded, that the magistrates could no longer wink at such assemblies; and an order was issued from the council, commanding him to desist. This order was delivered to him by the common serjeant, while he was in the middle of his sermon; but he returned the usual answer on such occasions, that it was better to obey God than man. His answer being reported to the council, a warrant was issued to apprehend him; and this obliged him first to abscond, and then to leave the city. These proceedings made great noise in the cantons of alliance. The Friburgers repeated their threats to break with the Genevois, if their magistrates did not effectually put

*Progress of
the reformation in
Geneva.*

*Disputes
about religion.*

put a stop to the new doctrine. The answer of the magistrates was, that they had done all they could, and that they would strengthen the ecclesiastical power for that purpose. It is likely that they were not very sincere in their professions, for the reformed daily increased; and the Roman clergy, the more the Genevois read the scriptures, became the more detested. At last, in one of their assemblies held in a garden, one Guerin, a cap-maker, took upon him to administer the sacrament, for which he was obliged to fly the city. It must be acknowledged, that those first reformers amongst the Genevois, were not remarkable for their meekness. Several tumults happened between them and the established clergy; and blows were frequently dealt between the followers of both parties. The magistrates, however, continued to protect the papists, and to banish such of the protestants, particularly Olivetan, as were most forward in preaching and disturbing the public peace, by presuming to accuse the mass of idolatry.

*The Bernois
offended.*

This rigour offended the Bernois; and they in their turn threatened to break with the Genevois, if their magistrates continued their severities against the reformers. Thus the city was divided between the Bern and Friburg interest. The Romish clergy had still great credit; they complained that the threatening letters sent from Bern, had been procured from thence by the reformed faction at Geneva; and while the council was assembled, about two hundred of the Roman catholics called out for justice against the reformed, whom they threatened to punish if the magistrates declined their duty. This tumult being appeased, with great difficulty, in four days, another of a more threatening nature broke out. One Baudichon had convened, at his house, about two hundred reformed, all of them men of spirit and courage, well armed, and determined not to be insulted by the Romanists. The popish part, on the other hand, assembled in great numbers in the church of St. Peter; and great preparations were made on both sides for battle. Two of the syndics repaired to St Peter's, and two to Baudichon's, to endeavour to compromise matters. In the mean time the great bell was rung by the Romanists, which was a signal for all of them to put themselves in arms. Some eminent citizens were wounded; the city gates were shut; the great artillery was drawn out against Baudichon's house; and some of the council put themselves at the head of the Romanists. It happened, as it generally does on those occasions, that father was divided against son, and husband against wife, and all burned with irresistible fury; so that nothing was now expected but an unnatural scene of blood.

The

The priests blew the flame, as believing their party the most numerous; but the syndics, by their incessant labours for peace, brought the reformed in Baudichon's house to consent to a treaty. This proposal was rejected by the Romanists, who advanced to the assault; but understanding that they would meet with a warm reception, they halted, and began to listen to some Friburg merchants, who happening to be in the place, interposed, and brought both parties to consent to a parley. This interposition being seconded by the prudence of the syndics, three hostages on either side were interchanged for keeping the peace; and next day the articles of agreement were published by the syndics.

These imported, that all enmity should cease on both sides, in words as well as deeds: that none should rail against the sacraments of the church; but that all persons might use their own liberty: that flesh should not be eaten on Wednesdays and Saturdays: that none should preach without licence from the syndics and superiors; and that nothing should be maintained in sermons that could not be proved out of the holy scripture. These articles were solemnly sworn to, the syndics taking the oath of the laity, and the vicar, of the clergy, for their observance.

It is easy to perceive, that, by this concordate, the reformed, or as they were then called, gospellers, carried their main points. The Bernois, sensible of the strength of their party, sent a herald to desire that Peste and Baudichon, two of the chief gospellers, should not be molested; and after Easter they sent Farel and another minister to Geneva, to dispute with the popish preachers. This step renewed the tumults. The Romanists met together in a quarter of the city called Mòlard. Swords were drawn; the great bell was rung, and the canon Verley appeared armed from head to foot, brandishing a naked sword, as the champion of the Romanists. Above seven hundred appeared on each side, and Verley was killed in endeavouring to make his retreat; while Coquet, a syndic, was wounded in the head, endeavouring to separate the combatants, an aim which was at last effected with great difficulty; and two of the ringleaders were imprisoned. Verley happening to be a Friburger, that canton demanded satisfaction, not only on those who actually killed him, but on Coquet and the magistrates, who had not suppressed the tumult. Some days after, deputies came from Bern, who acted as mediators; and at last it was agreed, that every person should be at liberty to go either to mass or sermons, as he pleased; and this

An insurrection,

and accommodation.

The Friburgers demand satisfaction,

this compromise was likewise sworn to, the other standing still in force.

*The bishop
returns to
Geneva.*

The bishop, though absent, was now in hopes that the divisions of Geneva would render his presence there so necessary, that he might re-establish his authority. On the 1st of June he arrived at that city, having been met a league out of town by the syndics. His first care was to release several ecclesiastics out of prison, and then he assisted with the Friburg deputies, at a general council, which was held after mass. In that council a president of Franche-comte harangued the members, in favour of the bishop, and against the Gospellers. It soon appeared, that the reformation had taken too deep root to be crushed by his authority amongst the Genevois. Verley's kindred having assembled one hundred and twenty men at Friburg, passed the lake, and advanced to Gaillard, from whence they sent to Geneva, and once more demanded justice for their kinsman's death. Here the old dispute between the bishop and the syndics, concerning jurisdiction in capital cases, was revived; and he was given to understand, that he had no power to judge the prisoners; upon which, finding all his endeavours to establish his authority ineffectual, he hastily left Geneva, about the middle of July, and retired into the duke of Savoy's dominions. Mean while nine men and a woman were indicted for Verley's murder, before the attorney-general; and being acquitted, the attorney offered to enter an appeal, which was rejected, the syndics acquainting him, that they owned no superior on earth, and therefore would admit of no appeal. To prove, however, that they were in earnest to punish the murder, one Thoberet, who was convicted of having stabbed Verley, was publicly executed. This example of justice did not quiet Verley's relations, who fell upon the Genevois gospellers wherever they met them; and those bickerings were often attended with bloodshed.

*Demands
of the
Bernois.*

Froment was now returned to Geneva, together with one Alexander Camus, another reformer; while Furbity, a doctor of the Sorbonne, appeared at St. Peter's church, as the champion for popery. The indiscreet zeal of Froment and Camus led them to break the late pacifications, by publicly contradicting Furbity in the church; upon which Camus was banished, and Froment put under arrest. This conduct disobliged the Bernois, whose religion being Lutheran, was not implicitly embraced by the reformed of Geneva. It is probable, likewise, that the syndics neither approved of the indiscretion of the reformed preachers, nor
of

of the forwardness of the Bernois, in pressing upon them their religion. The Bernois, on the other hand, were disgusted with the slowness of the syndics; and to quicken them, they demanded the arrears owing them on account of the late war. They likewise insisted upon Furbity's being punished, for preaching erroneous and blasphemous doctrine, and complained of the treatment of Froment and his companions. The Genevois, when the Bernois deputies entered the city, took them to be Lutheran ministers; and the papists, both laics and ecclesiastics, ran to arms; but understanding how matters went, they were quieted. Upon the application of the deputies to the council, Furbity was offered in custody to the grand vicar, who refused to receive him; and the council made the best apology they could to keep the Bernois in temper. Soon after a herald came from Friburg, complaining that Farel, who had returned to Geneva, was suffered to preach, and again threatening to break off their alliance. The episcopal and Savoyard parties foresaw that it would be impossible for the syndics to preserve their alliance both with Bern and Friburg; and this consideration encouraged the grand vicar to give notice to all the parishes, that none should presume to preach, either in public or private, without licence from the bishop or himself; and that all the inhabitants should, upon pain of excommunication, burn their French and Dutch Bibles.

A.D. 1534.

Three days after this transaction, fresh deputations, on the former account, arrived from Friburg and Bern; but the latter were by far the most importunate. They demanded the arrears owing to their state, and insisted upon satisfaction for Furbity's having failed against their religion. The Genevois promised the payment of all that was justly due to them; but pleaded that they had no power over Furbity, because he was an ecclesiastic. Upon this declaration, the deputies, in a rage, threw upon the table the letters of association; but took them back upon Furbity's being ordered to answer for himself in the town-house. This affair revived the dispute between the spiritual and temporal courts. Though the magistrates had declared, that they did not mean to injure the bishop's rights, by ordering Furbity to answer before them; yet the bishop sent express orders, that his case should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; while the Bernois insisted, with equal perseverance, upon his being tried by the syndics alone, and that one of their ministers should be permitted to preach in Geneva.

Demands of the Bernois insisted upon.

*Conspiracy
discovered.*

It must be acknowledged that the Genevois magistrates had, at this time, a difficult task to manage; but the discovery of a dangerous design formed against their liberties, soon determined them to act with vigour. Amongst other instances of bloodshed between the professors of the two religions, one Pennet, a Papist, killed Porral, a Protestant; and the murderer, accompanied by Portery, the bishop's secretary, took refuge in the steeple of St. Peter's church, with design to ring the great bell in the night, and alarm their party. The syndics, being informed where they were concealed, entered the church, made both of them prisoners, and Pennet next day lost his head. Portery's house was then searched, and many blank commissions, and other papers, sealed with the duke of Savoy's coat of arms, were found in his closet, with an order for appointing a governor over Geneva, who was to act, in temporals, as the bishop's lieutenant, and to punish the reformed with the utmost severity. Papers of the same import were likewise found under the bishop's hand; in short, a discovery was made of a design to render Geneva subject to the house of Savoy and the bishop.

Consequences of it.

The evidences of this conspiracy were read on the 10th of February, in the general council, convoked for electing the syndics, and produced great effects. The Bernois deputies animated the Genevois against the Savoyard party, and promised, in the name of their principals, to stand to their alliance. Portery's indictment was drawn up, and his relations pleaded the bishop's pardon in bar to his trial; but the syndics refused to admit it; and being convicted of man-slaughter, treason, and sedition, he was executed according to his sentence. This execution served to increase the intestine divisions of the city, where, after the discovery of the late conspiracy, the magistrates evidently leaned to the reformers. The ridiculous expedient of a public disputation between Furbity and the ministers was tried before the council of two hundred, who condemned Furbity to make a public recantation in the church of St. Peter, of the expressions which had given offence to the Bernois. He was accordingly led to the pulpit, and the form of the recantation put into his hands; but instead of pronouncing it, he began to harangue the auditory in favour of popery; upon which he was pulled from the pulpit, and kept close prisoner. He was not the only preacher whom the Bernois complained of; they accused the preacher of Rive, one of the parishes of the city, of maintaining doctrines that were not to be found in the scripture, extracts of which they produced in writing. The syndics answered,

answered, that the preacher should be warned not to propagate such doctrines for the future. The Bernois then complained that one of their ministers had been banished the city; but the syndics and council replied, that they could not repeal his sentence of banishment. Lastly, the deputies desired that they might be allowed a chapel and chaplain for themselves; and their request was granted.

By this time, the reformed had secretly taken a resolution to try their strength with the Roman Catholics, and endeavoured to get possession of the church of Rive. For this purpose a reformed minister openly contradicted a preacher, who had delivered a sermon there on the first Sunday in Lent; and on the 1st of March, Baudichon and Amy Perron, with other vigorous reformers, obliged Farel to get up into the pulpit, after the preacher had finished his discourse, and confute what he had advanced. This was the first time that the reformed had preached in a regular place of worship within Geneva; nor does it appear, that they ever after quitted possession of the church of Rive, where they not only preached, but baptized, married, and administered the sacrament. Some of the counsellors and new deputies from Friburg complained of those proceedings, as encroachments and breaches of the late pacification. The magistrates laid the fault upon their allies of Bern, whom they said they could not disoblige at a juncture so critical to their liberties; and they exhorted the Friburgers to join them in defending them against the bishop, which they were so far from doing, that they utterly renounced their alliance, by tearing the seals from the treaty. Thus an alliance, which was formed upon the noble principles of liberty, was cancelled through fanatical differences in religion.

*Progress of
the reformation,
which
gains
ground.*

On Whitfun-eve the heads of the images over the church gates were struck off, by persons unknown; and Bernard, a priest of St. Peter's church, renouncing popery, was married by Peter Viret to Amy Perron's sister. In short, the party of the reformers every day gained ground. This was the more extraordinary, as the episcopal and ecclesiastical power and property in Geneva, was at least equal to those of the temporal, and indeed can only be accounted for by the ignorance, heat, imprudence, and pride of the ecclesiastics themselves. Lamentable, however, were the divisions that reigned both in public and private, when the two parties came near to an equality; a circumstance which encouraged the bishop to attempt once more to re-assume his authority. He was supported by the duke and nobility of Savoy, who raised a considerable body of soldiers to assist him to enter Geneva, the gates of which were to be open-

ed by his party within the city, while the charges of the cannon that defended the walls were to be privately drawn. The vigilant syndics, three of whom were now Protestants, having discovered this conspiracy, at nine of the night preceding the morning of the intended execution, shut their gates, and put the inhabitants under arms; but continued the signals that were to be given to the bishop by his accomplices within the city. His scouts finding all the gates shut, and that all was quiet within, concluded that the design was discovered, returned to Lebuyset, within two miles of Geneva, where the bishop was; and thus the design came to nothing, the Savoyards only plundering a few open houses, and making Peter Vandel prisoner; but he was soon after exchanged. As to the bishop, he retired again to Franche Comté. Thinking he was ill served in Geneva, he turned out his officers there, and settled at Gex; but the magistrates of Geneva refused to send him the seal of the bishoprick.

*An assembly
at Baden.*

A general assembly of the cantons was then held at Baden, and the Genevois laid their grievances before it. The Bernois, at the same time, sent deputies to desire the duke of Savoy, who affected to be on good terms with them, not to abet the enemies of Geneva; but they received little satisfaction. The duke complained of the Genevois, for the indignities they had formerly done him, and of their having lately demolished his altar in the church of Rive. He not only demanded that the bishop should be re-admitted, but that his vidame should be restored in the city. In answer to these demands, the Genevois referred themselves to the treaties of St. Julien and Payerne; but refused to re-admit the bishop. Several other conferences were held on the same subject, at Tonon and Lucerne; but all to no purpose. About this time the magistrates of Geneva had the honour of receiving a letter written to them by the French king, informing them, that he had set at liberty two of their countrymen, Baudichon and Cologny, who had been imprisoned at Lyons for their religion, and requesting the Genevois to enlarge Furbity, who was his subject. Even that powerful intercession did not prevent the Genevois from asking leave of the Bernois, before they would grant the request; and then Furbity was exchanged for Saunier, a minister.

A.D. 1535.

The impolitic conduct of the French king, who persecuted the Protestants within his own dominions, while he favoured them in the empire, was of vast service to the reformation in Geneva, as it filled that city with French refugees,

fugees, and furnished them with men and preachers of far greater abilities than any the Papists had to oppose to them. New converts were likewise every day renouncing the errors of popery, even among their own clergy. During all these proceedings, the syndics took care to be attended with a captain and herald belonging to the Bernois, to give countenance to their party. On the 4th of April, a woman, an inhabitant of Bressé, under pretence of being a profelyte to the reformation, came to Geneva, where she was discovered, and executed for attempting to poison three ministers. Viret was the only person who tasted the poison, and it almost killed him. The woman accused a canon as her confederate; and he was imprisoned by order of the syndics.

*A female
poisoner
discovered.*

On the 5th of May the Genevois attempted to surprise the town of Peney, which they considered as belonging to their jurisdiction, though in possession of the bishop. Their attempt proved unsuccessful, though five hundred men and seven pieces of cannon were employed in it; and after having lost two or three of their number, they returned to Geneva. This attempt, the justice of which does not clearly appear, occasioned hostilities between the people of Peney and Geneva; and the latter, for that and many other reasons, proceeded in strengthening and augmenting their fortifications. The bishop and his court continued still at Gex, where he had the mortification to see an end of all his authority in Geneva. The syndics, on the other hand, affected to do nothing but upon the clearest evidences of scripture and reason. James Bernard, guardian of the convent of Grey Friars of Rive, held public disputations at the convent of Rive, against Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and Chapuisy, a Dominican friar, who were champions for popery. The bishop prohibited all his clergy, as the duke of Savoy did his subjects, from being present at those disputations; but they were mightily encouraged by the syndics, who ordered four secretaries to attend, and to take down all that passed at them, with a view of making it public. On the 22d of July, Farrel, at the head of many of his hearers, drove the Romish clergy and auditory out of St. Magdalen's parish church, of which he took possession; and six days after he preached at St. Gervais, attended by a guard of fifty men, assigned him by the syndics, for preventing disturbances. On the 5th of August, he preached at St. Dominic's; and at last, on the 8th of the same month, at St. Peter's, under the sound of the great bell.

*Unsuccessful
attempt
of the Genevois.*

It was a misfortune, not peculiar to Geneva, that the spirit of her reformers carried them sometimes into un-

*The Roman
Catholic re-
ligion ex-
pelled out of
Geneva.*

warrantable, nay barbarous excesses. Being in possession of their churches, they not only destroyed the relics and images there, but demolished the statue of Charlemagne, which stood over the great gate of the church, which was erected by himself, as is most probable; an outrage that gave great concern to the lovers of antiquity and learning. Next day Baudichon, Vandel, and Amy Perrin, who had been appointed captains of the city-guard, went, at the head of their men, to the churches of St. Gervais and Dominic, where their zeal against popery led them to destroy a noble picture which had cost six hundred ducats; and they would have pulled down the fine chapel of René of Savoy, had not the syndics interposed with their staves, and prevented them. Next day Farel preached before the council of two hundred; and on the 22d of August, the syndics gave the fatal blow to the Romish religion in Geneva, by passing an order for utterly abrogating the same, and for establishing the Protestant doctrine. We know of no tumults that this great revolution of religion produced. The nuns of St. Clare had leave, if they pleased, to continue in their convent; but perceiving they could not be indulged with having the mass celebrated there, they begged to be carried to the duke of Savoy's dominions, to which they were escorted by the syndics, and the duke built them another convent at Aney.

At this time, all the regular military force of Geneva amounted only to four hundred volunteers, who were commanded by Baudichon, instead of the syndic Philip. Claude of Savoy, a Genevois, was sent to Berne, to prevail with that canton to send them some assistance. The Bernois were then on good terms with the duke of Savoy, and offered to be mediators between him and their allies; but declined to spare the troops that were required; upon which Claude went to raise supplies in Neufchatel. Having raised some, the deputies of Bern, as they were marching through their country, procured them to be disbanded, while the Savoyards intercepted three of the Genevois deputies, and confined them in the castle of Chilon.

S E C T. III.

Containing the Progress of the Reformation amongst the Genevois, and their Wars with the Duke of Savoy; Arrival of Calvin at Geneva; Account of the Death of Servetus; Calvin's Troubles and Death; Successes of the Genevois against their Enemies.

N O people, perhaps, under the denomination of a republic or a sovereign state, ever were at a lower pass than were the Genevois, when they had the spirit to reform themselves from the errors of popery; and, what is still more, to shake off the yoke of their bishop and the duke of Savoy. They had amongst them neither trade nor manufactures, and so little money of their own, after the expulsion of the Savoyards, that it was with the utmost difficulty two pieces of coarse money of the Geneva coin were discovered, to be patterns for a new coinage. They were on all hands surrounded by enemies, who had every motive for hating them that revenge, ambition, and popery could inspire. They were even destitute of provision for their daily support; and now that their friends, the Bernois, had failed them, they seemed to be abandoned by all human aid, as the people of Gex had intercepted and cut off the few auxiliaries, who still appeared willing to follow Claude. The Savoyards had seized upon Peney, where they committed the most inhuman outrages, and carried away the inhabitants, whom they accused of treason, prisoners to Gex; but the Genevois, though thus surrounded with difficulties, and scarce possessed a foot of ground they could call their own, without their gates, never seemed to have entertained the least thoughts of submitting to their former tyrants, either temporal or spiritual.

In this distress, they were relieved, by an accidental effect of their poverty. Having no manufactures, and little agriculture of their own, the poorer sort generally sought their livelihood in France, where they were employed as printers and compositors, and in other ingenious arts, particularly about Lyons. Those poor journeymen could not withstand the call of their country's distress, and about six hundred of them took arms for her relief, being commanded by one Roboan, a printer, and Francis of Montbel, sieur of Veray. Beginning their march with that intention, they found the Savoyards in possession of all the passes as far as Salleneuve. Nevertheless, they forced their way to St. Claude; and Montbel undertook to acquaint the

A.D. 1536.

*Difficulties
of the Genevois,*

*who are
oppressed by
the Savoyards.*

Genovois of their approach, and to desire them to favour their entering the town, by making a sally. Montbel discharged his commission with great danger to himself; for being alone, he was taken for a spy; and, as he approached the gates of Geneva, he was fired upon by the inhabitants. He found means, however, to acquaint them with his instructions; and the Genevois made the sally accordingly with all their force and artillery. Both parties, however, were so ignorant of military discipline, that they missed each other upon the road, so that part of the auxiliaries fell into the hands of the Savoyards, and part threw themselves into Geneva.

*Favour-
able turn
of their
affairs.*

This reinforcement, inconsiderable as it was, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the Genevois; it enabled them to make sallies, and to procure provisions. Though they were rather straitened than besieged in their city, yet they were threatened with all the miseries of a siege; but the fortune of the war was now changed, and they enlarged their quarters. Their enemies had taken the convent of Our Lady of Grace; but being obliged to quit it, the Genevois raised it to the ground; and on the 16th of January, they defeated their enemies, in an attempt they made to surprise their city by a scalade, on the side of Gervais and St. Victor. These small successes, joined to the apprehensions of famine, gave them courage and an additional degree of weight with their allies of Bern, who, resenting the attempt of the Savoyards to surprise their city, declared war against the duke of Savoy, and sent him back the articles of agreement they had entered into with him, promising, at the same time, to send the Genevois a speedy reinforcement. This step induced the duke to fill the neighbourhood of Geneva with an additional number of soldiers, in order to cut off all resources from the inhabitants; a precaution which was so far from discouraging the Genevois, that they resolved, under de Veray, to beat up the enemy's quarters; and accordingly, in a sally, they surprised a body of six hundred horse and foot, whom they cut in pieces, or made prisoners. Some days after this action, being disappointed of the succours promised them by the Bernois, they fitted out a bark, and as many boats as carried eight hundred men across the lake, where they alarmed the country of Savoy, and plundered Gentoux and Verfoy, even to the bells of their churches. This expedition was commanded by de Veray, who next day took possession of Sacconez, which had been abandoned by the enemy on the approach of the Bernois auxiliaries that were now in motion; and in those two

castles

castles they found a vast quantity of provision, which they sent to Geneva, where it proved a most seasonable relief to the inhabitants: they then blew up the fortifications of Peney, which had long been a thorn in their sides, and which they had not men to garrison.

About the 31st of January, the Bernois auxiliaries were advanced in their march to Geneva as far as Nyons, having destroyed all that part of the Vaud through which they passed. Charles III. was then duke of Savoy; but he was so ill served by his subjects, that he was obliged to take mercenaries into pay, who plundered his dominions as if they had belonged to his enemies; so that his subjects of the Vaud, as well as the Chablais, considered the Bernois rather as their protectors than their foes. The city and castle of Gex surrendered to the Bernois; as did Tonon, though lying on the other side of the lake; and the castles of Jussy and Gaillard were, upon summons, delivered up to the Genevois. At last the Bernois auxiliaries, who, with those of Neufchatel, did not amount to above seven hundred men, arrived at Geneva. In a council of war it was resolved to attack fort la Cluse, which they took, and sent the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, prisoners to Gex. But the joy of the Genevois, who returned from this expedition loaded with booty and provisions, was greatly damped by the avarice and insolence of their Bernois auxiliaries, who demanded, for their expence of the war, all the revenues of the vidamate and the bishoprick. The senate, on the other hand, represented to the Bernois the dishonour of staining the generous assistance they had given them, by a demand which would subject them to the same oppression from which they had been relieved; and the demand seems, at that time, to have been dropt. The truth is, the Bernois were no inconsiderable gainers by breaking with the duke of Savoy. This rupture gave them an opportunity of making themselves masters of Lausanne and Yverden; and at last, by the help of the Genevois frigate, they took the castle of Chilon, where they liberated Bonnivard, who had been many years confined prisoner in a dungeon. The French king, Francis I. was master of the greatest part of Savoy, La Bresse, and Piedmont, and desired the Bernois to confine their conquests within the Vaud and the Chablais. The Friburgers, at the same time, though at peace with the duke, took possession of the county of de Romant, lest, as they pretended, it should fall into the hands of the Bernois. Thus the duke was stripped on all hands; while the Genevois

*They are
assisted by
the Ber-
nois.*

possessed

possessed and garrisoned Jussy, Thy, Peney, Bellerive, and Seligny; but demolished the castle of Gaillard.

*A new
alliance.*

The Bernois had never lost sight of their claim upon the Genevois, whom they now thought to be in a condition to satisfy it; and a meeting was held at Bern for that purpose, where matters were settled on the following terms: the alliance between the two states was continued for twenty-five years; the Genevois obliged themselves to pay to the Bernois ten thousand crowns in six months; the Bernois were to be admitted into Geneva as often as they thought proper, and to be put into possession of the lordship of Gaillard, the abbey of Bellerive, and the castle of Cholex. Thus the Genevois preserved the revenues of the vidamate, the bishoprick, and the valuable abbey of St. Victor.

*Religious
affairs.*

Farel, who seems to have had in his composition a strong tincture of enthusiasm, still continued at the head of the Genevois reformation; and it is more than probable, that the syndics thought he had too much sway with the common people. The persecution of the protestants still raging in France, the famous John Calvin, with his brother Anthony, came to Geneva, in his way to Basil and Strasbourg. He was a man of parts and zeal for the reformation; and his learning was far superior to that of Farel, who with great difficulty, engaged him to remain at Geneva. By their joint labours, the protestant religion acquired great strength; but the divisions and imprudence of its professors had almost ruined it. The Bernois indulging themselves in their propensity to disputation, even upon the most ridiculous and trifling matters of religion; and assuming a superiority over the Genevois, pressed the latter to comply with them in every whimsical article as a matter of salvation. An anabaptist, endeavouring to introduce his doctrine into Geneva, was opposed by Farel, who prevailed with the magistrates to banish him and his followers out of the city. They retired to Switzerland, where the Bernois put some of them to death. Caroline, a famous champion for popery, came likewise to Geneva; and Farel, after having disputed with him, prevailed with the magistrates to drive him out of their city likewise. Farel then presumed to differ with the Bernois, upon the articles of making use of unleavened bread in the sacrament; and of women being married with their hair dishevelled. This contest created a breach in the friendship between the two states; and Calvin joining with him in rejecting the doctrine of consubstantiation, it was widened.

A.D. 1537.

It was no wonder that the Genevois magistrates were prejudiced against men who could thus endanger the peace and liberty of a state for such trifles. The Romish party was indefatigable in representing and exaggerating these absurdities. At last, the magistrates, who are said to have been Roman catholics in their hearts, cited the three principal protestant preachers, Calvin, Farel, and Courant, who was blind, to appear before them, and defend their confession of faith. They had against them, not only the Romish, but the Bernois interest, and, upon their refusing to conform with the canton of Bern, in celebrating the sacrament, the syndics ordered them to depart the city in three days. Calvin retired to Basil, and from thence to Strasbourg; as did Farel to Neufchatel; but both of them held a correspondence with their friends in Geneva; and it was easy to foresee, that their exile would be of no long duration. Their banishment was followed by the persecution of the other protestant clergy, some of whom were prudent enough to comply with the Bernois discipline in indifferent matters; while others, particularly Saunier and Matturin Cordier, were banished for not complying with the Romanists, by administering the communion in a wafer.

The protestant ministers expelled;

During the year 1539, the liberty, as well as the religion of the Genevois, was in suspence. The banished ministers, and their followers had the merit of maintaining the independency of the state in both. The Bernois pretended to dictate; the Roman catholics improved the differences to their own purposes; and the magistrates, without troubling themselves about the affairs of religion, passed a decree in the general council, that whosoever should so much as advise a change of government, should lose his head. This was a necessary precaution; for a faction now sprung up, who called themselves Artichauds, or *Artichokes*, from their wearing leaves of that plant as badges, who favoured the superiority of the Bernois over Geneva. Those Artichauds had been enemies to the banished pastors. Three of them resided as deputies at Bern, and had agreed to give up to the Bernois the lordship and abbey of St. Victor, with other articles extremely prejudicial to the public liberty. This agreement being reported in the general council, the deputies were sent for home, imprisoned, and condemned to lose their heads as traitors. Being men of great interest, their condemnation produced considerable disturbances. John Philippe, who was then captain-general of the troops, and had borne the highest posts in the state, befriended them, and killed a partizan

partizan of the other faction. This outrage, in an instant, lost Philippe all his interest and popularity. He endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken; and though the Bernois earnestly interposed in his favour, he lost his head. Richardet, another leader of the same party, was killed by a fall, in trying to make his escape over the city walls. Two of the three deputies who were under sentence of death, had been joint syndics with Philippe and Richardet, when the reformed ministers were banished out of Geneva; and nothing was now talked of but the repeal of that banishment. In the mean time, the emperor Charles V. sent a letter to the citizens of Geneva, encouraging them to maintain their independency against the Bernois, to whom he had wrote to desist from their claims; and threatening the Genevois with his highest displeasure, if they did not maintain themselves in the possession of those privileges that had been granted them by his ancestors. Those letters being read in the general council, an order was made for repealing the banishment of the ministers; and Calvin was invited to return to Geneva. He was at that time settled at Straßburg, where he had vast success in making converts; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to return to Geneva, where a consistory was now established. Being returned, his exile seemed to have given him new lustre. He applied himself indefatigably to the duties of his function: he kept up a close correspondence with the most eminent protestants all over Europe; and at last, he became in a manner the dictator of the state, where he established that ecclesiastical policy which still prevails. The high credit he was in proved serviceable to Geneva, where many useful manufacturers and artists took refuge on account of their religion.

*but re-
stored.*

*Death of
the bishop
of Geneva.*

In the year 1542, the plague being at Geneva, the great palace was fitted up for an hospital; but the magistrates held Calvin in so great esteem, that they would not suffer him to attend the infected, and he went to Straßburg, where he renewed his disputations with Caroline. Next year Peter of Baume, bishop of Geneva, died, and that dignity was conferred by the pope upon Auberive, who resided at Arnig. Some pretend that Calvin was jealous of the superior parts of Castalio, who was his fellow-labourer in the ministry, and that he employed underhand means to procure his expulsion from Geneva. It is certain that Castalio was accused before the council of maintaining some heterodox opinions, particularly with regard to the song of Solomon, which he considered as an amorous poem; and the descent of Christ into hell; which being

disapproved.

disapproved of by the council, he was deposed from his ministry, and obliged to withdraw to Basil.

In the year 1545, a most flagrant scene of wickedness was discovered in Geneva. That city had been often subject to the plague, which a set of miscreants, who were employed as cleansers, and who being recovered, had nothing to fear from the infection, endeavoured to spread. Those wretches, consisting of men and women, erected themselves into a kind of fraternity, and made use of cant words to express their detestable practices. One Lentilles was at their head; and it was common for them to collect the morbid matter in rags, which they dropped or distributed in places which were not infected. One Tallent, an accomplice of Lentilles, being discovered in this detestable crime at Tonon, confessed his guilt, and impeached Lentilles and his confederates. Lentilles being apprehended, was confronted by Tallent; but would confess nothing, though racked till he expired. All they could extort from him was, his desiring them to seize upon all who attended the hospital. This step being taken, seven men and twenty-four women were tried, convicted, and, upon their own confession, burnt alive; and a surgeon, and two others, had their skins pulled off by red-hot pincers. All of them acknowledged that Lentilles had engaged them, under the most horrible oaths, to the perpetration of their crimes. Those executions, in a few weeks, restored the city and state to salubrity, after it had lost twenty thousand people.

A scene of wickedness discovered.

Nothing memorable happened for some years after this transaction in Geneva, but religious disputes. Calvin's rigorous discipline shut up the taverns, put a stop to all sports, and prohibited all profane dancing and singing, measures which gave great offence to the young Genevois; but it was in vain they repined. Calvin got the magistrates on his side, and the contumacious were threatened with excommunication if they did not submit. A member of the council, however, had the courage to impeach Calvin's doctrine as unsound; but the magistrates, without farther enquiry or application, committed him to prison, and condemned him to do penance for his accusation, by walking through the city with a torch in his hand. A letter, about this time, was intercepted from Calvin to Viret, and read before the council, accusing the Genevois of impiety and hypocrisy. Calvin, being questioned upon this letter, boldly justified it; but applied his reflections to particular persons; upon which he was acquitted, and he continued his disputations and publications upon religion with

Dissensions in Geneva.

with great success. He met with a keen opponent in the person of Bolsec, who had been a Carmelite, but pretended to embrace protestantism, and at the same time charged Calvin with making God the author of sin, and with other absurd tenets. Calvin defended himself, as is said, with great learning, and was seconded by Farel; and Bolsec was first imprisoned, and then banished the city. One Troillet, another of Calvin's opponents, was silenced by the secular power, though that did not prevent many disturbances on the head of religion from arising.

Condemnation of Servetus.

But the most impious abuse of the secular power in matters of religion, happened in the case of the famous Michael Servetus, a Spaniard, one of the most learned physicians of his age. It is far from being our intention to enter upon the speculative points of this unhappy gentleman's doctrine, in which he differed from Calvin; we shall only relate facts. Servetus had been imprisoned for his opinions at Vienna; from whence, making his escape, he took refuge at Geneva. It was natural for him to hope for an asylum amongst a people who had founded their liberties upon their right of thinking for themselves in matters of religion, and disclaiming authority in points of conscience. He was deceived: arriving at Geneva, he was thrown into prison, and accused by Calvin of some heterodox opinions with regard to the Trinity, and other articles of faith. He was at the same time robbed by the magistrates of a gold chain, and of a considerable sum of money, which never were returned; so that he was in danger of perishing for want in prison. Being called upon to make his defence, he spoke with so much freedom and learning, that Calvin could oppose him with nothing but the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. Servetus suffered this sentence without retracting his opinion, to the indelible infamy of those concerned against him. This cruelty gave many advantages to Calvin's enemies. He was represented as a favourer of persecution in matters of religion, which was the strongest charge that he himself had brought against the Romish church; and the defence he made for himself was vague and illiberal; for it contained nothing more than recriminations upon Servetus, and a pretended confutation of his heresies, as if those bare allegations, had they been proved, could have justified murder.

Jealousy of the Genevois.

The fiery spirit of Calvin seemed to communicate itself to the laity of Geneva. The French had retired to that city in such numbers, that the Bernois sent the magistrates some intimations of their having formed a design against their

their liberties, upon which the people of Merindol and Cabrieres, who had fled for refuge to Geneva, were employed in farther fortifying the city. This precaution did not satisfy the hot-headed citizens, and under Amy Perrin, their captain-general, they entered into a design to massacre all the French within Geneva in one night. This detestable conspiracy was discovered by the council, who put to death as many of the heads of it as fell into their hands; but thirty of them fled, and were condemned in their absence. They, however, procured the Bernois to intercede for them, but to no purpose, and their miscarriage produced many tumults in and about the city.

Geneva was now the chief sanctuary of all the reformed, whom religion had driven from their own countries. The English, the French, the Italians, and other nations, had their several churches there, or in the suburbs, and their transactions make a considerable figure in the ecclesiastical history of that time. In this year, the confederacy between Geneva and Bern was renewed; and next year it was rendered perpetual. About this time, some Italians professing Arian principles, which they neither understood nor could explain, came to Geneva; amongst them was Valentine Gentil. The secular power continued to be the great test of truth amongst the Genevois; and those heretics, as an answer to their doubts and doctrines, were required to sign the confession of faith drawn up by Calvin. Some complied through convenience; amongst these was Gentil; but others, because they would not comply, were forced to leave the city. Gentil, notwithstanding his subscription, continued to dogmatise upon Arian principles, and to oppose the doctrine of Calvin; upon which he was committed to prison, and great doubts arose, whether he did not deserve the fate of Servetus. Gentil was, however, more pliable at this time than Servetus had been. He exhibited a writing, by which he retracted his opinions; and, by a seeming repentance, prevailed with the magistrates to inflict upon him no other punishment than burning his books, and forbidding him to depart the city without their leave. Notwithstanding the mildness of this censure, he joined Matthew Gribalde, a disciple of Servetus, and withdrawing from Geneva, propagated his doctrines in the county of Gex, where the bailiff obliged him to a second recantation; but, being irreclaimable, he was afterwards burnt at Bern.

*Valentine
Gentil
condemned.*

A.D. 1556.

A.D. 1558.

The great apology for Calvin's pursuing those sanguinary persecuting measures, is his sincerity, and conviction as to the truth of what he taught. He had now acquired a reputation

*A college
instituted
at Geneva.*

reputation all over Europe; which occasioned a resort of protestants to Geneva, to the vast benefit of that city. At this period, those emigrants increased so greatly, that it was judged necessary to found a college at Geneva for their reception and education. This college was divided into seven classes, in which Greek, Hebrew, and philosophy, were taught by separate professors, while Calvin, and the famous Theodore Beza, read the divinity lectures. The statutes of this college were afterwards printed. About this time, Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, succeeding to his father, who had been stripped of almost all his estates, obtained the restitution of part of them from the cantons; but complained bitterly that the Genevois encouraged his subjects of Lucerne, and other places, in their contumacy. A like complaint was brought against the Genevois by Charles IX. the French king, who taxed their state with being the source from which all the divisions and distractions of his kingdom proceeded. In answer to those charges, the Genevois did not deny their having encouraged foreigners to study there, and to qualify themselves for the protestant ministry; but they protested that they never entertained the least thoughts of fomenting disobedience in subjects against their sovereign; and as to the Savoyards, they declared, that they had no farther connection with them than by praying God to deliver them from military cruelty.

Geneva was at this time considered on the continent of Europe, as the great seat of the reformed religion. Their magistrates were so severe in their discipline, that they put a banker to death for being guilty of adultery; and another person condemned to be scourged for the same crime, having appealed for a mitigation of his punishment to the council of two hundred, was so far from succeeding, that he was put to death by their sentence. In all religious disputes, the Genevois divines were the umpires, and they furnished preachers and ministers to all the reformed states in Europe. In the year 1564 Calvin died, and his corpse was attended to the grave by almost all the inhabitants of Geneva. Nothing remarkable happened in that state till the year 1566, when James Paul Spiffame was put to death at Geneva. He had been bishop of Nevers, and had retired to that city on account of his embracing the reformed religion. He had, at his own request, been admitted a citizen; and was so much esteemed for his learning, that he was sent as a missionary into France, for the propagation of protestantism. During his absence, a suspicion arose that he intended to reconcile himself to the church

*Death of
Calvin.*

church of Rome; and it was discovered that, being married, he had antedated his nuptial contract, that he might enable his son, whom he had by his wife before marriage, to inherit his large estate. Being imprisoned upon this charge, he was examined, convicted, and put to death, upon his own confession. It was, however, believed by many, that his chief crime consisted in his having disoblged Catherine de Medici, whose influence with the syndics procured his execution.

The duke of Savoy, in the year 1567, procured from the Bernois the restitution of Gex, Gaillard, Terney, and Chablais, on condition that the inhabitants should be indulged in the profession of the protestant religion. That same year the duke d'Alva being to pass through Savoy, the duke of Savoy endeavoured to engage him in an attempt to make himself master of Geneva, and for that purpose raised a considerable army. His design taking air, many of the French protestants repaired to Geneva, where, offering their services for the defence of the city, were formed into companies, under proper commanders; and such other precautions were taken, that the duke, without making any attempt upon the city, proceeded to Flanders. He was no sooner gone than the foreigners at Geneva, who had been formed into seven companies, marched to the relief of their brethren in Gex and Versoy, and took possession of both places, which were abandoned by their garisons. Soon after this transaction, Geneva was again visited by the plague, and other natural calamities; but nothing remarkable happened in its government till the year 1578, when Henry III. of France, made an alliance with the Swiss, in which Geneva was included, as being the key and bulwark of Swisserland. It was stipulated, by this alliance, that in case this city should be besieged, the cantons should send a sufficient number of men to its assistance at the king's charge; and, on the other hand, that the city should suffer his troops to pass through it, marching orderly in rank and file, granting no retreat or passage to his majesty's enemies. This treaty was concluded at Soleurre, between the king and the cities of Bern, Soleurre, and Geneva; Zurich was afterwards comprehended, at the suit of the sieur de Cocumartin, ambassador from the king to the Swiss^b.

Geneva in danger.

In the year 1582, the duke of Savoy renewed his attempt to make himself master of Geneva; being encouraged thereto by a Dauphinois, who lived at Tonon, and pretended that he had confederates, who would open the

Duke of Savoy renews his attempts against it.

^b Spon. p. 123.

gates of the city as soon as the Savoyards should appear before it. The duke, upon this promise, raised a number of men; and one Lance, who commanded in the quarter of St. Gervais, undertook to give his troops admittance into the city; but gave information of what he had done to the council, after he had got a sum of money from the duke. The Savoyards were to be commanded by the count de Raconis, who advanced to Gex, where he was deserted by the Dauphinois, who had some reason to be suspicious of the event. This defection made the count believe that he was betrayed; and though he found the gates of St. Gervais open, he durst not enter, but retired to Terny and St. Julien. The truth was, Geneva, at that time, was plentifully furnished with protestant soldiers both from France and Swisserland, besides natives, who were well prepared to receive the count, had his army entered the city. He, on the other hand, being at the head of a considerable army, of which, fifteen hundred were raised out of the popish cantons, resolved to attempt something against the city by open force; but he was defeated in all the attempts he made, and obliged to retire after having plundered the neighbouring villages. Upon his retreat, an enquiry was made after his accomplices, and a vintner, with three others, were beheaded on that account.

*Case of the
Jews.*

About this time the Jews suffered a violent persecution both in France and Germany, and fixed their eye upon Geneva, as the most commodious situation in which they could settle. They offered to repair thither to the number of eight or ten thousand; to build houses in a quarter that should be allotted them, which they were to fortify and garrison at their own charge; to serve with the other citizens as soldiers; to pay a yearly tribute, and to raise their proportion of all other taxes. A considerable number of the Genevois were strongly disposed to accept of this offer; but prejudice and prepossession prevailing, it was rejected, and the Jews were obliged to purchase their peace with the Germans.

A.D. 1584.

*Natural
calamities
in Geneva.*

This year was distinguished by a most dreadful hurricane, earthquakes, and tempest, that happened in Geneva, and all over its neighbourhood, which buried a great number of men, castles, and houses. In October, the same year, the city of Zurich, considering Geneva as the key of the Swiss cantons, entered into a perpetual alliance with it; the memory of which is preserved by a Latin inscription in the town-house, and the same was celebrated by great rejoicings at Geneva. Next year an extraordinary famine succeeded, which carried off a vast number of the Genevois, and the fields were filled with numbers of vil-
lagers,

lagers, expiring with hunger. The effects of this calamity were long felt, which encouraged the duke of Savoy, in the year 1588, to apply to the pope for assistance, to make himself master of Geneva. His holiness received the Savoyard ambassador with great respect, but consulted the bishop of La Cave, who was a Genevois by birth, as to the practicability of the scheme. The bishop giving his opinion against it, his holiness answered the ambassador, that he would not expend the church's treasure in advancing the duke of Savoy's temporal affairs; but that he was ready to assist him in reducing Geneva to the power of the church. The duke communicated this answer, with which he was highly exasperated, to the Spanish ministry, who dissuaded him from having any connection with his holiness; upon which he resolved to attempt the conquest by force; but the Genevois found a powerful ally in Henry III. of France.

The duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the distracted divisions of that kingdom, had seized upon the marquise of Saluces; and Henry sent Harlay sieur de Sancy, one of his ministers of state, to persuade the Genevois to break with the duke. Sancy offered, in his master's name, not only to furnish them with troops, but to bear all the charges of the war, and declared, that they should keep all the conquests they should make. This matter being laid before the council, some of the members thought the proposal too hazardous to be embraced; but the advantages attending it were so evident, that it was agreed to by a great majority. The inducement was, that the duke had shewn himself an open enemy to their state; that by complying with the king's request, they would obtain advantages for the protestants in France; and that they would be sure of the friendship of the prince Palatine, and the Swiss, during the war.

*Duke of Savoy
seizes Sa-
luces.*

From Geneva Sancy proceeded to Switzerland, where he induced the Bernois to declare war against the duke; and the Genevois being furnished with some able officers from France, took the field with six companies of foot, and three troops of horse, commanded by two Frenchmen, Quitry and Baujeu. In the night, they surprised, and took Monthoux, and, in the morning, they took the castle of Bonne, which is situated at the entrance into Focigny from the Genevois country. They then broke down some bridges in the Chablais, to prevent the enemy's approach, and at last laid siege to the important castle of St. Joire, which belonged to the baron of Hermance. This nobleman had been the capital enemy of the Genevois, and the contriver, or manager, of the chief enterprizes against them.

*The war
continued.*

The duke of Savoy, little expecting that the Genevois would have acted offensively, had made no dispositions for saving the castle, which fell into the hands of the assailants, and with it all the material papers relating to the operations of their enemies against their city. On the 7th of April they pursued their good fortune, by besieging and taking Gex, the governor and garrison of which they sent prisoners to Geneva. By this time, the duke of Savoy being alarmed at the progress of the Genevois, dispatched Sonas, his governor of Remilly, with eight troops of horse, and nine companies of foot, to recover the places they had taken. He presented himself before Bonne, which was defended by one Bois, for the Genevois; and though its garrison did not exceed ninety men, he durst not hazard an attack. In the mean time, the Genevois, under Quiry, besieged La Cluse, situated at the foot of mount Jura; but the garrison held out till it was relieved by Sonas. In this siege, which was very desperately carried on by the Genevois and Bernois, they lost the baron St. Lagier, and some of their best officers.

*Success of
the Gene-
vois.*

After this miscarriage, the head-quarters of the Genevois were at Cologne, in the neighbourhood of La Cluse, where they were joined by colonel Erlach, with some auxiliaries from Bern; and laying aside all farther thoughts of besieging La Cluse, the whole army marched back to Geneva, where they were joined by some reinforcements from Soleurre and the Grisons. About the middle of April, they besieged and took the castle of Tonon, with several other strong places in the Chablais. They afterwards laid siege to the fort of Ripaille; but the duke of Savoy came to its relief with three thousand men. Though the Genevois appeared as principals in this war, yet the numbers they brought into the field were very inconsiderable, compared to those of the French, the Swiss, and the Grisons, for their army amounted in the whole to ten thousand men. They were, however, far from being united, and the French behaved but very poorly; but the Genevois and the Swiss acted so bravely, that Ripaille, though the garrison consisted of five hundred men, was obliged to capitulate. After this acquisition, the French army withdrew to Franche-Comté, and the Bernois ordered three thousand men to protect the conquests that had been made in the bailliages of Vaud and Chablais. The retreat of the French, had almost ruined the affairs of the Genevois. They saw themselves burthened with the charge of a war, while their treasury was empty, and their magazines exhausted. The duke of Savoy, on the other hand, had great resources, and by this time had raised an army

of

of about eight thousand men, the command of which he gave to the baron of Hermance, who immediately retook the castle of St. Joire, and some other places in the Chablais, and besieged Marcouffy, which made a vigorous defence, and was relieved by a party of three hundred Genevois. The latter, however, upon the whole, found themselves unable to maintain the places they had taken, and therefore abandoned them all, excepting Bonne and Monthoux, or Monthon. They, at the same time, began to raise a fort near the bridge over the Arve, in the neighbourhood of their city, in which they were interrupted by the duke of Savoy, at the head of two thousand horse and foot; but he was repulsed with loss, as he was in two vigorous attacks which he made upon the Genevois castle of Terny, belonging to the abbey of St. Victor. The duke, to be revenged, ravaged the adjacent country; and bringing up his heavy artillery, began a furious cannonade against the castle, which being old and defenceless, the garrison was obliged to surrender, on promise of having their lives spared; but this capitulation was infamously broken by the duke, who ordered them all to be hanged.

This breach of faith exasperated the Genevois, who were now much better soldiers than the Savoyards; for, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, they had the better in all encounters. The duke was again repulsed at the fort near the Arve, and five hundred Genevois musqueteers defeated four thousand Savoyards, upon the plain of Ouattes, half a league from the same fort, killing two hundred, amongst whom were several general officers, with the loss of no more than two men, and four or five wounded. This desperate engagement obliged the Savoyards to keep for some time within their intrenchments. The duke, hearing that the van of the Bernois, under colonel Erlach, was advancing to Geneva, attacked them in the village of Escorin, near La Cluse, but was so warmly received, that he was obliged to retreat with loss. About the same time he was forced to raise the blockade of Bonne, and to abandon the village of Feling, in Focigny, where part of his army was quartered. Notwithstanding these partial advantages, the duke continued greatly superior to the Genevois, even though they had been joined by forty companies of Bernois auxiliaries, commanded by the advoyer of Vatteville: but the duke's army lying between that reinforcement and the Genevois, he redoubled his efforts against the latter, before they could be joined by their auxiliaries, and made repeated attacks upon the fort on the Arve and Bonne, but all without success.

They are exasperated with the duke of Savoy.

In the mean time, some of his counsellors proposed a peace between him and the canton of Bern; but his demands being very high, only a three weeks truce was concluded, to the infinite prejudice of the Genevois. The truce being expired, the Genevois at last were joined by their auxiliaries, and both marched into the country of Focigny, where they took several forts; the Savoyards, in the mean time, making reprisals in the lordship of St. Victor, where Bois, one of the best officers of the Genevois, was killed.

*Death of
Henry III.
of France.*

The assassination and death of Henry III. of France, which happened about this time, induced the duke of Savoy to invade Provence. He had been disappointed in his design of subduing the Genevois; but thinking it dangerous to leave Bonne in the hands of his enemies, he besieged it, and battered it so furiously, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on promise of having their lives saved; but the duke, as usual, broke the capitulation, and put them all to death, excepting Mercier, the minister, who was reserved, and afterwards slayed alive. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had the duke pursued this advantage; but he was intent upon his expedition to Provence. Finding the Genevois resolute against all submission, he built a fort at Versoy, which commanded their navigation upon the lake; and, leaving it under the government of the baron of Serra, withdrew his army beyond the mountains, as the Bernois recalled their troops to their own country. Upon their retreat the Genevois found themselves in a most deplorable situation, by having lost the navigation of the lake. The governor of Versoy threatened to oblige them by famine to come with halters about their necks, and make their submission to the duke his master, which they were sensible must have been the case if they could not take Versoy. Their force in Geneva at that time amounted to eight hundred foot, two troops of light horse, and one hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them commanded by the sieur Lubigny, a Frenchman. They had for some days harrassed the garrison of the fort by false alarms, and, on the night of the 7th of November, resolved to attack it, as they imagined that the garrison of the castle would be then fatigued. They divided their little army into four parts, and, after public prayer, marched out upon the expedition with petards and scaling-ladders. Their greatest dependence, however, was upon seventeen resolute soldiers, who, with iron crows in their hands, conducted by a peasant, forced their way by a narrow passage into the body of the place. There they overthrew all before them, while the division without had leisure to break

*Progress of
a new
war.*

break open the gate and scale the walls. The governor, with the loss of two hundred men, was driven into the castle, which he was in one day obliged to surrender, to the great joy of the Genevois, who immediately set fire to the place, and destroyed all its fortifications, and carried the provisions and ammunition, which they found in it in great abundance, to Geneva. The rest of the winter was spent in skirmishes of no great importance, farther than as they served to render the Genevois excellent soldiers.

In the beginning of January the Genevois, who still kept the field, were repulsed in an attack they made upon the castle of Bastie, near Verfoy; but bringing up their heavy artillery twelve days after, they took and demolished the place. They also reduced the castle of Monthoux, and, by way of reprisal, put the garrison, who were the inveterate enemies of Geneva, to the sword. About the same time they reduced the city and castle of Gex, and repulsed the Savoyards in two fresh attempts which they made upon their fort on the Arve. In April, Lubigny, the Genevois general, took the castle of Pierre, near Farges, which had been a great thorn in the side of Geneva, and once more formed the siege of La Cluse. The place was exceedingly strong, and a great body of Savoyards under Don Amadeo, a natural son of that duke, was advancing to its relief. Lubigny, however, took his measures so well, and pushed his attacks so warmly, that the governor of the place, having only twenty-eight soldiers left, surrendered the fort, which the victor entered on the 21st of April. Soon after the surrender Amadeo arrived with his army before the fort, and perceived, by a discharge of artillery from the walls, that it was in the hands of the Genevois. Nevertheless, he carried a post in a neighbouring mountain, which commanded the fort, and rendered it untenable by Lubigny, who was forced to abandon it, after having blown up part of the fortifications. Upon Lubigny's retreat Amadeo repaired the fort of La Cluse, and ravaged the bailiwick of Gex; but the Genevois, by the friendship of the bailiff and people of Nyons, received three barks laden with merchandize, and ten thousand crowns in ready money, which the Savoyards endeavoured to intercept. Many inconsiderable actions happened on both sides, in which the Genevois generally had the better; but they were repelled in an attempt upon the castle of Brant, in the bailiwick of Tonon. At this time the Genevois were deprived of Lubigny, who had received a bruise in an encounter, and was obliged to keep his bed. Being the only

A D. 1590.

Genevois
suc-
cessful.

*The war
renewed.*

officer amongst them who understood discipline and military affairs, the soldiers grew licentious, and were defeated in several encounters; in one of which they lost two hundred of their best men by ambuscades, which Amadeo had laid for them within a league of their city^b. This defeat threw the city into such a consternation, that it was expected every moment the Savoyards would enter it sword in hand; but Lubigny, notwithstanding his illness, went round the fortifications in his night-gown, and made such dispositions as prevented farther ill consequences.

*The Gene-
nevois
victorious.*

On the 23d of August the sieur Clugny, baron of Confor-
gien, arrived at Geneva, and took upon him the command of
the troops of the republic. The very night of his arrival he
put on board some barks three companies of foot, with which
he intended to surprize the city of Evian; but the citizens
being prepared to receive them, the barks were obliged to
return without success. The Genevois, by this time, had
conceived a contempt for their enemy, which had almost
proved fatal to them. Hermance observing the little cau-
tion with which they proceeded, concealed his force, and
lay upon the defensive in Focigny, where the Genevois
were informed, by the peasants of the country, that he
had not with him above four hundred troops. One hun-
dred and fifty foot, and one hundred and thirty horse,
issued out of Geneva to carry in their enemy's vintage har-
vest; and, notwithstanding all the admonitions of Confor-
gien, proceeded so inadvertently, that they were com-
pletely surrounded by the Savoyards, and must have been
entirely cut in pieces, had they not been disengaged by
Conforgien, who, foreseeing what had happened, had his
troops in readiness, and not only brought off the foragers,
but obtained the most complete victory the Genevois had
ever gained over the Savoyards, after a dispute of three
hours, in which the enemy lost, in killed, wounded and
prisoners, five hundred men; while the loss of the Gene-
vois amounted to about ten foot soldiers, one trooper, and
fifteen wounded, but not dangerously. This victory was
of the greater importance to the Genevois, as their enemies
had resolved to give them no quarter, and were so sure of
conquest, that their officers had dressed themselves in their
richest cloaths and armour, so that the spoils which the
Genevois carried from the field were very considerable. It
was observed, that Conforgien began and finished all his
actions with public supplications and thanksgivings to Hea-
ven, performed on the field.

^b Spon p. 138.

Towards the end of October the war between the Genevois and their enemies became so desperate, that both sides came to a resolution to give no quarter. The Savoyards had been reinforced by Neapolitan, Spanish, and Italian auxiliaries, who, if possible, hated the Genevois worse than the Savoyards did. Three companies of these lying at Crusille, a town about three leagues from Geneva, they filled all the neighbouring country with devastation and cruelties. On the 29th of October, Consergien marched out of Geneva, at the head of his troops, to surprise this nest of barbarians; but his march being discovered by the Savoyard peasants, part of the garrison stood upon its guard, whilst others had such a contempt for the assailants, that they loitered in the town, which was sacked by the Genevois, who put them all to the sword, and made a vast booty. The castle, however, still held out, and all the neighbouring country being alarmed, Consergien retreated with the loss of three soldiers and a lieutenant. The rest of the year was spent in actions of small importance, in which the Genevois burnt some Savoyard villages.

A.D. 1597.

*Farther
operations
of the war.*

On the 1st of January, the Genevois being reinforced with some French troops under Sancy, their army amounted to two thousand men, with which they laid siege to the castle of Buringe, but were attacked in their camp by three hundred Savoyard horse, of whom they killed sixty, and repulsed the rest. The siege was then carried on with such vigour, that the garrison desired to capitulate, but could obtain no other terms but their surrendering at discretion; upon which they made their escape out of the place, which was immediately taken possession of, and demolished by the Genevois. They next besieged Tonon, which they took on composition, and found in it the value of six or seven thousand crowns of gold; they afterwards reduced Evian, and plundered the neighbouring country. These successes inspired the French with an intolerable spirit of licentiousness. While they were lying dispersed about the country, news came that their enemies, consisting of Savoyards, Spaniards, and Italians, to the number of six thousand foot and about one thousand horse, were advanced as far as Roche to attack them. The French and Genevois generals, Sancy, Quitry, and Consergien, then encamped at Buringe, hearing of the enemy's approach, called in their parties, and strengthened their army by drawing the garrisons out of the neighbouring places. The duke's army was commanded by Don Amadeo, Olivarez, an experienced Spanish captain, Sonas, the marquis of Treffort, and the count of Chateauneuf. Olivarez was
against

against attacking the French immediately, for he said their own disorders, and want of provision, would oblige them to retire, and his opinion was espoused by Don Amadeo; the other two generals, however, were for cutting off the French, without suffering them to retreat, and alleged, that their own army would mutiny for want of pay, if they were not led to action; upon which a disposition was made for the attack. By this time the French and the Genevois had occupied a post which secured their communication with Geneva, and were very advantageously encamped. The Spaniards, however, made so furious an attack, that they entirely defeated five hundred French; and their whole army must have been defeated, had not this first advantage encouraged Sonas, and the count of Chateaucneuf to advance so far into the plain with thirteen hundred musqueteers, that Conforgien charged and routed them before they could fall back upon their main body, which at last they did with great difficulty, with the loss of their leader Sonas, and three hundred men, of whom one hundred were gentlemen. At night the army of Savoy passed the river at Buringe, but broke down the bridge for fear of being pursued; while the French, who had suffered a good deal in the encounter, retired to Franche Compté. The rest of the campaign was spent in mutual inroads, in one of which the baron of Hermance was made prisoner by the Genevois, and carried to Geneva, where he was confined till the February following, when he paid eight thousand crowns for his ransom.

*A peace
proposed.*

In October, 1592, the baron of Conforgien returned to Geneva, and resumed his command. After several military operations, in which he was generally successful, he had some conferences about a peace with the baron of Hermance, and being disgusted with the severe four manners of the Genevois, he returned to France. Upon his departure the marquis of Tressfort encamped with eight hundred men at Lancy, near the new fort upon the Arve; and being forced down from thence, the Genevois demolished that village. In the mean time Conforgien, upon the invitation of the Genevois, returned to that city; but a truce for three months had taken place between the French king and the duke of Savoy, to which the Genevois were invited to accede, which they accordingly did, on the 16th of September. In a few days after this cessation, six of the Swiss cantons sent their deputies to Geneva, to persuade the magistracy to a peace with the duke of Savoy. This proposition was rejected; but the truce was continued for two years, during which, the French king being in no condi-

A.D 1593.

tion

tion to assist them, the Genevois demolished the fort upon the Arve. This compliance had the effect to open a kind of communication between the Savoyards and the Genevois; and they appeared less untractable towards one another than they had been for many years. In the year 1597, a report spread, that Theodore Beza, the great pastor of Geneva, had turned Roman catholic, and that the Genevois had sent deputies to Rome to be reconciled to that see. This idle report arose from the truce, which had been concluded two years before: that being expired, hostilities recommenced between the Savoyards and the Genevois, who were now deprived of the assistance of France; but the duke being as unable as the Genevois to continue a war, those hostilities soon ceased, and new conferences for a peace were set on foot.

At last a treaty was concluded between the French king, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, in which the Swiss and their allies were comprehended on the part of France. The duke of Savoy denied that those general terms comprehended the Genevois, who were not named in the treaty; and the French king insisted as strenuously that they were. This difference was likely to be attended with serious consequences; for Villeroy, the French minister, by his master's order, signified, under his own hand, that his master never would depart from the comprehension of the Genevois, under the title of allies to the Swiss. He dispatched Chapeaurouge, the Genevois deputy, with letters to the republic, intimating that he never would forsake them; and that if they were attacked by the duke of Savoy, he would defray all the expence of the war. This declaration was so agreeable to the council, that, upon reading it, their great guns were discharged, and a public thanksgiving was celebrated in the city. *Concluded.*

In the course of this year the plague broke out again in Geneva, but not so fiercely as before; and the Genevois had the mortification to perceive, that the greatest part of their brethren of Tonon had reverted to popery, partly through the persuasions of one Cherubin, a priest; and partly through the power of their sovereign, the duke of Savoy. That prince finding the crown of France was in earnest to maintain Geneva in its independency, at last persuaded the Genevois magistrates to agree to a meeting for discussing that affair at Hermance. His deputies were the sieur Jacob, one of his lieutenants; the president Rochette; the president Berliet, baron of Bourget; Lambert, baron of Terny; and Marin, count of Viry: the deputies of Geneva were, the counsellors Maillet, Daufin, Lect,

A. D. 1599.

The French king favours the Genevois.

Lecl^t, and Roset, together with the secretary John Sarrafin. The conference was long, solemn, intricate, and learned; the matter was debated verbally, and in writing: and the papers interchanged on this occasion, exhaust all that can be said on this subject. Nothing satisfactory, however, resulted from this conference, only the French king, by a letter to the duke of Savoy, again insisted that the Genevois should be comprehended as his allies in the late treaty; and acquainted the duke that he had taken them into his peculiar protection.

The duke perceiving Henry steady in his resolution with regard to the Genevois, endeavoured to shake him in point of interest. The French king urged him to restore the marquisate of Saluces; and the duke took a journey to Paris to treat on that affair. He applied to the pope's nuncio, whom he empowered to offer a cession of the marquisate, provided the king would abandon the defence of the Genevois. The nuncio attacked Henry on this head, with all the subtlety of address; but in all his arguments he still went upon the presumption, that the dukes of Savoy had an original and incontrovertible right to the sovereignty of Geneva; and from thence inferred, that the duke had as lawful a claim upon that as Henry had upon the marquisate. His arguments made no impression upon the king, who disputed the duke's right, and told the nuncio, that in protecting the Genevois he only followed the example of his ancestors, and the dictates of gratitude; concluding, that he could not, without staining his honour and that of his crown, abandon them or suffer them to be oppressed by the duke. This resolute answer put an end to all farther conferences on that head; and the king and duke disagreeing in other respects, both parties took the field. The king had the advantage in the campaign. Having stripped the duke of almost all Savoy, he laid siege to St. Catherine's fort, which had been lately erected within two leagues of Geneva, near Sonzy, and was of infinite detriment to the Genevois. This castle was a regular fortification, and of so much importance to the Genevois, that they appointed a solemn deputation to the king, with Beza at its head, to beg that he would give them leave to demolish it. The duke de Sully, a protestant, was both the first minister and friend of Henry, whom he convinced that all the maxims of policy, as well as honour, led him to protect the Genevois. The duke in person introduced the deputies to his master; and Beza, that venerable reformer, in a speech he made on the occasion, shewed how well he had studied the most fulsome adulation of heathen and popish orators; but

but without directly mentioning the main point of the deputa-
tion. Henry, in his answer, spoke like a friend and a
gentleman: he assured them, that they might depend on
the good offices of the duke de Sully, whom he took by the
hand; and added, it must be a very unreasonable request
which he would refuse to their solicitation. To cut off
any farther unnecessary formalities, he whispered in the
ears of the deputies, that he was no stranger to the pur-
port of their commission; and he assured them that fort St.
Catherine should be demolished as soon as taken.

This noble behaviour of the king, had it not been for
the considerate generosity of the duke de Sully, must have
been inconveniently expensive to the Genevois. It trans-
ported them to such a degree, that they threw open their
gates to the French army, and kept open table for their
officers, so that no fewer than four thousand French were
admitted in one night to the city. The duke of Sully,
both by his example and authority, discountenanced this
resort, by returning to the camp, and ordering all the offi-
cers to their duty. In the mean time the trenches being
opened before fort St. Catherine, the garrison capitulated;
and having marched out with the honours of war, Sully
blew up the bastions; and the Genevois, serving as pioneers,
so effectually demolished the fort, that, in two days, not a
vestige of it remained, Henry gave six pieces of cannon,
which were found in the fort, as a present to the Genevois.

*As does the
duke de
Sully.*

*Peace of
Lyons.*

Next year, by the interposition of the pope's legate, Al-
dobrandini, an accommodation was effected between
Henry and the duke of Savoy at Lyons, by which the for-
mer agreed to hold the county of Bresse, which he had
conquered, with Gex and other acquisitions he had made,
and to leave to the duke the marquissate of Saluces. Gex
was then occupied by the Genevois, who earnestly begged
of Henry to remain in possession of it; but all was to no
purpose, for they were obliged to resign it; but Henry, by
way of compensation, again declared them to be his allies,
and that they were under his protection. This accommo-
dation between Henry and the duke, was far from recon-
ciling the Savoyards and the Genevois. The former found
means to get possession of some villages belonging to the
Genevois; but they were disappointed in their attempts
upon others; and the Genevois thought them of so little
importance, not to mention that their right to them was
doubtful, that, rather than break the peace, they suffered
them to remain with the Savoyards; but an event was now
at hand, the most important of any one in the Genevois
history.

In

In the year 1602, a kind of jubilee was celebrated at Tonon, belonging to the duke of Savoy, and finely situated on a river by the lake, about eighteen miles distant from Geneva. The resort to this festivity was very numerous; and amongst others were some Frenchmen, who, mingling with the Savoyards, understood that a scheme was in agitation for surprising Geneva. They communicated their discovery to the Genevois magistrates, who disregarded it at first, as an improbable scheme. At last they complained to the sieur Albigny, governor on that side of the mountains for the duke of Savoy, who gave them the strongest assurances that his master was determined, at all events, to observe the late treaties of Vervins and Lyons, made with the king of France, in which the Genevois were included, though not mentioned. The Genevois seemed to be satisfied with those assurances; and their credulity had almost cost them their liberties.

The plot for surprising Geneva had been formed originally by the Jesuits and violent Romanists, who considered that city as the seat and shelter of heresy; and during the Tonon jubilee, they had bound the undertakers to execute it, by solemn oaths and sacraments. The duke himself omitted no means to render it successful. He caused troops to defile secretly towards Focigny, and particularly the regiment of the baron of Laval d'Isere, composed of French fugitives, banished their country for their crimes, and ripe for any desperate enterprize. Brunaulieu, who was their lieutenant-colonel, having reconnoitred the place, and taken the height of the walls, with the dimensions of the ditches, assured Albigny, that the undertaking was not only practicable, but easy to be accomplished. To render the Genevois perfectly secure, and likewise to form a party amongst them, the duke sent the president Rochette, his counsellor of state, with a commission to propose to the magistrates, the heads of a new and a lasting treaty between them and his master, which had such an effect, that the Genevois even neglected to place the usual guards at their gates, and upon their walls. Notwithstanding the duke's secrecy, the affair was intrusted to so many hands, that the Genevois had repeated informations of a blow that was to be speedily struck against them; but they disregarded all advice of that kind, and treated a man as a visionary for assuring them that their enemies were actually upon their march to attack their city. The night between the 11th and 12th of December, was pitched upon for the execution; and Albigny, about six in the evening, put his troops in motion at La Roche, Bonne, and Bonneville. In their march they en-

deavoured

A. D. 1602.

*Dispositions
for sur-
prising the
city.*

deavoured to secure all the peasants, lest any of them should carry intelligence to Geneva ; but some of them escaping endeavoured to alarm the guards, who continued to despite the information. Every thing was provided with the utmost precision, for the success of the undertaking, which was proposed to be performed by scalade. Brunaulieu, and some of the chief officers, had bound themselves in the most solemn manner, not to return alive if they were not successful. Petards were provided, the ladders on which the scalade was to be performed were blackened, to prevent their being perceived, jointed, and fortified with iron, and accommodated with pullies, for their more easy management, and three hundred resolute troops, who were to mount first, were armed at all points with breast-plates, helmets, pistols, and cutlasses ; some of them were furnished with great steel hammers, which served as hatchets, at the same time, and pincers for pulling nails and bolts. These were to be supported by another party, armed with halfpikes and musquets. The duke himself came incognito over the mountains to Tremblieres, within a mile of Geneva, that he might animate his men, who approached the city without meeting with any considerable obstruction, though they were sometimes alarmed by their own fears and superstition. The main body was left at Plein Palais, a delightful walk in the suburbs of Geneva, while Brunaulieu, with the three hundred we have mentioned, advanced to the escalade. At first they were startled by a flight of wild ducks ; but being provided with hurdles, they passed the ditch of the quarter called Corratierie, and raised three ladders against the wall, near the watch tower of the Monoye-gate. The reader is to observe, that within the wall was a large void space left unguarded, which terminated in a gate towards the city, called Tartas, which generally stood open. Sonas, the son of him who was killed at Monthoux, was amongst the first to mount the wall ; but a stone happening to fall from it, knocked him down and stunned him. Albigny and one Alexander, a Scotch Jesuit, stood at each side of the ladder, the first encouraging the assailants by the promise of booty, and the latter by the hope of heaven, and giving them, by way of talismans, slips of paper, inscribed with texts of scripture, for their preservation. Their exhortations were so effectual that about one in the morning Sonas, Attignac, and six others, had mounted the wall, and in an instant were followed by two hundred more. The first eight who mounted entered the gate of Tartas, walked through the streets unperceived, and found every thing quiet ; while the rest concealed
them-

*Confidence
of the duke
of Savoy,*

*whose
troops are
beat by the
Genevois.*

themselves in the void of the Corraterie, it having been agreed upon not to proceed to farther action till day-break, that they might the better know what they were about, and give the Spanish and Neapolitan auxiliaries, who were at some distance, time to come to their assistance. This precaution seems to have ruined their enterprize; while the duke was so confident of success, that he dispatched messengers through Savoy, Piedmont, and Dauphiny, with an account that he was master of Geneva, which was for some time believed.

Notwithstanding all the precaution of the assailants, a centinel in the tower near the Monoye-gate, informed his corporal that he heard a noise; upon which the latter sent out a soldier with a lanthorn to reconnoitre, and he seeing some men approach, fired his piece, but was immediately knocked down; upon which the centinel on the tower fired his piece likewise, to alarm the main-guard, which consisted of no more than six men. This discovery did not disconcert Brunaulieu, who, by this time, had passed the walls likewise. He divided his adventurers into four parties; one was to seize the New Gate; another that of Tartas, a third that of Monoye, and the fourth, the entrance to the town house, till petards could be brought for blowing up the New Gate, so that the main army might enter in a body from Plein Palais. Thirteen men had been placed to guard the New Gate, which was then the chief entrance of the city; but they were no sooner attacked by the Savoyards, than ten of them discharged their pieces, and ran to alarm the guards at the town-house, La Four, and the gate of Rive. They were so closely pursued, that it was with difficulty they could shut the gate of La Trielle behind them. The Savoyards returned to the New Gate, where one of the three guards, who had hid himself upon the top of the tower, let down the port cullice, which prevented the petard from taking effect. In the mean time, all the quarter about the gate of Tartas, now in possession of the Savoyards, was alarmed by a vigilant burgher. Part of the citizens were employed in barricadoing the streets, and part in endeavouring to retake the gate, where a sharp conflict began, and several were killed on both sides; but the assailants, at last, were obliged to return to the New Gate. It was still very dark; and both parties in general using the same language, the confusion was prodigious, the Savoyards purposely calling out, as if they had been citizens, to march to the Rive, for the enemy was there. By this time they had forced open the gate of Monoye; but they found a barricade behind it, defended by citizens, who killed

killed some of them, and obliged others to retire to the Corretarie, where they began to plunder the boufes. The scaling ladders all this time remained at the wall that joins the tower of Monoye, with a bastion called Oye, which last the Savoyards had not attempted; and one of its embrasures flanking the ladders, a Genevois gunner discharged a shot so happily, as to destroy or carry most part of them off. The troops that were waiting at Plein Palais mistook the noise of this shot for that of the petard, which was to have been their signal for advancing; and thinking that all was their own, ordered their drums to beat, and rather ran than marched towards the New Gate. Finding it shut, they hastened to the ditch of the Corratierie, where they thought their scaling ladders were still standing. While they were in the ditch, the Genevois gunner made a second discharge upon their flank, from a cannon loaded with small shot, while a resolute party of the citizens, attacking the Savoyards, who were still endeavouring to force open the New Gate, drove them into the open part of the Corratierie. Here every Genevois became a hero. A taylor performed wonders with a two-handed sword; and a woman split the skull of one of the enemy's officers. In short, while they were thus shut up in La Trielle, fifty-two of them were killed. Brunaulieu obstinately refused at first to retreat, and was killed. At last his party, imagining themselves still possessed of the sure means of escaping, retired to the wall where they had left their ladders; but finding none there, they were forced to throw themselves down, by which means many were wounded, and some killed. By this time the citizens had mounted a battery of cannon upon the platform of La Trielle, which bore directly upon Plain Palais, and routed all the Savoyard army in that quarter. Albigny having no hopes of success, ordered a retreat, which his troops performed with great precipitation to Bonne. When the duke of Savoy was informed by Albigny of the ill success of this enterprize, all he said was, "That he had made a fair flourish."

In this attempt the Genevois made thirteen prisoners, among whom were three of quality, Sonas, Chaffardon, and Attignac; these being considered as no better than common robbers, were hanged, and their heads, as well as those who had been killed in the enterprize, were placed on the walls of the city, by order of the council of sixty, the whole amounting to sixty-seven. This attempt cost the duke of Savoy two hundred of his best troops; but the Genevois had no more than thirteen killed and thirty wounded. Beza was now grown so old, that he had heard

The Savoyards executed.

nothing of the tumult; but next day, after having viewed the slain among the Corraterie, he mounted the pulpit, and preached a thanksgiving sermon, ordering the 124th psalm to be sung; a practice that has been kept up ever since in Geneva on that anniversary, which they still observe. The tranquillity of the city being somewhat restored, there was the strongest reason for believing that the Savoyards had a correspondence with some men of note within the walls; and two syndics, who had disregarded the advices of the enemy's approaches, narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the people, who were greatly divided about the choice of the succeeding syndics; but they at last fixed upon four who were unexceptionable.

*Apology of
the duke for
his attempt.*

The Genevois having returned public thanksgivings for their deliverance, which they commemorated by inscriptions and other institutions, applied themselves to guard against the like surprizals for the future. They wrote letters to Bern and the other protestant cantons of Switzerland, informing them of all that had happened; and the Swiss immediately sent twelve hundred men to their assistance. They wrote likewise, in the same strain, to the sieur de Guiche, governor of Lyons, imploring the French king's assistance, in case Albigny should renew his attempt upon their city. This letter was laid before the French king, who, till he read it, had believed that Geneva was actually in the power of the Savoyards. Being now undeceived, he wrote them a letter full of friendship and affection, promising, that if the duke of Savoy should again molest them, he would not only send them assistance, but, if it was necessary, would march in person to their relief. As to the duke of Savoy, all Europe reproached him for his insincerity and treachery towards the Genevois; but he made use of two kinds of apologies to justify his conduct. He excused it, at the Roman catholic courts, from his zeal to introduce the true religion into Geneva; and he ordered the count de Tournon, his resident with the Swiss cantons, to apologize for it to the government of Bern, by pretending that the Genevois had refused to pay him his lawful tolls and customs, and had maltreated his officers. The Bernois magistrates disregarded this apology so much, that they returned no answer to it; and had not the count and his secretary left Bern, they would have been insulted by the populace. It is said, that the pope himself disapproved of the duke's attempt; and the Genevois, in the manifestoes they published upon the occasion, shrewdly observed, that a prince, who, like the duke of Savoy, had been guilty of perjury, gave but an indifferent specimen of his regard
for

for religion. The duke, however, omitted no means to preserve the friendship of the Bernois, and the other protestant cantons.

He found this the more necessary, as he was so far from laying aside his designs against Geneva, that he straitened it by his garrisons on all quarters. But the Genevois being reinforced, not only by their Bernois auxiliaries, but by some troops from France, manned their walls so as to prevent all future surprize. They cut down the trees about their city to take away all shelter from their enemies, and in their turn invaded the dominions of Savoy, where they took St. Genis d' Aoste, and made incursions to the gates of Chambery itself, which they had very near reduced.

S E C T. IV.

Friendship of the French King to the Genevois; their Accommodation with the Duke of Savoy; Terrail's Conspiracy discovered; Execution of Nicholas Antoine; Death of the Duke de Roban at Geneva; Cromwell's Letter to the Genevois; they fortify their City, which is again in Danger of being surpris'd; but is protected by the French.

THE French king, Henry IV. was the real friend of the Genevois. Being sensible that they were unable to support themselves, he ordered de Vic, one of his ministers, to dispose them to peace; but in so gentle a manner, that they should not perceive that he assumed the smallest superiority over their government. De Vic was received in Geneva with great marks of distinction; but he found many of the leading men strongly averse to a pacification with the duke of Savoy. De Vic, however, by a little management, brought them to conclude a truce, which was a kind of prelude to a negociation for a peace. This met with great difficulties; for though the duke of Savoy wanted peace as much as the Genevois did, yet the pride of the court of Spain, which declared itself to be the duke's protector, would not suffer him to stoop to the terms of the Genevois. The negociation, therefore, was several times broken off and resumed; but at last the count de Fuentes, the Spanish governor of Milan, sent one Sebastian Culebro to Geneva, where, obtaining admittance, he produced his credentials, by which it appeared, that his Catholic majesty was deter-

A.D. 1603.

The French king proposes a peace.

mined to declare war against the Genevois, unless they made peace with the duke of Savoy. The Genevois, elated by their late successes, were ready to bid defiance to this menace; but the French king interposed, and treated so effectually with the Genevois allies amongst the cantons, that a peace at last was concluded at St. Julien; though more to the joy and satisfaction of the Savoyards than of the Genevois. Both parties thus laying down their arms, they resumed their pens. The Savoyards were the aggressors, by publishing treatises tending to revive that duke's claim to the sovereignty of Geneva; but they were answered by Sarrazin, by order of the Genevois magistrates.

*History of
Blondel.*

In the year 1604, a prosecution was commenced against Philibert Blondel, who had been one of the syndics when the Savoyards attempted to scale the walls of Geneva. Having amassed a fortune of forty thousand crowns, by means for which no body could account, the people suspected him to be a traitor, and in the pay of the duke of Savoy. At first he was tried upon a charge of misdemeanors; and it was proved, that in the night of the *scalade* he had been remiss in his duty, for which negligence he was fined two thousand crowns. He refused to submit to the sentence, and his effects were seized to make good the fine. He still stood on his justification, and fresh evidence coming out against him, he was fined three thousand crowns more. This additional censure was worse than death to Blondel, who was equally haughty, vindictive, and avaritious; and he was resolved to die in prison rather than pay the money.

A fresh prosecution being commenced against him, it was proved, that he had held a correspondence with the duke of Savoy; that he possessed an estate under him, for which he paid neither rent nor taxes; that a lanthorn, with his mark on it, was found in the city ditch the day of the *scalade*, besides several other strong circumstances of treason. This trial drew upon him another fine of two thousand crowns, and he was sentenced to lie seven years in prison. All this severity was far from daunting Blondel; and the principal evidence against him being a peasant, who used to manage his correspondence, he attempted to win him over by money; but that expedient failing, he found means to have him imprisoned; and the fellow continuing to stand by his former evidence, Blondel suborned one of his jailors, who strangled him in prison; but being apprehended and put to the rack, he laid all the blame upon Blondel. The latter, according to the

detestable

detestable custom in Geneva, was put to the rack likewise. Though torments upon torments were multiplied upon him, nothing could be extorted from him, but that he was guilty of the murder, and of having offered his service to the duke of Savoy; upon which he was hanged and quartered, and died as impenitent as he was unpitied. After his execution the magistrates fortified their city, so as to render it less liable to sudden attacks for the future.

who is executed.

In the year, 1605, died Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin in his functions as a minister of the reformation.

Death of Beza.

His credit with the reformed was so great, that he was commonly called the pope of the Hugonots; and his disposition was more amiable than that of Calvin. Soon after his death, an incident happened which threw the Genevois

into vast perplexities. Henry IV. the French king, who had been their father and protector, sent the sieur de Nereftan, to desire the Genevois to grant him a place for building a fort, or an arsenal, to secure their city against

Requests of the French king.

future surprizes. Such of the Genevois as had been accustomed to look upon the French as their friends and

protectors, espoused this request; but the more considerate looked on it, as a prelude to the loss of their liberties;

and they very truly observed, that the future kings of France might not all of them possess the disinterested,

virtuous, and noble sentiments of Henry IV. Not being willing, however, to shock their august benefactor with a

flat refusal of his request, it was referred to the council of two hundred, and by them to the general council.

Henry was generous enough to interpret those delays at once as a mark of respect for his person, and of their backwardness to comply with his request; and he ordered his ministers to press it no farther. He even, that

very year, granted to the Genevois letters of naturalization, to free them from the Droit d'Aubine, and other

taxes.

The independency of Geneva became now so much the object of attention among the protestant powers, that the

landgrave of Hesse made the citizens a present of twelve thousand crowns, and the prince Palatine gave them three

thousand, for building a bulwark near the lake; to defend and fortify the gate of Rive, which was accordingly completed; and the munificence of the two princes was commemorated by an inscription upon the work. The rest of

this year, and the two next, were employed at Geneva in domestic and religious regulations. In the year 1609, one Carral, the common serjeant of the city, was broken alive upon the wheel, for carrying on a correspondence with the

court of Savoy, and other crimes.

*Conspiracy
of Terrail
and Bastide.*

A more dangerous conspiracy now broke out. A French gentleman, called Terrail, a man of courage and quality, having been guilty of murder, was obliged to leave his country. Having spent some years in different armies, particularly in Flanders, he, together with one Bastide, another Frenchman, who was an excellent engineer, repaired to the court of Savoy, where they were well received by that duke, who was no stranger to their characters and qualifications. After some conversation he acquainted them, that he was far from having dropt his designs against Geneva, and that he would willingly engage their assistance in bringing them to bear. They agreeing to his proposals, he made both of them very generous presents; and Bastide was sent to Geneva, where he viewed all the new fortifications, and then returned to the duke. Both he and Terrail agreed, that it was practicable to surprise the city. Terrail's proposal was to make themselves masters of the gate leading to the lake, and that of La Rive, which could not be done without great difficulty, and their being thoroughly informed of the nature and situation of the place. For this purpose both of them passed over to Evian, where they had an opportunity of informing themselves by the boatmen, and other persons trading to Geneva, of the nature of the watch that was kept at the gates, and other particulars which they wanted to know. In a few days they returned to the duke; and it was agreed to prepare five large flat-bottomed boats, which should be laden with wood, piled up in such a manner as to conceal two hundred men in each boat; and it was proposed to defer the execution till the following May, during which time Terrail and Bastide were to repair to Flanders, to provide men on whom they could depend; for they proposed to have in readiness several bodies, both of horse and foot, in the neighbourhood, of Geneva, to support their enterprise.

*Discover-
ed.*

The indiscretion of the conspirators, before they left the duke of Savoy's court at Chambery, occasioned the discovery of their design. Terrail's valet overheard some suspicious expressions that passed between him and Bastide; and at the same time he discovered they were often consulting a draught of Geneva. He imparted his observations to his brother in that city; and by his means the magistrates, who had some dark intimations of it before, were put upon their guard. They procured exact information concerning Terrail's person and intentions, and even obtained his picture, of which they sent copies to such bailiffs and magistrates as they could trust, of those places through which they were informed

informed he and Bastide were to pass. With some difficulty they were known, and arrested at Yverdon, a little town belonging to the Bernois; and though Terrail offered the soldier who knew him, one thousand crowns to favour his escape, yet they were first imprisoned, and then put into the hands of one of the syndics, who carried them to Geneva. Bastide being put to the rack, confessed the whole, as did Terrail likewise; upon which the former was hanged, and the latter beheaded. Some doubts were held concerning the legality of these executions; but they were justified by the magistrates, who affirmed, that the sufferers had no right to any protection from the law of nations, which they had forfeited, by entering into such a conspiracy in time of peace. Notwithstanding this apology, it would perhaps be hard to ascertain what degree of credit is due to a discovery that is extorted from the rack.

The conspirators executed.

It is certain, that the jealousy which the Genevois entertained of their liberty, hurried them sometimes into precipitate measures. Giovanni, an Italian, accused one of the chief counsellors of corresponding with the duke of Savoy, who had his picture in his closet. The counsellor being brought to Giovanni, the latter candidly owned that he was not the person he expected to have seen. This acknowledgement, however, did not save him from being hanged for calumny and imposture. After his execution his information was discovered to be right, there being another person of the same name, who maintained a close correspondence with the duke. Upon this discovery the attorney-general proposed that a new process should commence against the real person; but the evidence being executed, the affair was dropt.

Giovanni wrongfully executed.

The Genevois sustained a great loss by the death of Henry IV. of France, who was no sooner assassinated than the duke of Savoy renewed his preparations against Geneva. But the preservation of that city became now the common cause of all the Protestant states. The reformed churches of France made large collections, which they remitted to the Genevois, to assist them in fortifying and defending their city. The queen-mother of France, who bore them no good-will, complained of those remittances made by French subjects; but Anjorrand the Genevois deputy at the court of France, proved to her majesty, that the late king, by the treaty of Soleurre, had permitted his Protestant subjects to assist the Genevois with their persons and estates. His reasons being admitted, Mons. de Soubize, of the house of Rohan, and Mons. de Bethune, nephew to the duke of Sully, with other leaders of the French

Death of Henry IV.

Hugonots, repaired to Geneva, which they fortified as completely as the nature of its situation would permit, particularly the gate of Rive, the weakness of which had often endangered the city. It was about this time that a new conspiracy was formed by one of the Genevois officers, for putting St. Anthony's bulwark into the hands of the Savoyards; but the treason being overheard by a French Protestant, the traitor was seized and executed. Those precautions, however, had so much effect, that they discouraged all the attempts of the Savoyards; and the French auxiliaries of the Genevois were permitted to return home. For some years after this period, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of Geneva, but natural or accidental events: such as fires, famine, plagues, and pestilence. The most severe plague happened in the year 1613, when about four thousand Genevois died of it, most of them of the meaner kind of people.

The Genevois favour the duke of Savoy.

During this public calamity, the duke of Savoy was remarkably attentive in assisting and relieving the Genevois; and his conduct was such as gave them no kind of room to suspect that he had any design upon their state. In the difference that happened between him and the duke de Nemours, who was supported by the Spaniards, the Genevois took part with the duke of Savoy, and sent him considerable supplies of troops, as well as arms and ammunition. Nay, the magistrates gave him leave to quarter his troops along the banks of the Rhone, in the neighbourhood of their city; and the Genevois were so fond of serving under him, that many of them offered to act as volunteers in his army, till the government began to grow apprehensive that their city would be too much weakened. The truth is; the duke of Savoy, at this time, had more reason to dread the Spaniards than the Protestants, and, therefore, he made an alliance with the Bernois, who sent three thousand men to his assistance, while he in return renounced all his claim upon the county of Vaud.

Treason of Chenalat.

The Genevois, by the perpetual resort of French Protestants to their city, had now acquired several useful manufactures; but their historian hints, that they were not greatly encouraged by their magistrates, a circumstance which obliged some of the chief manufacturers to remove to Yverdun, where they carried on their works, to the great prejudice of Geneva. The marquis of Lans was then governor of Savoy, and he endeavoured to debauch one Chenalat, a Genevois of great figure, who undertook to undermine a house near St. Leger's gate, so as to give admittance to the marquis's troops. This plot was discovered.

vered by the relations of Chenalat, who received five hundred pistoles in hand, with a promise of twelve thousand crowns more; upon which he was arrested, tried, and executed, though he denied to the last his having any other design than that of extorting money from the marquis.

Next year the Genevois sent two of their professors of divinity, John Diodati, and Theodore Trochin, to assist as their deputies at the synod of Dort; and upon their return to Geneva, each was presented by the states with a medal.

Synod of Dort.

In the year 1621, the Genevois were alarmed by the vast military preparations made by the duke of Savoy.

A. D. 1621.

D'Alincourt, the French governor of Lyons, sent an account of them to his court, who ordered him to give the most early intelligence, if any attempt should be made against Geneva; and in the mean time that city received additional fortifications from Motet, an engineer sent them by the prince of Orange, and a French gentleman of the name of Ferriault. Next year a national synod of the Protestant churches being held at Paris, and the Genevois being extremely willing to conform in all respects to the French reformed, their pastors wrote a letter to the assembly, to acquaint them that they were willing to abolish all the unimportant points of practice that still subsisted between them and their French brethren; and Trochin their minister, by order of the council and consistory, informed the people from the pulpit of the reasons for this compliance, with which they appeared to be satisfied.

In the year 1624, the duke of Savoy pretending there was a scarcity of corn in his own dominions, prohibited his subjects to transport any grain to Geneva. The Genevois considered this prohibition as an infringement of the treaty of St. Julien, and on their part prohibited the exportation of iron, salt, and other commodities into Savoy. Wake, the English ambassador to the duke of Savoy, happening at this time to pass through Geneva, made up this difference, when it was likely to proceed to an open breach, by persuading the duke to take off his prohibition.

Difference with Savoy.

Notwithstanding the late conformity between the Genevois and the French Protestants in matters of religion, it is certain that the former still retained a strong aversion to the Lutherans. The marquis of Bade, a German Lutheran prince, being obliged, on account of his religion, to leave his own country, retired to Geneva, where he lived with a Lutheran minister in his family, who was, by the council, indulged in the exercise of his religion within his house. The other Lutheran Germans in Geneva, resorted in such numbers to the marquis's house, that the Genevois

Jealousy of the Calvinists.

taking

taking the alarm, complained to their magistrates, and said they made no doubt of soon seeing the mass celebrated in their city, after such indulgence had been extended to the Lutherans. This ridiculous affair became at last so serious, that it was laid before the council of twenty-five, who ordered a syndic and the lieutenant to repair to the marquis, and entreat him not to suffer his house to be open to the citizens in time of worship. The marquis, more mindful of his past than his present situation, and proud of his high quality, far from taking this message in good part, lifted his hand to strike the syndic, and insisted that, he being a prince, and Geneva a city of the empire, he had as much authority as their magistrates had in that city. This boisterous behaviour being reported to the council, the permission which had been granted him was withdrawn, and the marquis in a rage left Geneva, and retired to Tonon, belonging to the duke of Savoy, where he met with that indulgence under a bigotted Roman Catholic prince, which had been denied him in a Protestant city.

*Refugees in
Geneva.*

Next year another illustrious exile took refuge in Geneva; his name was George Erasmus of Tzernembel, an hereditary baron of the marches of Sclavonia and Carniola, who had been formerly counsellor to the emperors Rodolph II. and Matthias I. and one of the directors of Bohemia. This nobleman having embraced the party of the unfortunate elector Palatine, in his attempt upon the crown of Bohemia, was, upon that prince's defeat, obliged to fly with his wife and daughter to Geneva, oppressed with age, infirmities, and indigence. He had left his son to collect together the shattered remains of his fortune; but soon after his arrival, he heard of his son's being drowned, and all he had in the world perished in the wreck. Upon this disaster, the magistrates and church of Geneva gave him a monthly support, which, upon his death, they continued to his family, and buried him suitable to his quality in St. Peter's cloister.

About the same time, the Spaniards having made themselves masters of Portugal, Emilia of Nassau, princess of Orange, sister to prince Maurice, and widow to Don Emanuel, son of Anthony king of Portugal, came to Geneva with her six daughters, who were married to private gentlemen in the county of Vaud. While she dwelt there, she made a figure no way corresponding with her birth and quality; and at last retired to an estate which she purchased near Nyons. When she died she was buried in St. Peter's church at Geneva. About the same time the sieur d'Aubigné, who is famous for the history he published, his courage,

rage, his military talents, and above all for his zeal in the cause of the reformation, fell under the displeasure of the French king. His son had been perverted by the Jesuits, and was no friend to his father, who, hearing that a warrant was out to apprehend him, concealed all his ready money, amounting to about thirty thousand ducats, in the saddles of his horses, and fled to Geneva, where he was, on many accounts, a welcome guest. Being eminently skilled in military architecture, he superintended all the fortifications which were raised for the defence of the city while he lived in it; and being eighty years of age at the time of his death, he was buried in St. Peter's cloister, where his tomb is to be seen, with an excellent Latin inscription on it, composed by himself.

Nothing material happened at Geneva till the invasion of Germany by Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, who dispatched Rache, one of his ministers, to engage the Protestant cantons of Switzerland in his interest, and to assure the Genevois of the great regard he had for their state and city. The progress and fate of that great prince have been mentioned in other parts of this work. His ambassador resided for some time at Geneva, where he was received with all the honours that were due to the greatness of his master, and his own merit. But though Geneva, at this time, was crowded with sufferers for the cause of religion; and though the principles of the reformation ought to have led its magistrates to detest all persecutions for the sake of religion, yet a case of that kind happened in the year 1632 that made a great noise.

Nicholas Antoine, or Anthony, a native of Berry in Lorraine, had, for about seven or eight years, inclined to Judaism. He not only endeavoured to persuade his family, who seem to have been originally Jews, to return to that religion, but applied himself to the Jews of the city of Metz, to be received into their number; and they referred him to those of Venice. In his journey thither, he had found means to make a convert of a young student of Sedan, whom he carried with him to Italy. Being arrived at Venice, the Jews of that city, either from prudential reasons, or, which is still more probable, because they saw Antoine's brain a little touched, gave him very little encouragement, and referred him to the Jews of Padua. These were of opinion that he ought not to insist, as he did, upon being circumcised, as it might bring them under the lash of the civil government, and that the best thing he could do was to dissemble, because he might live amongst the Christians, and yet be a Jew in his heart. Antoine appeared

A.C. 1632.

*History and
condemnation of An-
toine.*

appeared satisfied with this advice, and returned to Geneva, where he applied to the study of divinity and philosophy, in which he distinguished himself to great advantage in the public disputations. In a short time he came to be chief regent of the college, and afterwards to be the minister of a church near the city.

His real sentiments being detected, he was accused of having taken an oath to live and teach according to the profession of the reformed churches; whereas he lived and and prayed after the Jewish manner, not daring to make an open profession of his belief. It was affirmed, that instead of preaching Jesus Christ, according to the oath he had taken, he had only insisted in his pulpit on the explication of the Old Testament, and falsely wrested and applied passages thereof pointing to our Saviour, and appropriated them to other persons, and above all in his last sermon; from whence it followed, by the just judgment of God, that the said Anthony became deprived of his senses, and ran about the field like a distracted person, and came bare-legged into the city, uttering horrid blasphemies against our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: that, after he had been under the hands of physicians, and carefully attended in the hospital of this city, so as to retrieve his senses, he had persisted in his blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, and the person of our blessed God and Saviour, maintaining, as well by word of mouth as writing, that Jesus Christ was an idol, and that the New Testament was but a mere fable. In administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the exhortation to the people, he said only Remember your Saviour: and that, in reciting the words of the Apostle's Creed, where our Saviour is mentioned, he pronounced not those words, but muttered them betwixt his teeth^a. He lastly was charged with obstinately persevering in his opinions and blasphemies, with having renounced his baptism, and with having written a treatise against the Holy Trinity.

We shall not presume to form any conjectures on the nature of the evidence which proved those allegations; but admitting it to be ever so strong, the record of the process itself seems to leave no room to doubt that the criminal was insane. The sentence, of the syndics and council of the city, against him, imports, that he, forgetting the fear of God, hath been guilty of the crime of apostacy and high treason against God his creator and saviour, having fought against the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Sa-

^a Spon. p. 176.

viour Jesus Christ, blasphemed his holy name, renounced his baptism to embrace the Jewish religion, and hath been perjured in dogmatizing and teaching his damnable doctrine; a case and a crime deserving the greatest punishment. For these and other causes moving the said lords, sitting in the tribunal of their ancestors, according to the ancient custom, having the fear of God and the Holy Scriptures before their eyes, and having invoked his holy name, that they might thereby be able to make a right judgment, beginning, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, do, by this final sentence, which they have committed now to writing, condemn the said Anthony to be bound and led to the place of Plein Palais, to be there fastened to a stake on a pile of wood, and strangled, according to the usual manner, and afterwards to have his body burnt and consumed to ashes, and thus to end his days for an example to others; declaring, moreover, his goods confiscated to the city; and charging the lord-lieutenant to put the said sentence in due execution ^b. This sentence was accordingly executed.

Cardinal Richelieu was then first minister of France; *Danger of Geneva.* and he so far abandoned the politics of Henry IV. that he entered into a treaty with the duke of Savoy, to whom he offered to relinquish the protection of Geneva, and to put him in possession of it at the expence of France, if the other would give up Nice by way of exchange; but many reasons dissuaded the duke from an exchange, which must have given to the French the only sea-port he had, and a ready admittance, at any time, into his dominions. Thus the Genevois once more escaped being made slaves to the house of Savoy.

One of the greatest honours that Geneva has to boast of is, that the great duke of Rohan, before his death, chose it for the place of his retreat. This circumstance gave so much umbrage to the cardinal, that he persuaded his master to desire the duke to reside at Venice^c. The duke excused himself from obeying this order, because the passes were all shut up; but to prove that he had no such intention as the cardinal suspected, he took the command of the duke de Weimar's army, and fought the battle of Rhinfeld against the impartialists; and there, though he got the victory, he lost his life, for he died soon after of the wounds he received, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. *Duke of Rohan's death.* This great man, before his death, ordered his body to be interred at Geneva, where a magnificent marble tomb,

^b Spon. *ibid.*

^c Vide du Pere Josef. p. 405.

with an elegant Latin inscription, was erected for him by his duchess, daughter to the duke of Savoy. The duke, during his residence at Geneva, had been a great benefactor to the city, and adorned Plein-Palais with a magnificent walk. His son Tancred was buried in the same tomb; but his daughter having obtained a decree of the parliament of Paris, declaring him illegitimate, the inscription relating to him was erased.

*Genevois
renew
their al-
liance.*

All this while the Genevois, and the cantons of Zurich and Bern lived in the utmost harmony together; and in the year 1638 they agreed, that they should, from time to time, formally renew their alliance. In the year 1642, it was the turn of the Genevois to entertain the Swiss deputies, who arrived in their city on that occasion, where they were received by all the citizens, under arms, and a profusion of public honours. The next remarkable incident in the history of Geneva, happened on the 19th of January, 1645, when a prodigious wind drove back the waters of the Rhone and the lake in such a manner, that people could pass on foot from the gate Monoye to the isle. This wind was so violent, that it did prodigious damage to the inhabitants, by carrying away house tops, blowing down chimnies, and tearing trees up by the roots. This year the suburbs of St. Gervais were fortified by a bulwark, and adorned with an inscription, composed by Jacobus Gotofredus, which some have admired, notwithstanding its puerile antitheses. This Gotofred was, however, a man of learning; and having been syndic five times, he made great collections of materials relating to Geneva, from which Spon composed great part of his history. He died in the year 1652. Diodati, who had been sent to the synod of Dort, died before him. He was famous for translating father Paul's history of the council of Trent, and for having been chosen professor of Hebrew in Geneva, when he was but nineteen years of age: he was likewise professor of divinity there; and was so much esteemed in the synod of Dort, that he was one of the six who drew up its canons: he was seventy-three years of age at the time of his death. In the year 1651, the overflowing of the Arve was so great, that it swept away most of the bridges; and in December there was an earthquake, but without any fatal consequences. In the year 1653, some of the subjects of Bern, in its German territory, rebelled against the magistrates of that city, under one Leuberg, and made such a progress, that they actually blocked it up, and reduced it to great danger. In this extremity the Bernois applied for assistance to the Genevois, who sent them three companies of one hundred men

men each, under the captains Debons, Corne, and Dumont. This assistance came so seasonably, that the insurgents were defeated, Leuberg was quartered, and many of the ringleaders were hanged. The same year one Gautier was, at the suit of the republic of Venice, arrested and executed at Geneva, for having murdered a Spanish family, and pillaged the vessel that was carrying them to their own country.

All this while the Genevois seem to have enjoyed a happy tranquility, notwithstanding the inhuman prosecutions of the duke of Savoy's Protestant subjects in the vallies of Piedmont. While those persecutions were raging, Cromwell, who was then protector of England, to raise his character with his own party, wrote a Latin letter to the magistrates of Geneva, dated June 7, 1655, from his palace at Westminster, in which he told them, that the extreme miseries to which the duke of Savoy had reduced the Protestants, in the vallies of Piedmont, had so far moved him with compassion, that he had ordered collections to be made throughout all England, that he might give proofs of the great charity of that nation towards the afflicted brethren. And forasmuch as these collections required some time, and the necessities of these poor people admitted no delay, he therefore judged it meet to send, in the mean while, the sum of two thousand pounds sterling out of his own treasury, which sum he ordered to be paid into the hands of the officers at Geneva, to distribute it to them who had most need, according to their prudence, supposing they would readily accept this trouble in behalf of their neighbours, in whose miseries he believed they had a fellow-feeling beseeching God to strengthen all those who professed the orthodox religion, that they might maintain their common cause, and assist one another against their enemies, in which service he should be glad to be employed. Cromwell afterwards sent Morland, one of his ministers, to do all the service he could to those poor Protestants; and on that occasion he passed several months at Geneva, where the inhabitants conceived a high opinion of Cromwell's power and zeal for the Protestant religion.

Cromwell writes to the Genevois.

Next year the cantons, who professed the Roman catholic religion, went to war with these of Zurich and Bern, who insisted that the inhabitants of certain bailiwicks should enjoy the exercise of the protestant religion. Geneva sent their allies another body of three hundred men, under the command of the captains Debons, Girard, and Fabry, who assisted at the siege of Rappersvil. Next year the Genevois began to fortify the mount of St. Victor, before the bastions of

Geneva fortified.

Pin

Pin and St. Anthony; but though at first the inhabitants of all ranks, females as well as males, worked incessantly upon the fortifications, yet it was found that they were either too extensive to be completed, or, if completed, to be manned, upon which account the work was discontinued. It was about this time that the French king came to Lyons, and the Genevois laid hold of that opportunity to congratulate him upon his recovery from a late sickness, and to entreat him for the continuance of his favour and protection to their city. The sieurs Voyfine and Pictet, were chosen to execute this commission. They received a most obliging answer, and assurance of farther protection from his most Christian majesty, who presented each of them, at the same time, with a gold chain and a medal, and they, in return, made him the usual presents of their city, which consisted of trouts taken in their lake, weighing forty or fifty pounds each. Next year the Genevois, who daily saw cogent reasons for being on their guard, again applied themselves to the fortifications of their city. They first carried on a work in the form of a half-moon, in the same place where they had left off before; and, in digging, many urns and medals were found, which proved the antiquity of the city of Geneva. Perceiving there was a necessity for farther fortifications, that their city might gradually receive all the strength its situation could admit of, and being sensible, at the same time, that their own finances were very unequal to the expence of such works, they sent the famous sieur Turretin, their professor of divinity, into Holland, that he might procure money from their friends in that country: the states were so generous, that public collections were made all over their dominions, by which one hundred thousand franks were raised, and Turretin carried them to Geneva. This sum enabled the Genevois to resume their works, and build the first bastion near the Rhone, which is called the Dutch Bastion; and an inscription, engraved on a marble pillar, is erected, to commemorate the gratitude of the city, for the assistance it received from the states general. Ivoy, an engineer had attended Turretin from Holland, and drew the plan of four great bastions royal, with courtines, on the side of Plein Palais, inclosing them from the Rhone to the bulwark of St. Leger: this plan takes up no less than seventeen hundred paces in compass, and was inclosed and finished in ten years.

A.D. 1661.

The bishop of Geneva, though deprived of all jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, within that city, still resided

resided at Anecy, and exercised his authority over all those places which formerly belonged to his bishoprick, and were not immediately possessed by the Genevois, who considered all the lands that had belonged to the canons of St. Peter and the abbey of St. Victor, as their own property. By the treaty of Lyons, in the year 1601, when Henry IV. exchanged the marquisate of Saluces for the county of Gex, he reserved to himself all the ports of the Rhone, from Geneva as far as Lyons. By this reservation, the sovereignty of Chanisy and Avouilly, situated on the Rhone, and belonging formerly to the abbey of St. Victor, became his, as did the village of Moin, which had belonged to the chapter of St. Peter; while the property of all the three remained with the Genevois.

Bishop of Geneva disappointed.

The Genevois had foreseen that this reservation might some day or other bring them into a great deal of trouble, and laying their apprehensions before Henry IV. he shewed himself, as he did on all occasions, so much their friend, that he remitted this sovereignty, which, was indeed, but an empty title, to the Genevois. It happened, either by design or accident, that those letters of remission never had been registered in parliament; and, in the year 1661, the bishop of Geneva, taking advantage of the omission, applied to the French court for leave to settle curates in those villages, which he said lay within his diocese, though subject to the crown of France. His plea was so plausible, that before John Lullin, who had been appointed agent for Geneva to oppose him, could reach the French court, the bishop had obtained a decree in his favour; and Bouchu, the intendant of Burgundy, came to Gex in February, 1662, to see it carried into execution. When Bouchu arrived at Gex, he understood that the Genevois were then actually soliciting the court of France to have the decree suspended, upon which he deferred the execution of his commission. In the mean time Lullin was so active with the French ministry, that, after an attendance of two years, he carried his point. The bishop was disappointed, and the villages remained on their former footing.

This favour done the Genevois in so important a matter, made them take all opportunities of doing honour to the French; and when the duke of Crequi, in the year 1664, passed through Geneva, on his return from his embassy at Rome, they omitted no mark of respect that could testify their regard for his most Christian majesty; and, indeed, it must be admitted, that Geneva, more than once, owed her freedom and independency to the protection of France.

Danger of Geneva from the duke of Savoy.

Every day produced new disputes and quarrels between the Genevois and the officers of the duke of Savoy, who were instructed for that purpose; and those differences gave him a pretence for saying, that as the treaty of St. Julien had been so often violated, it was not binding on either party. He stood, however, too much in fear of France directly to violate that treaty, till such time as he should be in a condition to make himself master of Geneva. In the spring of 1667, the militia of Savoy, and a body of horse, called the Savoy regiment, consisting of five hundred gentlemen, had orders to be in readiness to take the field at an hour's warning; and a body of regulars, under the command of the marquis Pianezze, were quartered at Anecy, Remilly, Salanche, Cluse, Tonon, Evian, and other places about Geneva. As all those towns were above four leagues (the distance prescribed by the treaty of St. Julien) distant from Geneva, the inhabitants had no right to complain, though they saw plainly by the dispositions that were making, that the duke was meditating a blow against their city. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they understood that the duke had furnished all the militia, who were before a naked defenceless people, with arms, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, and had ordered them to be exercised every week. To preserve a communication between those forces and Geneva, a stone bridge was erected over the Arve at Tremblières, not above an hour's sail distant from that city. But the most formidable part of his preparations consisted in those he was making on the lake, where, by the assistance of seamen and workmen sent from Nice, he built three flat-bottomed boats, in a kind of a dock which he had made at Bellerive, a delightful village, in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and which he gave orders for securing with a chain and pallisades, besides a fort that was flanked with two bastions. The Genevois complained, that the erecting this fort was an infraction of the treaty of St. Julien, because it was within four leagues of their city. The Savoyards, who had on this occasion brought over some of the Swiss cantons to their side, pleaded that the building at Bellerive was not a fort, because it had no ditches round it, and that it was intended only as a storehouse for their salt; as to the bridge at Tremblières, they pretended, that it was built to avoid the water-carriage of that commodity through Geneva, which they found dangerous and inconvenient, and that they intended to transport their salt in waggons by land to Bellerive, from whence the flat-bottomed boats they had

built

built there were to convey it to the Chablais, Valais, Friburg, and other cantons, which used to be furnished by the Savoyards with salt.

These plausible pretexes did not amuse the Genevois; A.D. 1667. they received undoubted intelligence that the duke had an intention to make another attempt upon their city, both by land and water. They likewise more than suspected, that he had correspondents in the city, and that he would attempt to surprize, rather than besiege them. The measures they took to disappoint him, shewed wonderful precaution and sagacity. Their garrison was strengthened by an addition of ten men to each company, and thirty draughted from the usual guard of citizens, who were relieved once in twenty-four hours by a like number. The grand rounds patroled every quarter of an hour, besides the usual watch, four beades and two fort-majors; so that the centinels could not sleep upon their posts; the out-watches at the same time were reinforced, and some were placed in boats upon the lake. The gates were furnished with new portcullises, bars, and pallisades, and other engines, both of offence and defence. All the hedges and trees within musquet-shot of the city were cut down, especially those towards the gates of Rive, that none might approach it unperceived. A private watch was instituted at the same time, by the council of two hundred, who had it in charge to search all strangers. The centinels were every where doubled, and they who stood at the draw-bridge were furnished with coats of mail to prevent their being stabbed. Chains were drawn across the lake, which were guarded by citizens, and no boat was suffered to pass without a signal from those appointed to search it, that there was no danger. Other guards were appointed, to pierce and examine the hay carts and heavy carriages that entered the city.

Precautions of the Genevois in guarding their city.

The Genevois, on this alarming occasion, excused no citizen, who was able to bear arms, from acting as a soldier. The arms of every house-keeper were diligently examined, and they were obliged to furnish themselves according to their abilities with musquets, swords, powder, bullets, and all kinds of provisions. No inhabitant was to appear without a sword by his side; and all merchants and tradesmen were to have their arms lying on their counters in their shops, that they might be ready at a moment's warning. All the ordinary horses of the city were mustered, and two hundred of the richest citizens were obliged to keep each of them an able horse extraordinary. Those horse were commanded by Node Balthazar; and a great number

of French, whom the inhabitants could depend on, offered their service in defence of the city. To procure intelligence, a secret committee of seven persons was instituted; their business was to send spies into the enemies country, that they might learn their motions, and to take cognizance of all affairs, but those that were of so great importance as to require being laid before the general council.

They sent for aid to their allies of Bern and Zurich, who raised a considerable body of troops for their assistance; and to render them as little burdensome as possible to the Genevois, they were quartered in the cities and boroughs upon the lake, so as to be ready at an appointed signal. For the greater dispatch, the Genevois built a large galley, and the Bernois constructed two others, one of them mounted with fourteen, and the other with ten guns, and each capable of carrying two hundred men. All this while, the fortifications of the city were receiving new improvements. The heads of the corporations of merchants, artists, and other professions, spared no expence for that purpose. The professors of divinity, with their scholars, went round with drums before them, and not only worked in their own persons, but hired workmen according to their abilities; nay, a rich Dutch merchant, who happened to be then at Geneva, brought along with him two hundred workmen, whom he paid out of his own pocket.

Their danger vanishes.

The ardour of the Genevois at this time to come to action with the Savoyards, was wonderful, and many seemed to be sensibly mortified that they had no opportunity of shewing their courage by the duke's declaring war. This was the more to be expected, as he had kept on foot upon the confines of Savoy a large body of troops ready for action, at an expence that was but ill suited with the state of his finances, for above nine months. But his royal highness was no stranger to the preparations that were making to receive him, and therefore chose to lose all his trouble rather than make an attempt, which he thought could end only in increasing and exasperating his enemies.

Farther differences with Savoy.

While those warlike preparations were carrying on, the communication between Geneva and the duke of Savoy's dominions was still kept open; and a difference fell out, which was prosecuted in another manner than by arms. The curates of Megny and Choulex, two places belonging to the duke of Savoy, administered the sacrament to a sick person at Courginge, a village belonging to that duke, all but the house where the sick man lay, which was under the jurisdiction of the Genevois lordship of Jussy. The matter in itself was inconsiderable; but it happened at so critical a time,

time, that both parties had their reasons for rendering it important. The Genevois government ordered Colladon, their first syndic, to inquire into the circumstances; and he taking some examinations on the spot, ordered the two curates to appear before him on a certain day. This was at best but a captious way of proceeding; and the senate of Chambery, not only cited Colladon to appear before them, but published a declaration against him by beat of drum, and even ordered him to be apprehended and brought to trial. This extraordinary step induced the Genevois council to send Lifford, another syndic, to make their complaints to the president La Perouse, who then commanded in Savoy, and to lay before him their evidences for proving that particular house was within their dominions; but the president would neither give them admittance, nor hear their reasons. The Genevois then carried the matter before the Swiss cantons, not so much because the latter had any jurisdiction in it, but that they might clear their own conduct; which the Savoyard ambassador to the same cantons, endeavoured to impeach and blacken. As the Genevois, perhaps, did not find that their conduct had been very defensible, they deputed, towards the end of the year, Andrew Pictet and John Dupan, to attend his royal highness in person at Turin, and to make an end of the difference. The duke received the deputies very obligingly, but remitted the matter to the president and other commissioners, who affected so many trifling delays, that the deputies spent three months at Turin to no purpose. At last the French king sent a letter by Lionne, one of his ministers, to the magistrates of Geneva, desiring the Genevois, for the sake of peace, to drop their pretensions upon the house; and this request being seconded by Servient, the French ambassador at Turin, they complied.

While this affair was in dependence, and even before the Savoyard forces had retired from the neighbourhood of Geneva, an affair happened, which was so little to the credit of the moderation of the parties concerned, that they expunged the transaction out of their records, as an atonement for their imprudence. All we know of it from Spon is, that, during the absence of the syndics, the auditor, John Sarrazin, presided, December 7th, in their place, over both the council of two hundred, and that of twenty-five. The latter council resented this presumption; and thus the government was split into two factions: that of the council of two hundred, which was backed by the citizens, as that of the council of twenty-five was supported by the

*Disensions
in Geneva.*

the garrison and soldiers, by whose assistance Sarrazin was arrested and thrown into prison. The council of two hundred complained, that he suffered for no other crime, but because he had presided in their assembly; and they convened the people in St. Mary's church, that they might rescue him by force; the lesser, on the other hand, drew out the garrison, and both parties were ready to come to blows, when the matter was compromised, though we know not how; the prisoner was discharged, and the city restored to quiet.

A D. 1670.

The next remarkable incident that occurs in the history of Geneva, was a most dreadful fire, that happened in the night of the 27th of January, 1670, amongst the houses on and near the bridge over the Rhone, which threatened the destruction of the whole city. The houses being built of timber were consumed, and one hundred and twenty persons perished in the flames. Many threw themselves into the Rhone; but at last the conflagration was stopped from spreading by the towers of Monoye and the isle, but not till it had done so much damage, that the channel of the Rhone between the isle and the city, though two hundred and sixty feet broad, was filled up by the ruins of the houses. Liberal collections for repairing this damage were made by the people of Geneva, and likewise by their allies of Bern.

*A new plot
against
Geneva.*

Next year the prince elector Palatine paid a visit to Geneva, where he resided four months; during which time nothing was wanting that could contribute to his entertainment.

In September, 1673, the chief syndic returning from church, found at his house a letter, which a person unknown had left in his absence; intimating, that upon being secured in a proportionable reward, he would make a considerable discovery, on which the public safety depended; and if they desired to speak with this person next morning about it, the superior of the convent of the Capuchins of Gex would inform them where he was; but if they neglected this advertisement, they might be certain of finding the city, in a short time, reduced to the greatest extremity^a. This letter being laid before the council, the president Dunant was sent by them, next morning, to Gex, where he had an interview with the writer, who, after some conversation, appeared to be the contriver, as well as the discoverer of the design; which Dunant understood was for a new attempt on the city, and had been communicated to the duke of Savoy, who had affronted the discoverer, and this was the reason why he was willing to reveal it to

^a Spon. p. 187.

the Genevois government; but he insisted upon being rewarded for his discovery with a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, and to have a place assigned him where he could live in safety. Dunant acquainted him, that he had no power to treat with him upon such conditions, and that his best course would be to repair to Geneva, where he could treat with the magistrates themselves. The other then desired a letter of safe-conduct; but Dunant told him, that no such was ever granted by the magistrates of Geneva; but that he was authorised to engage the public faith, that he might come into the city in safety. The man was contented with this very ambiguous security, and next day presented himself before the magistrates of Geneva, informing them, that his name was John Baptiste Noroy, of Nozeray, in Burgundy; that he had found out an easy way by which he could surprize Geneva; that he had gone to Piedmont, where he had communicated his scheme to the duke of Savoy; that, after having a private conference with him at Rivoles, the duke told him, that he thought the undertaking was too hazardous; that he had a score of pensioners in Geneva; that some of them even sat in the council, and that the juncture was very improper for entering into a war. He thanked him, however, for his discovery, and gave him ten pieces of gold by way of reward. To confirm all he said, he produced letters under the hand of the duke of Savoy's secretary, and other noblemen of that court.

Upon farther examination it appeared, that Noroy's scheme was to have introduced, without suspicion, four or five hundred men, all of them unarmed, into Geneva, where they were to be lodged in private houses, and have arms delivered them, and lie hid till the day of the execution of their enterprize, which was to be in sermon-time, about eight of the clock. All those people, who were hid, coming out with their arms, were to divide themselves into several parties, three of which, consisting of about eighty men a-piece, should speedily seize on all the doors of the three churches, and not only hinder the people from coming out, but constrain them to get up upon the top of the churches, and by this expedient, no place would need a guard, but only the steeple stairs; that another company should scour the streets, and kill the citizens who were not at church, as they should come out of their houses to defend themselves; the rest were to attack a certain gate of the city, which being unguarded by the citizens, might be easily won; this being opened, would admit a body of forces, who were to march all night, that they might be

*The plotter
discovered.*

at the gates at the hour of this execution. Upon farther examination, he gave two reasons for making the discovery; the first was the slight put upon him by the small reward he had from the duke; and the second was, his having been refused the government of Geneva when it should be taken, and his being scoffed at for making the demand.

This discovery being made only to the council of twenty-five, Noroy was pressed by them to name the duke of Savoy's pensioners in Geneva. He declared, that he was totally ignorant both of their names and persons, and very sensibly added, that considering the manner in which the duke treated him, it could not be supposed that he would be let into a secret of such importance. His answers and discoveries perplexed the council so greatly, that they sent him to prison, and laid the whole affair before the council of two hundred. Their opinions were greatly divided; some imagined, that Noroy was no better than an incendiary used to sow divisions amongst the citizens; some voted, that he should be put to the rack to force him to discover the traitors, and some proposed that he should be put to death; while a few were of opinion, that the public faith being engaged for his safety, he ought to be set at liberty. After long debates, it was carried to avoid both extremes; and Noroy was, by the mercy of the council, condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In the year 1675, the lease granted to the farmers of the salt, who paid twenty thousand francs a year to the public, being expired, they were required to pay more money. The farmers refused to comply, and joined the Savoyards, who pretended a right to impose a capitation duty upon every subject of Geneva, for the quantity of salt he was supposed to use. The Genevois resented this imposition, and sent a quantity of salt under a guard to Jussy, a step which the Savoyards complained of both to the court of France, and the cantons of Swisserland, as an invasion of their privileges; at the same time they mustered their militia, and laid up magazines of arms, ammunition, and provisions, for invading Geneva. The Genevois, on the other hand, stood upon their guard, and were justified in what they had done both by the court of France and the Swiss cantons; the French king particularly sent them a most obliging letter, promising their republic the continuance of his friendship and protection. The Savoyards, however, had so great interest at the court of France, that the Genevois were obliged to send John Dupan and Amy de Chapeaurouge, to solicit for them both in Swisserland and the French court, where

where they were opposed by Leonardi, the duchess's regent of Savoy's resident. His allegations were answered by the Genevois deputies, and the cantons seemed to be satisfied. Nevertheless, the late farmers, whose compact still subsisted with Savoy and France, pretended they had a right to oblige the subjects of Geneva to take salt from them. The intendant of Burgundy repaired to Colonges, with a design to make the villages of Chancy, Avouilly, and Moric, and all the houses dependent on Geneva, including the county of Gex, take the king's salt. He even ordered guards into those villages, who took away the Genevois salt, and obliged the inhabitants to take that commodity at Gex. Rosette, resident from Geneva at the court of France, was ordered to make remonstrances on this method of proceeding, to his most Christian majesty, who referred him to Pomponne, one of his ministers. Accordingly, Pomponne had several conferences with the Genevois resident and deputies, but without any effect; till Stoupe, a native of Switzerland, and ambassador from the states general, prevailed with the king to give leave to the villagers of Chancy and Avouilly, to take their salt from Geneva. Rosette dying, was succeeded by the sieur Fabri, who solicited his most Christian majesty for an extension of the salt privileges; but he obtained nothing but good words and a gold medal; the inhabitants, all but those we have already named, being obliged to take their salt from Gex, which belongs to France. In this manner the Genevois lived for some time under the protection of France. The French were awed by two considerations from subverting the liberties of Geneva. The first, lest such a subversion should draw upon them the resentment of the Swiss cantons; and the next, lest the king of Sardinia should become masters of that republic, the acquisition of which, small as it is, would render him very powerful.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

The History of Bohemia ; whose King is a Prince of the Empire, first Secular Elector, and Chief Cup-bearer.

*The bounds
of the king-
dom of
Bohemia.*

THE kingdom of Bohemia is quite surrounded on every side with mountains and woods, as with a natural rampart, being bounded by Moravia, and part of Silesia, towards the east ; towards the north, by Lusatia and Upper Saxony ; by Franconia towards the west ; and by Bavaria towards the south. Although this country is situated in the middle of Germany, and its king be an elector of the empire, nevertheless it has its particular assemblies, customs, and language different from the Germans. Prague is the capital city of this kingdom ; the other cities are Cuttenberg, Konigingretz, Pilsen, Czaſlaw, Budweys, Egra, Glatz, Tabor, and a great number of others, for they reckon more than a hundred cities ; among which there are almost forty which have the title of royal. The name Bohemia, in the German language, signifies, the *home or abode of the Boii*, a people of ancient Gaul, who, under their leader Segovesus, settled in that country about five hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra. These Boii were soon after expelled by the Marcomanni, a nation of the Suevi¹, who were afterwards subdued by the Scavi, a people of Scythia^m, whose language is still spoken in Bohemia and Moravia. Notwithstanding the expulsion of the Boii, the present inhabitants are still called Bohemians by foreigners, but the natives call themselves Zechs. At first, they were governed by dukes, but the emperor Otho I. conquered the duke of Bohemia, and reduced the province under the empire. Afterwards Henry V. gave the title of king to Ladislaus, duke of Bohemia ; and since that time, these kings have been electors and chief cup-bearers of the empire, and the kingdom has been elective ; which privileges have been confirmed by the golden bull. Formerly the kings of Bohemia received the kingdom as a fief of the empire, which ceremony was performed upon the frontiers ; after which, the standards of the principalities of which it is composed, were given

*The ancient
inhabi-
tants.*

A.D. 1086.

*The king-
dom is de-
clared elec-
tive by the
golden bull.*

¹ Aventinus, Ann. Boliiorum, lib. i. p. 24.
Dubrav. Hist. Bohemiz, lib. i. p. 3.

^m Heiss. lib. vi.

to them without being torn and given to the people, as is done with the ensigns of the other siefs of the empire. Ferdinand I. of Austria, having married Anne, sister of Louis last king of Bohemia, who died without issue, and being elected king, that kingdom has remained ever since in his family. But the crown is conferred with some appearance of election, which right the states of that kingdom still pretend to claim, notwithstanding, by the treaty of Westphalia, Bohemia is declared hereditary in the house of Austria.

*Ren-
der heredi-
tary in the
house of
Austria, by
the treaty
of Munster.*

The king of Bohemia is the first secular elector, and gives his opinion after the elector of Cologne, but he does not assist at the assembly of electors but at the election of an emperor. For these two hundred years past, the kings of Bohemia have not appeared at the collegiate assemblies, or even at the imperial diets. However, in 1708, the emperor caused one of his deputies, in quality of king of Bohemia, to enter into the college of electors at the diet of Ratisbon by the form of re-admission, together with the deputy of the elector of Brunswick. The states of Bohemia have never been comprehended in the government, or in the circles of the empire; they are not subject to any of its jurisdictions, nor to the Roman months, taxes, or public contributions; and they owe nothing to the empire but what the emperor Leopold voluntarily imposed upon himself, which amounts to six thousand livies a year for the imperial chamber. The king pays homage to the emperor and the empire for his states as first secular elector, otherwise he has a right to exercise, through all the extent of his dominions, all authority that the royalty can give, provided he do not violate the laws of the kingdom, according to which he cannot raise contributions or taxes, but at the time when the states are assembled, the appointing of which is entirely in their own power.

Bohemia was divided by the emperor Charles IV. into twelve provinces, in each of which he ordered two captains to be appointed every year, for the administration of the government. The same emperor caused the church of Prague to be erected into an archbishoprick, with this advantage, that the archbishop of Prague should have the prerogative that the archbishop of Mentz enjoyed formerly, of crowning the king of Bohemia. The duchy of Silesia, the marquisate of Moravia, and that of Luface, formerly held of this crown, but at present only Moravia, which is incorporated with the kingdom of Bohemia, and is in the possession of the house of Austria. This province draws its name from the river Marc, or Maravaha,

Maravaha, which runs through the country from north to south, and throws itself into the Danube. Moravia has towards the north Silesia, Hungary towards the east, Austria towards the south, and Bohemia towards the west.

The government of Bohemia is different from that of all other states, the affairs of the kingdom being managed by six different courts. First, the council of the regency, or the great royal council, in which presides the great judge, or burgrave of Bohemia; and who has under him eighteen lieutenants of the king, and other assessors. Secondly, the council, or superior chamber of justice, at which the great master of the kingdom is president. Thirdly, the chamber of siefs. Fourthly, the new tribunal, to judge the appeals of the German vassals, in their differences upon account of sief; which court has also its president, vice-president, and assessors. Fifthly, the royal chamber of finances, which has a president and vice-president. Sixthly, the chancery, which always follows the court. Besides, every circle of Bohemia is governed by two bailiffs, who administer justice in their prefectures, of which there are eighteen. The states are composed of the clergy, lords, nobles, and burghers. As to Moravia, there is a grand-bailiff who governs it in the name of the king of Bohemia, as margrave of Moravia; he is at the head of the royal council, which is composed of three assessors, and in which all is transacted in the name of the king; this province is divided into five circles, each of which has its bailiff. There are, besides, other officers of justice, who have a right of judging only at certain times, and in particular cases, where an appeal is allowed.

The antiquities of this country are greatly wrapt up in fables, and there is no credit to be given to the authority of their history, till almost the time of the emperor Charlemagne. The Boii, the first inhabitants, were expelled by the Marcomanni. These being greatly weakened by their wars with the Romans, under the conduct of Tiberiusⁿ, were afterwards subdued by the Sclavi, a nation of the Sarmatians^o, who, like the other Scythians, wandered from place to place with their families and cattle; and, as Strabo writes, even in the time of Augustus Cæsar, lived promiscuously with the Thracians. Afterwards spreading themselves westward, in a few centuries they possessed Illyricum, Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia; but continuing their ancient manners, they neglected to build cities, and inhabiting the country very thinly, they minded only pas-

* Velleius Paterculus.

° Dubrav. Hist. Boh. lib. i. p. 3.

turage and the care of their flocks. As all the Sarmatians used the same language to distinguish themselves from the other inhabitants of the countries which they possessed, they called themselves *Slowi*, from the word *slow*, which with them signifies *speech*.

The first whom history mentions as their ruler or chief, A.D. 550.
 was one Czechius, who, having committed some remarkable murder in Croatia, quitted that country with his family and dependents, and went towards Moravia in search of a new settlement. The Moravians informing him, that there was a country, surrounded by the Hercynian forest, not very distant and but thinly inhabited, Czechius quitted Moravia, and entering Bohemia, found it wholly covered with wood, and possessed rather by herds of wild cattle than by men. Czechius settled his small colony, and taught the few inhabitants he found to cultivate the lands and sow corn; while his brother Leches, who had attended him from Croatia, went over into Poland, and first settled that kingdom. Czechius dying, the Bohemians continued for several years without a ruler or judge; but being now assembled in villages, their ancient popular form of government was at last found ineffectual to repress injuries and oppressions, which began to be more frequent than during their pastoral life; therefore, they chose a young man named Croc, remarkable for his prudent conduct. Czechius
first ruler,
 This governor restored peace and order, and supported the authority of the laws. He was succeeded by the youngest of his three daughters, Lybussa, who was respected for her skill in the art of divination, and governed the country alone for fourteen years; but, being pressed by her subjects to marry, she chose for her husband a country labourer, named Premislaus; who, being called from the plough Croc.
 to the dignity of a governor, carried his shoes along with him as memorials for his posterity, to prevent their being elated with the prosperity of their condition. Premislaus founded the city of Prague, and divided the people into different ranks; but his wife Lybussa dying, his government was disturbed by an insurrection of the women, who being used to the same exercise as the men, claimed the privilege of commanding them. Having quelled this tumult, he reigned peaceably to his death. On his deathbed, he ordered his cloak and shoes to be deposited in a religious place, and only to be shewn at the election of a governor, which last will of his has been solemnly observed, not only by the pagan princes, but even by the Christian kings. Lybussa.
A.D. 632.
Premislaus.

Nezamislus

- A.D. 715. *Nezamifilius.*
Mantha. Nezamifilius succeeded his father with the universal consent of the people; and, after reigning twenty years, was succeeded by his son Mnatha, who neglected the government, and, for the three first years of his reign, addicted himself wholly to hunting of stags, boars, and other wild beasts, leaving the care of the government to a citizen of Versovicum, who seeing the indolence of the prince, proposed himself to the people as their governor; but failing in his attempt, he was put to death; and Mnatha himself died soon after of a contagious distemper.
- A.D. 735. *Vogenus.* Vogenus succeeded his father, though then only a child. During his minority, his guardian greatly oppressed the country, for which he was afterwards put to death. Vogenus, after reigning twenty-eight years, left the government to his eldest son Wenceslaus, and Lusatia to his youngest son Wratislaus. These brothers lived in great unanimity, and gave assistance to each other against Charlemagne, who then attacked the Saxons, Veneds, and Bohemians^p. Wenceslaus was succeeded by his son Creuomyslius, who, after reigning nineteen years, left the government to his son Neclan, who, being of a fearful and cowardly disposition, was attacked by his cousin Ulatisslaus from Lusace. Neclan, afraid of meeting his enemy, prevailed upon one Siderius, who resembled him in person, to command his troops and oppose the invaders. Siderius, who was of a martial spirit, willingly accepted of the command, and defeated Ulatisslaus, but was killed himself by some of his own men, who were envious of his honour. The weak government of Neclan soon after tempted a young man, Crasnitius, to rebel; but being defeated, he fled to Hormidurum, king of Moravia, who being desirous of conquering Bohemia, sent him back to that kingdom at the head of a great body of men; but, being opposed by the Bohemians, he was entirely defeated, and killed near the town of Czaflavia.
- A.D. 839. *Hoslivitius.* Nelcan, soon after dying, was succeeded by his son Hoslivitius, whose brother Myslibogius rebelled against him, because no part of the kingdom had been left to him: but an arbitration being agreed to, the province of Gurimum was ceded to him for his life. Hoslivitius was soon after disturbed with another insurrection, of which Succasslaus, governor of Bilina, was the chief; but he being defeated and taken, his feet and hands were cut off, and he himself afterwards thrown into the river Egra. About this time the duke's brother, Myslibogius, invaded Moravia, the king being then absent at the court of the emperor Ar-

^p Dubrav. Hist. Boh. lib. i. p. 16.

nolphus. Myslibogius having penetrated into Moravia, surprised many of the inhabitants, and returned with a number of prisoners and much spoil. Having afterwards made a second irruption into Moravia, he was opposed by Nosilaus, whom he defeated; but dying soon after, a peace was concluded between the king of Moravia and his brother Hostivitus.

Borivorius succeeded upon the death of his father, and in the beginning of his reign going to Moravia to renew the alliance with that king, he was there converted to Christianity, and baptized with his wife Ludruilla, with many other Bohemians of his retinue. But returning to Bohemia, he was despised by his subjects, upon which he chose a voluntary exile in Moravia. In his absence, rapine and oppression prevailing in his dominions, the states recalled Stoymirus, a brother of Succollaus, governor of Bilina, who had been banished to Bavaria thirteen years before: but he having forgot his native language, they were soon tired of him, and sent him back into Bavaria with some presents. Assembling again in the fields near Prague to chuse another prince, the favourers of Borivorius going secretly armed, after a warm dispute obliged the other party to consent to the recalling of their exiled prince. Borivorius returning to his dignity, after an absence of ten months, brought with him Methudius, who converted many to the Christian faith. Several churches were built, and schools erected; but the Bohemians objecting to the performing of the service in the Latin tongue, a language which they did not understand, Methudius represented this objection pope Nicholas the Great, who allowed the prayers to be said in the vulgar tongue. But some years after, a bishop being sent into Bohemia, the Latin tongue was again ordered to be introduced into all their churches. Borivorius afterwards abdicating the government, his son *Spiligneus* succeeded him; but he dying in two years, his father prevailed with the states to chuse his young son *Wratislaus*, whose education he himself directed. *Wratislaus* afterwards married Drahomira, of an illustrious family, but a pretended convert to the Christian faith. By her he had two sons, who both succeeded him in their turns. He assisted the Moravians against the Hungarians, who invaded them, and dying soon after, Drahomira took upon her the administration of the government during the minority of her sons. She immediately discovered her hatred to the Christians, and committing the government of the city to pagan magistrates, she massacred above three hundred Christians in one night, afterwards burnt their temples

A.D. 856.

*Borivorius
first Christian duke**Spiligneus*
I.

A.D. 908.

Wratislaus
I.

A.D. 916.

Wenceslaus II.

temples, and ordered them to deliver up all their arms. But Wenceslaus, who had been educated under his grandmother Ludruilla, coming to the government, the Christian religion was again encouraged; and in order to prevent disputes with his brother Boleslaus, who had been educated under his mother, he ceded to him all that part of Bohemia beyond the Elb. Wenceslaus spending much of his time in praying and fasting, one of his subjects was tempted to rebel against him, and advanced with an army towards Prague. Wenceslaus, to spare the lives of his subjects, offered to fight him in a duel in presence of the two armies. Radislaus, the rebel, accepted of the challenge, and both parties appearing in the field, history relates, that Wenceslaus being miraculously assisted from heaven, got the victory without a blow. The news of this victory reaching Germany, the emperor Otho the Great sent for Wenceslaus to the diet at Worms, where he entertained him with great respect, and offered him the title of king, which he refused; asking only the arm of St. Vitus, which had been brought from France, and deposited in the monastery of Corbeia, in Saxony. Returning to Prague with this relic, Wenceslaus caused a church to be built for its reception, which was consecrated by St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon. His pious life excited the envy of his brother Boleslaus, who, with the consent of his mother, soon after murdered him, and succeeded to the government, which he administered with great cruelty, persecuting the Christians, and obliging them to fly the kingdom. But the year following, the emperor Otho entering Bohemia with an army to revenge the death of Wenceslaus, he forced Boleslaus to submit to the following terms of peace: namely, to use all means to expiate his guilt; to recall the Christians; to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred and twenty chosen oxen, and five hundred marks of gold; and to pay homage to the emperor upon the same conditions with the other princes of Germany. Boleslaus was afterwards twice invaded by the Hungarians and Moravians, whom he repulsed; and now being inclined to Christianity, refused his daughter Dombrova to the prince of Poland, unless he should first embrace the Christian religion. He likewise sent to Rome, desiring that a bishop might be settled in Bohemia; but the division then between the popes prevented his message from being attended to. His eldest son Strachyquas taking on the monkish habit at Ratisbon, he was succeeded by his second son Boleslaus, surnamed the Pious: he founded and endowed twenty churches, and obtained leave from pope John IX. to create a bishop at Prague,

A.D. 932.

Boleslaus I. the Cruel.

A.D. 967.

Boleslaus II. surnamed the Pious.

Prague. With the consent of all the priests, he appointed Dethmarus, a Saxon, bishop of Prague, who was succeeded by a native named Adelbertus. He reprovng the people severely for not abstaining from work on Sunday, and for marrying and divorcing their wives according to their pleasure, they formed a conspiracy against him, and took possession of a mountain in the neighbourhood of Prague, from whence the Christians, with the assistance of the Jews, expelled them, and obliged them to remain in peace. For this service, the Jews were allowed to build a synagogue in Prague. Boleslaus afterwards being invaded by the prince of Poland, in return, entered that kingdom with an army, and made himself master of Cracow, while the Poles were engaged in opposing the Russians, who had invaded another part of their kingdom. The king of Poland having concluded a peace with the Russians, marched with his army to recover Cracow; but the Bohemian garrison being well provided, obliged the Poles to raise the siege.

About this time Boleslaus dying, he was succeeded by A. D. 999.

his son of the same name; he being of a covetous, slothful disposition, neglected to supply the garrison of Cracovia, by which means that city again returned to the Poles. *Boleslaus*
III. the
Blind.

Boleslaus being afterwards persuaded by the king of Poland to come to Cracovia to visit him, he was there perfidiously deprived of his sight, and then sent back to Bohemia.

Finding himself unfit to govern, he resigned the kingdom to Jaromirius, his eldest son. Cohanus of Ver- A. D. 1012.

fovicum, who had aspired to the government, being thus disappointed, formed the design of destroying Jaromirius, and having enticed him to hunt in his woods, he, with the assistance of some associates, tied the prince to a tree, after which the conspirators shot at him with their arrows. But

his attendants coming up, the conspirators were interrupted, and fled, whilst the prince, being loosed from the tree,

was found miraculously cured of all his wounds. Cohanus, the chief conspirator, flying into Poland, there declared

that he had killed Jaromirius; upon which information, the king of Poland immediately raised an army, and entered

Bohemia, where he burnt and destroyed the villages and castles, and at last made himself master of Prague;

while Jaromirius retired to his castle of Wisegrade.

Udalricus, his brother, who was then with the emperor Henry, privately left that court, came to Bohemia, and assembling some forces, recovered the city of Prague; but,

being ambitious of the government, which he thought he had a right to, upon account of his conquest, he put out his

brother's eyes, and kept him prisoner.

A D 1027.

Udalricus.

Udalricus having taken upon himself the government, fell in love with a young country-woman, who was washing cloaths at the side of a river, when he was returning from hunting. Having married her, he had by her next year a son, named Bretislaus; but the joy occasioned by his birth was interrupted with the news of another invasion from the king of Poland, who had advanced to Glatz. The Poles having sat down before that town, were obliged to raise the siege, upon account of a contagious distemper that had attacked their army. About this time, Udalricus repenting of what he had done to his brother, by the mediation of the bishop was reconciled to him, and afterwards governed the kingdom conjointly with him. Bretislaus, being now come of age, was created marquis of Moravia by his father, and taking the government of that province, he repulsed the Poles who invaded it, and took so many prisoners, that he sold them by hundreds to the Hungarians. Afterwards going to Ratisbon, under pretence of visiting the relics of St. Wolfgang, he carried off Jutha, the daughter of the emperor Otho, who was placed there in a nunnery. To revenge this rape, Henry II. marched into Bohemia; but before any hostilities commenced, the contending parties were reconciled by the mediation of Jutha, who, soon after, was delivered of a son who was called Spiligneus. Bretislaus being absent, assisting the emperor in his wars against the Hungarians, Udalricus his father died, upon whose death he succeeded to the government, in conjunction with his uncle Jaromirius. The Poles at this time being without a king, Bretislaus thought it a proper opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his grandfather, and entering Poland with an army, took Cracow, and likewise made himself master of the castle of Sydeca, whither the nobility had fled. Having taken several other towns, a great number of prisoners, and much spoil, he returned to Bohemia, but was soon informed that the emperor Henry was preparing to invade him with two armies, one from Saxony, and the other, commanded by himself, from the mountains of Bavaria. Bretislaus sent Procopius to oppose the Saxons, and watched the motions of the emperor himself, who, trusting to the number of his troops, and marching without any discipline, was surprised by Bretislaus before he had got out of the woods. The Saxons had better success on the other side of the kingdom, for they returned with much spoil, without having an engagement with the Bohemians, for which Procopius was put to death. The emperor Henry, to revenge his late disgrace, again entered Bohemia with an army, laid siege to Prague, and obliged

A.D. 1043.

Bretislaus.

obliged Bretislaus to sue for peace, which he obtained upon condition of doing homage to the emperor, and paying one thousand five hundred pounds of silver. Bretislaus afterwards defeated the Hungarian robbers that ravaged Moravia, and concluded a perpetual peace with Casimirus; king of Poland. He left five sons, the eldest of whom, Spiligneus, inherited Bohemia, and Moravia was divided among the four youngest.

Spiligneus succeeded to the government immediately, and by an edict ordered all the Germans to depart the kingdom within three days, not excepting his own mother, who afterwards married Peter, king of Hungary. Hearing, likewise, that his conduct was blamed in Moravia, he marched into that country, and took his brothers, Conrad and Otho, prisoners; but their elder brother Wratislaus flying into Hungary, there married Adelheid, the king's sister, which Spiligneus being informed of, he was reconciled to his brother, fearing lest the king of Hungary should espouse his quarrel. Spiligneus dying, was succeeded by his brother Wratislaus, who divided Moravia betwixt his brothers Conrad and Otho, his youngest brother Jaromirius being designed to succeed to the bishoprick of Prague. The Poles, about this time, preparing to invade Bohemia, Wratislaus assembled an army at Glatz; but his wife Adelheid being dead, he concluded a peace by marrying Suatava, the king's sister, and ended all disputes about Silesia, which was entirely ceded to Bohemia. A dispute soon after arising betwixt the emperor Henry and his son, Wratislaus assisted the emperor, and defeated Leopold, marquis of Austria, who had invaded Moravia. But Henry, the emperor's son, having taken his father prisoner, shut him up in prison, where he died, and succeeded himself to the imperial throne. Soon after holding a diet at Mentz, and considering the great possessions of Wratislaus, he declared him king of Bohemia; and as a favour to Jaromirius, now called Gerard, bishop of Prague, he joined Olmutz to that bishoprick. The inhabitants of Lusace threatening a rebellion, he sent his eldest son Bretislaus to quell them, who defeated them in several skirmishes; but afterwards refusing obedience to his father, he was banished to Pannonia, and his younger brother Conrad succeeded to the kingdom, but enjoyed it only seven months. Upon his death, the states assembling continued for some time doubtful, whether they should recall Bretislaus from his banishment, or confer the kingdom upon the sons of Conrad; but Bretislaus approaching the frontiers, they sent deputies to him with an offer of the crown. Bretislaus arriving at

A.D. 1055.

Spiligneus
II.

A.D. 1061.

Wratislaus
II.

A.D. 1086.

Created
king of
Bohemia.

A.D. 1092.

Conrad I.

A.D. 1093.

Bretislaus,

Prague, made himself very popular, and married Lucretia, daughter of the palatine of the Rhine. Afterwards he published an edict against sorcery and witchcraft, which again began to prevail in the kingdom; and the Poles having taken possession of Silesia, he recovered that province from them, and enriched his exchequer by the confiscated estates of many of the lords who had favoured the Polish invasion. He likewise seized upon the riches of the Jews, and having defeated the sons of Conrad, who from Austria made incursions into Moravia, he afterwards received the investiture of his states from the emperor at Ratisbon, but was soon after killed by an arrow when he was hunting. Borivorius, his brother, succeeded him,

A.D. 1100.

Borivorius
II.

and met with great disturbance in the beginning of his reign from Udalricus, the son of his eldest brother Conrad, whom he had set free from his imprisonment in the castle of Glatz. Udalricus was no sooner forced to submit, than Suatoplucus, his cousin, pretended to the kingdom, whose faction prevailing, Borivorius was forced to fly to Poland, and from thence to the emperor; but he had no redress, his competitor being settled in the government with the consent of the states. Suatoplucus afterwards attending the emperor in his wars in Hungary, was assassinated by a traitor in his camp. Uladislus, third son of Wratillus, succeeded his cousin; but going to receive the investiture of the crown from the emperor, his exiled brother Borivorius privately entered Prague, and assumed the government. Being informed of this, Uladislus returned from his journey, and, after some skirmishes, the dispute was referred to the decision of the emperor, who determined in favour of Uladislus. Soon after Sobieslaus, his youngest brother, pretended to the crown, and, with the assistance of the Poles, invaded the kingdom; but the two brothers being reconciled by their mother, Luface was ceded to Sobieslaus, and Borivorius was likewise called to a partnership of the throne; but shewing a partiality to the Germans, he was afterwards obliged to fly into Hungary. Uladislus dying,

A.D. 1107.

Suatoplucus.

Uladislus
I.

left three sons, but his youngest brother Sobieslaus succeeded to the crown. His cousin Otho complaining to the emperor Lotharius of the injury done him by the Bohemians, that emperor marched at the head of a powerful army into Bohemia, where he was defeated by Sobieslaus; and Otho the competitor dying, a peace was concluded, and Sobieslaus assisting the emperor against Bavaria, Lotharius confirmed Luface to the duke's son, and was guarantee of a peace between Sobieslaus and the king of Poland. After the death of Lotharius, Conrad having got himself fixed in the imperial

A.D. 1125.

Sobieslaus.

After the death of Lotharius, Conrad having got himself fixed in the imperial

rial throne, by the assistance of Sobieslaus and other princes of Germany, he, at the desire of Sobieslaus, gave the investiture of Bohemia to Uladislaus, eldest son of his late brother. Uladislaus, succeeding his uncle, was soon disturbed in his government by Conrad, who pretended to the crown; but the emperor marching to the assistance of Uladislaus, Conrad was defeated, and afterwards, being reconciled to the emperor, went to the Holy Land against the Turks.

A.D. 1140.

Uladislaus II.

About this time, Henry, bishop of Olmutz, went to Rome to complain of the irregularities daily committed by the priests, and returned with a legate of pope Eugenius III. having full power to inquire into, and redress the abuses. Frederic Barbarossa being elected emperor, and going to Rome to be crowned, he left Uladislaus as a vicar of the empire in his absence; afterwards inviting him to his marriage, he crowned him king of Bohemia; for which favour Uladislaus attended the emperor into Lombardy, and assisted at the siege of Milan. Upon his return from Lombardy, he brought an Italian architect with him, by whose direction a bridge of twenty-four arches was built over the river Muldaw. The city of Milan again rebelling, Uladislaus sent assistance to the emperor, under the command of his son Frederic and his brother Theobald; and when they returned, he retired into a monastery, and resigned the government to his son Frederic, who, not obtaining the investiture of the emperor, was obliged to go into banishment in Pannonia, while Udalricus, on whom the emperor confirmed the kingdom, resigned it to his elder brother Sobieslaus; but he soon displeasing the emperor, Frederic again recovered his dignity. Frederic soon after going to the diet at Ratisbon, Sobieslaus in his absence endeavoured to recover the kingdom, and twice defeated him in his return; but by the assistance of the inhabitants of Prague, Frederic at last entirely routed him. The emperor soon after summoning Frederic to another diet at Ratisbon, in his absence another pretender seized the government; but the emperor giving him the investiture of the kingdom, sent him back with a sufficient force to expel his rival Conrad, who afterwards went to the Holy Land. Upon his return, Frederic dying, he was elected king; but going soon after to Naples to assist the emperor in the siege of that city, he died there of a contagious distemper. Upon his death, two relations, Wenceslaus and Premislaus, disputed the crown: Wenceslaus was favoured by the inhabitants of Prague, but fearing the power of his rival, he went to beg the assistance of the emperor, and in his return was taken prisoner by the

crowned king of Bohemia.

A.D. 1175.

Frederic.

A.D. 1190.

Conrad II.

marquis of Luface. Premislaus then seized the government, but being summoned by the emperor to give an account of his usurpation, he left Bohemia, and retired into Moravia.

A.D. 1193. The states afterwards chose their bishop Henry for their king, who administered the government with great prudence; but desiring to resign upon account of his age, Premislaus returned from Moravia with his brother Uladislaus,

Henry.

in order to seize the government; but the people, from their affection to Henry, defeated the invaders, took Uladislaus prisoner, whom they confined, and obliged Premislaus to fly; but Henry again assembling the states, resigned the government into their hands, and retired to Egra, where he died. Upon his death, the states took Uladislaus from his prison, and declared him king. His elder brother

A.D. 1196.

Uladislaus.

Premislaus, who was reduced to be an assistant to some masons at Ratisbon, hearing of his promotion, returned immediately to Prague, where an agreement was concluded betwixt them, Premislaus being put in possession of the kingdom, and resigning Moravia to his brother. Soon after, at the resignation of the king of France, he declared for Philip, who was then disputing the imperial dignity with Otho; however, he quickly changed his party, and favoured Otho's cause so zealously, that he got the name of Othischgar, turned afterwards by the Bohemians to Othogar. He again embraced the party of Philip, who gave his daughter Cunegunda in marriage to his son Wenceslaus, and at last obtained the quiet possession of the empire. He being assassinated at Bamberg, and Otho succeeding to the empire, Premislaus was again reconciled to him, and promised him three hundred men to attend him during his expedition to Rome to receive the imperial crown. The new emperor having a rupture with the court of Rome, was excommunicated by the pope, who prevailed with the electors to chuse Federic II. at whose election Premislaus was present, and obtained from him the privilege of being absent from the diets of the empire, unless when they were held at Bamberg, Nuremberg, or Ratisbon, and an exemption from paying any taxes. Towards the end of his long reign, he caused his son Wenceslaus to be crowned, in order to secure the succession to his family, and soon after died at Prague.

A.D. 1123.

Wenceslaus IV.

Wenceslaus was surnamed Othogar, and, in the beginning of his reign, was engaged in repelling an invasion of the Austrians, who ravaged Moravia, but were defeated by the Bohemians, under the command of Premislaus, the king's son. Soon after he gave assistance to the marquis of Brandenburg against the bishops of Magdeburg and Halberstadt;

stadt; but having oppressed his subjects with heavy taxes to support his great profusion, he raised a general disaffection to his government; so that, at the instigation of the nobles, his own son Premislaus rebelled against him. This rebellion, however, was soon quelled; for Wenceslaus marching against the rebels, entirely defeated them, and took his son prisoner. Not long after he had a more formidable enemy to contend with; for the Thacari, or Thatari, a people of Scythia, had left their own country, to the number of five hundred thousand, and after over-running Poland, Lithuania, and part of Russia, invaded Moravia, and besieged Olmutz. He marched with an army to the relief of the city, and, in some skirmishes with the barbarians, having killed one of their generals, they thought proper to raise the siege, to evacuate his dominions, and to march into Hungary.

Wenceslaus dying, his son Premislaus succeeded to the kingdom, and took the name of Othogar. After settling his affairs in Bohemia, he went to take possession of Austria, where he had been chosen duke upon the death of Frederic, the last of the Austrian line. While he continued in that duchy, he purchased from Udalricus, duke of Carinthia, a part of Carinthia, all Stiria, and the port of Naon, in the Adriatic. Marching afterwards to oppose the Prussians, who had declared war against the Christians, he defeated them in several engagements; upon which success many of those people consented to abandon Paganism, and two of their chiefs were baptized. Having established his government in Prussia, and built Konigsburg, he returned with his army to Stiria, to repel an invasion of the Hungarians. He at first agreed to a truce with the invaders, which they basely violated, and hoping to surprise him, attacked his camp in the night, but they were repulsed with loss, and entirely defeated. Upon the news of this victory the cities of Verona, Feltri, and Treviso, sent an embassy to him, desiring his protection. After his return to Bohemia, he received an offer of the imperial crown, which he is said disdainfully to have rejected, which refusal in the end proved his ruin; for Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, who had formerly been great-marshal of his court, having been elected, he, in disdain, refused to do him damage, and to take the investiture of his states from him. At last he found the necessity of complying, and, according to the custom, on his knees, delivered five standards to the emperor for the five fiefs which he possessed. But Rodolphus only returning him two, and keeping those for Carinthia, Austria, and Stiria, which he al-

A.D. 1255.

Othogar.

leged he had no right to, a war ensued, in which Othogar lost his life.

A.D. 1278.

Wenceslaus
V.

Wenceslaus succeeded his father Othogar, and being only eight years of age, was put under the guardianship of his uncle, the marquis of Brandenburg. In his fifteenth year he was declared of age, and soon after married Judith, the emperor's daughter. As the kingdom of Poland about this time was torn to pieces by the factions of the nobles, Wenceslaus obtained possession of the provinces of Sandomir and Cracow; and Premislaus, who was some time after chosen king of Poland, being killed immediately after by the marquis of Brandenburg, in an engagement in Pomerania, he succeeded him in that kingdom. After his coronation at Cracow, he left the administration of the government of Poland to a viceroy, and returned to Bohemia, when he proposed to commit the laws of the kingdom to writing; for which purpose he sent for one Gotius, a celebrated lawyer, from Orvieto in Italy; but his design, for what reason is uncertain, was opposed by the states. About the same time he received an offer of the crown of Hungary, but not chusing to go himself into that kingdom, he sent his young son thither, who was also chosen king. Soon after, hearing that his son only enjoyed the title without any authority, while the nobles by their factions harassed the kingdom, he recalled him to Bohemia, and, not long after his return, died at Prague.

A.D. 1308.

Wenceslaus
VI.

Wenceslaus succeeded to the kingdom in the sixteenth year of his age. He entirely neglected the administration of government, and spent his time wholly in rioting and feasting. He married Viola, the daughter of one of his nobles, and gave his sister Anne in marriage to Henry, duke of Carinthia. Being, after much intreaty, prevailed upon to go into Poland to take possession of that kingdom, he gave orders for assembling an army, and, in the mean time, proceeded to Olmutz, where he was assassinated in his chamber, after he had reigned only one year. As he was the last of the male descendents of the first duke Premislaus, Henry, duke of Carinthia, who had married his sister Anne, was proposed as his successor. A faction of the nobles, however, proposed Rodolphus, the son of the emperor, who was acknowledged as king by a numerous party; but while his father was reducing the malecontents, he died, and left the succession to his competitor Henry, who, after a short reign of three years, was expelled from the kingdom for his bad government, and obliged to retire to his hereditary dominions.

A.D. 1306.

Rodolphus.

A.D. 1307.

Henry.

A.D. 1310.

John.

His successor was John, the son of the emperor Henry VII. of the family of Luxemburg, who had married Elizabeth,

beth, the youngest sister of Wenceslaus. He received the crown by a formal deputation of the states, and, after a dispute for some time with his competitor, he at last obtained quiet possession of the kingdom. As the dispute about the succession had given great opportunities to robbers and banditti, the king's first care was to repress them, and to establish good order in his dominions. During his father's expedition to Italy for the imperial crown, he was appointed vicar of the empire, when he occasioned some murmuring among his subjects, by the encouragement he gave to the Germans. To quiet the discontents, he sent back the Germans, and gave their places to Bohemians, who were quickly found to be more oppressive than the foreigners had been. John punished the oppressors in an exemplary manner, and soon after gave assistance to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, against his competitor Frederic, set up in opposition to him by the popes, who had excommunicated and deposed him, because he refused to submit to their usurpations. Some years after, the inhabitants of Brescia, being oppressed by another faction in Italy, begged assistance of John, who marched into that kingdom, and made himself master of several places. The emperor, jealous of his power, and offended with him for taking part in the disputes in Italy, persuaded the dukes of Saxony and Austria to attack his dominions during his absence. This unexpected invasion obliged him to leave the care of his army in Italy to his son Charles, and to return to Bohemia. He quickly repulsed the invaders, while the young prince Charles, who was then only in the sixteenth year of his age, gained a signal victory over the Guelphs and Gibellines in Lombardy. John, the following year, returned to Italy, where he spent the whole summer in reducing the revolted cities. Finding the war very expensive, he divided his conquests among some Italians who had continued faithful to him, and sending his son Charles to Bohemia, he himself went to the county of Luxemburg, to carry on a war against the duke of Brabant. From Luxemburg, a few years after, he returned to Bohemia with his new queen Beatrice, daughter of the duke of Bourbon, and being jealous of the authority of his son Charles, he deprived him of all command. Soon after he marched against his son-in-law Otho, duke of Austria, who, with the emperor, had made a partition of the territories of the duke of Carinthia, which, by a former treaty, should have been left to the king of Bohemia's second son, John. On account of this succession, a new war was raised in Bavaria, Austria, Carinthia, and Tyrol, in which likewise the Veronese,

A.D. 1332.

ronese, and some other Italian states, engaged as auxiliaries to the emperor. Towards the end of September an accommodation was concluded, when the king of Bohemia consented to allow his son-in-law Otho to retain the duchy of Carinthia. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty he undertook an unsuccessful expedition into Prussia against the Lithuanians; from whence, without visiting his kingdom of Bohemia, he returned to Luxemburg. Soon after he took a journey to Montpelier, in France, in expectation that the fine air would cure him of a distemper in his eyes; but becoming quite blind, he returned from thence, with his son Charles, to Avignon, where he had a conference with pope Benedict XII. and afterwards returned to France. The year after he again visited Bohemia, which kingdom he resigned to his son Charles, and receiving from him five thousand crowns, he again went to France. After an absence of two years he visited his son at Prague, and went with him, and several other German princes, upon an expedition into Prussia, which again proved unsuccessful, by the mildness of the winter, which prevented the rivers from being passable. A few years after the emperor, with the king of Hungary, the duke of Austria, the king of Poland, the marquis of Misnia, and the duke of Schweidnitz, formed a league against him, and the king of Poland began hostilities by attacking Sear, a city of the duke of Opavia. John marched with great dispatch to the relief of the place, and, having obliged the Poles to retreat, he besieged Cracow, and compelled the king to agree to a peace, in which the rest of his allies were comprehended. After the conclusion of this peace, John went with his son Charles to Clement VI. at Avignon, where he entered into a negotiation for procuring the imperial crown for Charles. The pope having obtained several promises from Charles, all tending to the advancement of the power of the Roman see, he published a bull, deposing Lewis of Bavaria, and ordering the electors to chuse Charles, marquis of Moravia. John, having thus procured the imperial dignity for his son, proceeded with him to France to the assistance of Philip against the English, where he was slain in the famous battle of Cressyⁿ.

A.D. 1347.

*Charles IV.
emperor.*

Charles, succeeding his father, created his brother John, marquis of Moravia, caused an university to be erected, in Prague, upon the same plan with that of Paris, and prevailed with Clement VI. to erect the see of Prague into an archbishoprick. As the marquis of Brandenburg, the son

ⁿ Caroli in Vita sua.

of

of the late emperor, in defence of his father's right, had attacked Bohemia, Charles declared war against him, and raised up another competitor for the electorate, who was at first greatly favoured by the people. The marquis, at length, finding himself unable to support the war, came to an accommodation with the emperor, who allowed him to resign his electorate to his brother. Charles afterwards visited the free cities of Germany, and married Anne, daughter of the count palatine of the Rhine. The year following he went to Rome, where he and his empress were crowned. In his return he brought with him to Prague, from Ticino, the relics of St. Vitus, patron of Bohemia. He likewise enlarged and beautified his capital, by adding what is called the New City, in which he founded the college of Carlstein. He recovered a great many of the royal castles, which his father had mortgaged, adorned that of Wissegrad, built several monasteries and churches, which he furnished with relics, and, by the assistance of learned men, reduced the laws of the kingdom to writing, which are still extant, under the name of Caroline Constitutions^a. He generally resided in Bohemia, and was more intent upon establishing his family than the administration of the empire. By several peaceable acquisitions he greatly enlarged his hereditary dominions, and caused his son Wenceslaus to be crowned king in the second year of his age. Not long after he marched with an army to the relief of Strasburg, which was besieged by forty thousand Lithuanians, by some called Angles, and having obliged the enemy to raise the siege, he pursued them as far as Colmar, and entirely dispersed their mutinous army. He then disbanded his troops, and made a progress through the cities of the Rhine and Lower Saxony, and, going into Holland, he there concluded an alliance betwixt his son Wenceslaus and Joanna, the earl's daughter. After the conclusion of this alliance, he prevailed with the electors to chuse Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, though he was then only in the sixteenth year of his age. Returning afterwards to Bohemia, he endeavoured to join the Moldaw to the Danube; but dying before he could complete his design, he recommended the execution of it to his son^p.

Wenceslaus, upon succeeding to the crown, abandoned himself to dissoluteness and luxury. Neglecting all care of the government, he spent his time among public prostitutes, and being besides of a cruel and savage disposition,

A.D. 1378.

Wenceslaus VII.^a Bohemia Pia Enæ Sylv. Hist. Boh.^p Idem ibid.

A.D. 1400.

he was generally attended with the executioner, who frequently rode upon the same horse with himself. By his barbarity and cruelty he became odious to his subjects, who seized him, and threw him into the common prison, where he continued several months; but obtaining leave to come out to bathe himself, he deceived his guards, prevailed on a woman who was likewise bathing, to ferry him over the Moldaw, and escaping naked with his naked attendant to one of his castles near Prague, he there married his deliverer, as his first wife was lately dead. He was, the following year, seized a second time, and kept a prisoner privately at Vienna, his brother Sigismund, who, in right of his wife, enjoyed the crown of Hungary, coming from thence to succeed him in the throne. In the mean time, Wenceslaus escaping, by means of a poor fisherman, from Vienna, returned to Wissegrad, and took possession of his kingdom. About this time pope Boniface having published a bull for holding a jubilee at Rome, Wenceslaus obtained the privilege of celebrating one at Prague, where great numbers assembled, out of devotion, to the relics, and to have the pardon of their sins. John Huss, a celebrated preacher, having lately had some disputes with the Germans in the university, about the succession to a benefice, exclaimed greatly against the indulgencies of the pope; and being seconded by one Jerome, a professor of the university, their discourses made a great impression on the people, who openly espoused their doctrines, and had several skirmishes in the city with those who adhered to the tenets of the Romish church. The archbishop, not being able to prevail with Wenceslaus to concern himself in the disturbances, which were every day increasing, went to ask the assistance of Sigismund, king of Hungary. He died on his journey, and, his successor Albicus, who was addicted wholly to avarice, neglected entirely all care of religion; so that Huss, who, by the former archbishop, had been banished from Prague, now returned to the city, and preached publicly with great boldness against the indulgencies of the pope. Wenceslaus, in the mean time, was deposed from the imperial dignity, at which news he expressed great joy, as he thought himself thereby more at leisure to indulge in riot and excess. His successor in the empire was Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, who enjoyed the imperial dignity ten years, and was succeeded by Sigismund, king of Hungary. The disturbances still continuing in Bohemia on account of religion, the emperor, three years after his election, assembled a general council at Constance, for the reformation of the church, and granted

granted a safe-conduct to John Hufs and Jerome of Prague to appear before that assembly. Notwithstanding this safe-conduct, and although they defended their doctrines with great eloquence and strength of argument, they were both condemned and burnt as heretics. This act of injustice only served to increase the troubles in Bohemia; for their disciples, upon the news of their martyrdom, assembled to the number of thirty thousand, and, in the first place, resolved to solemnize the day of their death annually. They then spread three hundred tables in the open fields, where they took the communion in both kinds, according to their doctrine, and proceeded afterwards through the whole kingdom, pillaged and destroyed all the churches and monasteries, which in Bohemia were remarkable for their grandeur and riches. In Prague they plundered the palace of the archbishop, and going from thence to the chief square, they seized the magistrates of the city, and threw them from the windows upon the pikes and spears of those who stood below. Wenceslaus was at length roused by the violence of the tumult, and making enquiry after the chief of the rioters, his cup-bearer imprudently told him, that he knew the tumult would happen three days before. The king, enraged at this speech, seized the cup-bearer, and threw him at his feet, and attempted to stab him with a dagger; but he himself, in the mean time, was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died a few days after⁹.

When Wenceslaus died, his brother Sigismund was at war with the Turks, and delayed coming to Prague for some time, till he had secured Hungary from the infidels. A.D. 1419.

Sigismund. The Hussites, in the mean time, under the command of John Zisca, made themselves masters of Pilsen, and, after a dispute of five days, got possession of the lower town of Prague, and of the bridge over the Moldaw. Before Sigismund entered the kingdom, they sent deputies to him, desiring liberty of conscience: he received them at Brin in Moravia; but, instead of granting their request, he only declared, that he intended to govern the kingdom as his father had done. He proceeded from thence to Breslaw in Silesia, to punish the authors of an insurrection in that capital, and imprudently left the Hussites to strengthen themselves in Bohemia. As the emperor's answer to their deputies gave them no room to hope for a toleration of their new opinions, they took possession of Prague, Pilsen, and several other places, and fortified a mountain, which they called Tabor, and made their principal retreat. Sigis-

⁹ Dubrav. Hist. Bohem.

mund, in the mean time, had assembled an army of Germans and Hungarians, and, entering Bohemia, laid siege to Prague. However, he only made himself master of the castle of Wissegrad, where he was crowned; for though he assaulted the city several times, and continued before it two months, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The Taborites, after many successful campaigns and desperate engagements, not only made themselves masters of Bohemia and Moravia, but likewise carried their victorious arms into Saxony, Austria, and other provinces of Germany. Sigismund, finding it impossible to reduce them by arms, had recourse to a secret negociation with their renowned, though blind leader, John Zisca, to whom he offered the government of the kingdom, and a large sum of money, if he would acknowledge him as king, and obliged the cities to swear allegiance to him. Zisca died while he was on his journey towards the place appointed for the confederates. Upon his death his followers separated under different leaders, one party chusing Procopius, a priest, for their commander; and the other not thinking any one person worthy to succeed Zisca, called themselves Orphans, and trusted the command to a select few. Both parties soon after joining under the command of Procopius, they defeated the Saxons at Austria, killing upwards of twelve thousand of their men. They afterwards marched into Austria, where they entirely routed a hundred thousand Germans, who intended to have invaded Bohemia. After this victory they defeated the marquis of Misnia, near Leipzig, ravaged Lusatia and Silesia, and obliged several free cities of Germany to purchase their security with money. Their arms being every where victorious, cardinal Julian proposed to admit their priests to the council of Basil, and to allow them free liberty of dispute. Procopius accordingly repaired thither with three hundred armed gentlemen, and after several conferences, obtained leave of the council to communicate under both kinds. In his absence the nobles, who had adhered to his party, entered into a resolution to restore peace to their country, and to deliver themselves from their arbitrary leader. Upon his return an engagement happened betwixt the two parties, when he, with the greatest part of his followers were killed. The nobles, not contented with victory, published an edict, desiring all those who fought under Procopius to assemble in the barns, where they should be enrolled for a new expedition. Upon the publication of this edict, many thousands of the Taborites assembled in the barns, where they were immediately enclosed and burnt, by which stratagem

A.D. 1431.

tage peace was at length restored, the tenets of the Hussites nevertheless prevailing almost through the whole kingdom. During these transactions Sigismund had been at Rome to receive the imperial crown, and had returned to Ulm. Hearing of the entire defeat of the Taborites, he repaired to Ratisbon, where he was saluted king by the deputies of the nobles, and also by Coupcbus and Rochezana, as representatives of the Hussites. The king confirmed the grant of the council of Basil, which allowed them the use of the cup in the communion; and having agreed to several other private articles, he was received into Prague with great solemnity and rejoicing, after a ruinous war of sixteen years, occasioned by his breach of faith to John Huss and Jerome of Prague. He died the year following, having appointed his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, his successor.

Upon the death of Sigismund, Albert was immediately crowned in Hungary, and soon after elected emperor at Frankfort. The Hussites in Bohemia rejected Albert, and chose Casimir, the brother of the king of Poland, who entered Bohemia at the head of an army, and was put in possession of the city of Tabor. Albert, however, was supported by the catholics, and, having defeated his rival, obtained quiet possession of the kingdom. He afterwards went to Hungary to oppose the Turks, where he died of a surfeit in the second year of his reign.

Soon after the death of Albert, his wife was delivered of a son, named Ladislaus, whom she put under the guardianship of his uncle Frederic, who, upon the death of her husband, was chosen emperor. After some difficulty, the states of Bohemia chose him for their king, appointing two nobles to have the administration of the government during his minority. The two regents were Meynard and Prasco, the one a Hussite, and the other a catholic. Prasco soon after died, and the Hussites, to prevent Meynard from enjoying the whole power, declared George Podiebrad one of the prefecture, and admitted him into Prague, which was the head of their sect. He there surprised and imprisoned Meynard, settled the senate by his own authority, and having raised a considerable army, he obliged the provinces to acknowledge him as sole governor. The Austrians, being dissatisfied with the administration of the emperor, prevailed upon the young Ladislaus to assume the reins of government. Soon after he received an embassy to the same purpose from the Bohemians, and, upon his journey thither, the nobles met him at the confines, and offered him with the usual oath taken by their kings,

A.D. 1438.

Albert.

A.D. 1448.

Ladislaus.

A.D. 1458.

George
Podiebrad.

and then presented the articles of their liberties, which he promised to observe. At his entry into the city of Prague, Rochezana, the chief of the Hussite priests, with his followers, saluted him, but were very coldly received by the king. He refused the archbishoprick of Prague to Rochezana, and, after his coronation, he went with the governor George, in whom he put great confidence, to Silesia, and from thence to Vienna. He returned to Prague a few years after to celebrate his marriage with Magdalene, daughter of Charles VII. king of France; but, while the bride was on her journey, he died of a colic, occasioned by eating turnips, in the eighteenth year of his age.

There never appeared so many candidates for the crown of Bohemia as at this time; for, besides the emperor, the two dukes of Austria, Albert and Sigismund, Casimir, king of Poland; William, duke of Saxony, the king of France proposed one of his sons as a candidate, offering to pay all the debts of the kingdom, to recover at his own expence all those countries that had been alienated from the crown, and to raise no taxes of any kind for seven years. But Rochezana, before the states went to the senate-house, assembled them in the church, where, in a long sermon, he represented the necessity of chusing a king of their own nation, who understood the constitution of the kingdom, and would defend the privileges they had obtained at the council of Basil. This discourse had such an effect upon their minds, that George Podiebrad, even before they entered the senate-house, was unanimously saluted king. Pope Calixtus consenting to his coronation, George took the usual oath of obeying the holy Roman church, of protecting and defending it, and of doing his utmost to recall his subjects from their errors and heresies. The consent of the pope procured him the allegiance of the greatest number of his subjects, and all the cities of Moravia opened their gates to him, except Iglavia, which he besieged for four months. Moravia at last submitted; but Silesia and Lusace, still refused to acknowledge George as king; and many cities in both these provinces fortified themselves against him as an usurper and a heretic. In order to lessen their opposition, George sent an ambassador to Rome to renew his obedience, and to demand the ratification of the compactata of the council of Basil. The pope received his obedience, but, instead of confirming the compactata, he sent two nuncios to Bohemia to explain them, but with secret orders, if possible, to abolish them. George suspecting, or being informed of the secret orders given to the nuncios, would not allow them to speak on the subject of
the

the compactata, but, calling an assembly of the states, reproached the pope for offering to violate the decrees of the council of Basil, and asked of them, if they would assist him in defending the liberties of the nation. Being answered in the affirmative by his faction, he accused Fautinus, the nuncio, that he had opposed the ratification of the compactata at Rome, and immediately ordered him to be imprisoned. Pope Pius II. being informed of these proceedings, summoned George to appear at Rome; but he dying soon after his succession, Paul II. absolved the inhabitants of Silesia from their allegiance to George, and gave the kingdom of Bohemia to Matthias, king of Hungary, who had married his daughter; but was now taught that no faith was to be kept with those who did not keep their faith with God and the church. George, though abandoned by Moravia and Silesia, and a great many of the nobles, who all took the part of Matthias, yet defended his kingdom a long time with great fortitude. At last, pitying the calamities which the nation suffered, he offered to fight his competitor in single combat; but the conditions he proposed were objected to by Matthias. He died soon after, when the states assembled at Cuthna to elect a new king.

Though the faction of Matthias was very powerful, yet the majority of the states elected Uladisslaus, the son of Casimir, king of Poland, who, soon after, received the investiture from the emperor. When Matthias understood that he was rejected, he invaded Bohemia, and ravaged the country; but Uladisslaus, assisted by the Bohemians, obliged him to retire. The year following, having received succours from his father, he recovered Silesia, and obliged Matthias to sue for a truce, which was agreed to for two years. Uladisslaus, however, was not acceptable to the Hussites, and, upon his return to Prague, he was frequently in danger of his life by the tumults of the citizens, who publicly reviled him on account of his religion, and attacked his palace in a seditious manner. To avoid these tumults he went to Moravia, where he concluded a peace with the king of Hungary, who, with the sons of Podiebrad, was suspected of having privately excited the disturbances in Prague. Matthias dying of an apoplexy soon after, Uladisslaus married his widow Beatrice, and with her took possession of Hungary, though he was at first opposed by his brother Albert, who was favoured by a party in that kingdom. After he had secured the quiet possession of his new crown, he divorced Beatrice, and married Anna, daughter of a duke of Gascony; and afterwards signalized himself in

A.D. 1471.

Uladisslaus.

opposing Bajazet II. emperor of the Turks. During his absence from Bohemia, the disturbances in Prague greatly increased, and the Hussites at last created a bishop of their own sect. The king, after defeating the Turks in Hungary, returned to Prague, where, by his authority, he composed, in a great measure, the disputes about religion, and sent for learned men from Italy, in order to restore the university to its former lustre. About this time he had a daughter born to him, who was called; Anne and two years afterwards his wife was delivered of a son, named Lewis, who was crowned by the Hungarians while an infant. He was also crowned in Bohemia, which kingdom, on account of the factions and different sects, still continued a scene of disorder and confusion. Uladislaus, after settling governors in Bohemia, with a supreme authority, went with his children to Buda, where he died soon after, in the forty-fifth year of his reign over the Bohemians, and the twenty-third over the Hungarians.

A.D. 1516.

Lewis.

Upon the death of Uladislaus the states of Hungary assembled at Pesthum, and declared his son of age, and fit to govern, though he was not then quite eleven years old. The care of the government, however, was committed to Stephen Bathori, under the title of palatine of the kingdom. Lewis afterwards went into Bohemia, where the animosities of the parties subsiding, he was received with universal joy. About this time sultan Solyman was defeated by the Persians, with the loss of a hundred thousand men. In order to appease the murmurs of his subjects, who threatened to depose him, he promised to repair his late losses by conquests from the Hungarians; and soon after surprised and took Belgrade, and marched with a powerful army into the kingdom. Lewis was then returned to Buda, where he was preparing to celebrate his nuptials, and was spending his time in feasting and entertainments. The loss of Belgrade alarmed the nation, and an inconsiderable army was assembled in haste, with which

A.D. 1527.

the king engaged the Turks at Mohalz, where he was entirely defeated and drowned in the Danube in his flight. After the death of Lewis, his dominions fell to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, infant of Spain, and afterwards emperor, who had married Anne, the only daughter of Uladislaus. Both the empire, and the kingdom of Bohemia, have ever since continued in the Austrian family.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

The History of the Electorate of Saxony.

THIS duchy and electorate takes its name from the ancient nation of the Saxons, which once possessed a great part of Germany; it is bounded on the east by Lusace; on the north, by the margraviate of Brandenburg; on the west, by the principality of Anhalt; and on the south, by Misnia. The duke, who is the sixth elector of the empire, besides this province, possesses Misnia, a part of Thuringen, and the marquisate of the Higher and Lower Lusace, which formerly made a part of Bohemia, a part of the county of Mansfeld, and the abbey and territory of Quedlemburg.

*The extent
of the do-
minions of
the electo-
rate.*

The air in Saxony is cold and sharp, but it is likewise very clear and healthful; the country does not produce wine, but yields abundance of corn; and in the mountains of Misnia there are several mines of silver, copper, and lead. The Saxons are large and robust, have very good natural parts, and are reckoned to have the mildest and most agreeable conversation of any in Germany. They eat much, chiefly of salt flesh, and are addicted to excessive drinking. The gentlemen value themselves much upon their nobility, and almost never contract alliances with persons of an inferior rank. If any of them, not regarding the nobility of his blood, marries the daughter of a plebeian, whose wealth might be of service to his family, he is the object of a great deal of scorn, and they call him, in contempt, Pepper-bag. The matter even goes farther; for if a noble shall disgrace himself by an under-match, he runs the risk of being destroyed by the other gentlemen.

With regard to religion, only Lutheranism and Calvinism were formerly allowed; but since the elector Augustus embraced the Roman religion, in order to his being elected king of Poland, the free exercise of that profession has been permitted; nevertheless, it is not the prevailing religion; Lutheranism is the most universal, and all the ecclesiastic possessions are in the hands of Lutheran lords. The language of the common people is a mixture of German and Slavonian; but the people of distinction in this province talk the German language more pure than in any other part of the empire, and besides, they almost all understand the French or Italian.

Wittemberg is the capital city of the duchy of Saxony, well fortified, upon the Elbe. The inhabitants of this city have a great veneration for the church in which Luther and Melancthon are interred, and value themselves for being the first who embraced this doctrine in their university, which is the most famous of all the protestant universities of Germany. The elector of Saxony ordinarily resides at Dresden, upon the Elbe, in Misnia, which is a magnificent city, and strongly fortified. His palace and arsenal are the admiration of strangers, the one for the beauty and magnificence of its buildings and the richness of its furniture; and the other, for the prodigious quantity of cannon and other arms. Other considerable cities belonging to the elector, are Pitska, in Bohemia; Bautzen, the principal city of Luface; Coningstein, a strong fortress upon the Elbe, with an arsenal, upon the frontiers of Bohemia; Pirna, a fine city upon the Elbe, in Misnia, defended by a castle called Sonnestein; Torgau, a strong city and castle upon the Elbe, in Misnia; Missein, formerly a bishop's seat, at present an electoral city; Leipzig, a fine large trading city in Misnia, celebrated for the purity of the German language spoke there, and for three fairs which are kept there every year: it is defended by Pleiffemburg, a strong castle, and pretends to be a free and imperial city; but this privilege is disputed by the elector of Saxony. Freiberg, a large and strong city, is likewise in Misnia; here is the burying-place of the princes of the electoral house of Saxony. The four cities and bailliages, sequestered from the archbishoprick of Magdebourg by the peace of Prague, and afterwards by that of Westphalia, for the advantage of the elector of Saxony, are Dama, Gutterbeck, Duerfurt, and Bork, more considerable for their revenue than for their situation and beauty.

The elector administers justice in the last instance in all his states, without appeal to the aulic chamber of the emperor, or to the imperial chamber of Wetzlar. With regard to the lands and possessions that have been given to the younger sons of this family, the elector still retains the right of arms, protection, and superiority over these lands. This division was made about the year 1656, by the elector of Saxony, John George I. in favour of four of his children; namely, John George II. who succeeded him in the electorate, Augustus, Christian, and Maurice. He gave Augustus, as his inheritance, the administration of Magdebourg, and a part of the lands that depend upon the house of Saxony in Thuringia, with three other bailliages. Duke Christian had the administration of the bishoprick of Merseburg,

burg, Lower Luface, with three bailliages. Duke Maurice had all the possessions of his father in the Voightland, and in the county of Henneberg, with the bishoprick of Naumberg, of which he was administrator. As all these brothers married, and had several children, this division still continues.

The rights of the elector, as grand-marshal of the empire, are very considerable. At the election of the emperor, and when the emperor holds his court, the elector of Saxony carries the naked sword before his imperial majesty. Wenceslaus, duke of Brabant, indeed disputed this right; but the emperor Sigismund confirmed it to the electors of Saxony by a particular decree. In the diets and assemblies of the empire, especially at the election of an emperor, he has the right of regulating the lodgings of the princes and deputies, and to make decrees with regard to the provisions, that victuals may not be wanting in the place, and that they may be procured at a reasonable rate. He publishes the day of the assembly after it has been appointed by the archbishop of Mentz; and, in the absence of the ambassador of the elector of Mentz, it belongs to him to regulate the assemblies; he pretends to have the right of putting a seal upon the effects of the ministers who die during the holding of the diet, but this privilege is contested with him. He exercises all these rights, either by himself when he is present, or when he is absent by the ministers of the count of Pappenheim, his vicar. In all military expeditions, where the emperor is present in person, the elector of Saxony pretends to the right of carrying the grand standard of the empire, and of disposing of the second standard; and the count of Pappenheim pretends to the same right in the absence of the elector, and when the emperor is not in the army in person. The jurisdiction of the grand-marshal extended formerly to the games in the camp. It was not permitted unto any one to play unless under the standard of the marshal, and from this arose a certain revenue. But when the emperor Sigismund prohibited playing in the camps, to indemnify the marshal for the loss he suffered by this prohibition, two hundred florins were assigned him upon the city of Nordlingen, with part of the tax paid by the Jews of Nuremberg, which revenue the count of Pappenheim at present enjoys. He hath also the right of protection of the trumpeters and players upon fifes and other musical instruments of war; so that even the electoral society of trumpeters of Saxony pretends to have an universal jurisdiction in causes concerning that art, although the marshals of the court claim the determination of these causes in the

The privileges of the elector.

other states of the empire. If the see of Mentz be vacant, or the envoy of that elector be absent, the elector of Saxony pretends to preside in the diets; but this privilege is disputed with him by the electors of Triers and Cologne. The direction of the evangelic states, which he has often claimed in the diets of the empire, is likewise disputed with him. In quality of elector, he is the director and chief of the circle of Upper Saxony, and vicar of the empire when it is vacant. As margrave of Misnia, he is grand-huntsman of the empire, a title conferred upon him by the emperor Leopold; and as margrave of Lusace, he has a right to ennobles. The principal of his hereditary officers, is the hereditary marshal of Lafer, who exercises that office in the acts of ceremony, and in the provincial diets.

*The ancient
inhabitants
of Saxony.*

The part of Germany anciently called Saxony extended from the river Eydor, which divides Denmark from Germany, through Westphalia, almost as far as the Lower Rhine; on the west it had the German ocean, from Hamburg to Friesland, and it extended eastward almost as far as Prussia; though Mecklenburg, and part of Pomerania, continued in the possession of the Vandals, or Sclavi^r. The inhabitants, called Saxons, are supposed by some to be descended of the Macedonians; but others, with more probability, affirm, that they are the ancient Catti, described by Tacitus; but whether these were the sons of Sacæ, a people of Scythia, cannot be determined by any authority of history. For the first three hundred years after Christ, there is no mention of the Saxons in Roman authors; but Danish historians make mention of the Saxons in their annals sixty years before the Christian æra, and relate the wars between the two nations, upon account of Jutland, or the Cimbric Chersonese. Eutropius and Orosius, the first of the Roman authors that mention the Saxons, relate, that Chaurasius had orders to protect the Belgic and Armoric coasts from the invasions of the Franks and Saxons, they being early remarkable for their expeditions upon the German or British sea.

A. D. 330.

The whole nation of the Saxons was governed by twelve chieftains, who were chosen annually; these elected one from among themselves, who was their chief judge, but had no farther authority. When they had wars, they chose a king, whose authority remained while the war continued, but at the conclusion of the peace he returned to his former station^r. The first of the Saxon kings mentioned in history is Harderick. Anserick, his successor, began to

^r Saxonia Krantii, lib. i. cap. 1.

^r Idem ibid, lib. ii. cap. 2.

drive the Thuringi out of the duchy of Bremen, and the adjacent country near the mouth of the Elbe. Not long after, the Saxons extended themselves toward the Oder, and likewise drove the Thuringi from the countries called Brunswick and Luneburgh. About the beginning of the fourth century they made themselves known by their incursions upon the Gallic coast, and by land extended their dominions very much towards the west, which afterwards produced continual wars between them and the Franks. Hengist, who is reckoned the fourteenth of their kings, about the middle of the fifth century, went into England with a large colony, and established a Saxon government in that kingdom. In the beginning of the sixth century, Theodoric, king of Aufrasia, called the Saxons to assist him against the Thuringi, and by their assistance the whole kingdom of Thuringia was conquered, and divided between the Saxons and the Franks, the river Unstrut being appointed the common boundary. It having been the fashion, for a century or two past, for the German nations to emigrate, part of the Suevi and Vandals having settled in Portugal, Spain, and Africa, the Franks in Gallia, the Saxons in Britain, the Burgundians in the province of that name, the Longobards, another German nation, invaded Pannonia, and from thence being invited into Italy, they were joined by twenty thousand Saxons, and took possession of Lombardy. But the Longobards settling themselves in the best part of Italy, and refusing to admit the Saxons to the same privileges with themselves, these people returned to their former habitations, which were now possessed by the Suevi and other nations. The Saxons, refusing any accommodation with these new inhabitants, a war ensued, which continued for some time, to the mutual destruction of both parties, so that at last they agreed to inhabit together^t. The Franks, who had settled in Gaul, after many disputes with the Saxons about the province of Thuringen, at last obliged them to continue quiet and pay a tribute; but the Vandals invading that part of Thuringia subject to the Franks, they offered to release the Saxons from their tribute, upon condition that they expelled the Vandals. After their expulsion there still continued disputes between the Franks and the Saxons about the province of Thuringen; and the Franks, having been converted to Christianity, began to hate the Saxons, who still continued idolaters, and were averse to Christianity, because it was the religion of the

^t Meibom. Rer. Ger. Scrip. vol. i. p. 222, & 223. Saxoni Krantzii, lib. i. cap. 29.

A. D. 753.

A. D. 772.

A. D. 785.

Charlemagne converts the Saxons to Christianity, and makes them subject to the empire.

A. D. 807.

Franks. Charles Martel, who was high-steward to the French king at this time, having defeated the Saracens, who invaded the southern provinces of France, resolved to oblige the Saxons to forsake their idolatry, and declared war against them, but they were not reduced but by his grandson Charlemagne^u. Pepin, the father of Charles the Great, having put his king, Childeric III. into a convent, was declared king of France himself by the pope, and marched with a great army into Saxony. Having defeated the Saxons, he obliged them to pay a yearly tribute of a hundred stone horses. Charlemagne succeeding his father, and being not only king of France but emperor of Germany, resolved, in a diet at Worms, to continue the war against the Saxons, till they embraced the Christian religion. Entering their province, he took the city Ehresburg, in Westphalia, destroying their chief idol Irminsula, and received many hostages; but going afterwards to Italy against the Longobards, the Saxons, under the command of Wittekind their king, again recovered Ehresburg, and defeated the Franks. Charlemagne returning from Italy, defeated the Saxons, and obliged Wittekind to fly into Denmark; but finding himself at last unable to resist the arms of Charlemagne, after losing seventeen battles, he accepted of the conditions offered him by the emperor, and was baptized with his whole family by Lullo, bishop of Mentz^x. The sovereignty of some provinces was left to him, and Charles the Great changed the black horse, which he wore in his escutcheon, into a white one, retained at this day by the house of Brunswick^y. The Saxons were not quite reduced by the submission of Wittekind, but continued the war several years after; Charles defeated them in many battles, and transporting many thousands of them to Flanders, Brabant, and other countries: they were at last subdued in 804, after a calamitous war of thirty years.

Wittekind, in his old age, made war against the Suevi, or Suabians, but was not able to bear the fatigues of the war. He was suffocated in his armour by the great heat, and buried at Angria, or Anglia, in Westphalia^z. His son Wigbert brought Hildesheim into the form of a city, and made a journey to Rome out of devotion. His great-grandson, Ludolph, enlarged the territories that had been left to his forefathers. Bruno II. eldest son of Ludolph^a, built the city of Brunswick; Daneward, the second son, built a castle in the city, which is called Danewerderode; and the

^u Idem, *ibid.* lib. i. cap. 33.^x Idem *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 13.^y Idem *ibid.* lib. ii. cap. 24.^z Idem *ibid.*^a Idem *ibid.*

lib. ii. cap. 31.

youngest son, Otho, founded the convent of St. Michael, at Luneburg. After the death of Lewis IV. Otho was elected emperor, but declined that dignity upon account of his great age. Otho's son, Henry, surnamed the Fowler, built the cities of Goslar and Quedlemburg, and on the death of Conrad, the princes of the empire elected him emperor; Conrad himself, upon his death-bed, desiring his brother to carry the imperial ensigns to Henry, the succession to the empire being more in the appointment of the deceased, at this time, than in the will of the electors. Henry, in order to secure the frontiers of the empire against foreign irruptions, appointed margraves, or governors of frontiers in Sleswick, Brandenburg, Misnia, and Luface; as Charlemagne had done in Austria and Moravia. He likewise founded several cities, and caused many others to be fortified, and ordered the youth to be exercised in arms, that they might be more expert in repelling invasions. He appointed his son Otho to succeed him, who, upon account of his many exploits, was surnamed the Great. He converted the Danes to Christianity, and left Saxony and the imperial dignity to his son Otho, surnamed Rufus, who was succeeded by his son Otho III. surnamed Mirabilia Mundi.

A. D. 912.

A. D. 919.

Henry the Fowler, emperor.

A. D. 936.

Otho I. surnamed the Great.

Otho the First, having great wars to maintain in Italy, which obliged him to be absent from Germany, sometimes for several years, gave that part of Saxony next to the Danes, and the Heneti or Sclavi, to Herman Billung, one of the ministers of his court, in order that he might repel the invasions of the barbarians. Being pleased with his conduct, he afterwards gave it to him as an hereditary fief, with the title of duke of Saxony^b; the emperor still reserving the greatest part of Saxony to his own family. The posterity of Herman enjoyed this dignity for one hundred and forty-six years; but the male issue became extinct in Magnus, great-grandson of Beruo, eldest son of the first duke, who succeeded his father in 988. Beruo dying in 1003, was succeeded by his son Bernhard, who left the duchy to his son Ordulphus, and upon his death his son Magnus succeeded him. Magnus, dying in 1106, left only two daughters, the eldest of whom was married to Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria, of the Guelphic race, in whose right he ought to have inherited the duchy of Saxony; but the emperor Henry V. favouring Lotharius, count of Supplinburg, who, in right of his wife, inherited an-

A. D. 960.

Herman Billung, first duke of Saxony.

A. D. 1106.

Lotharius count of Supplinburg made duke of Saxony.

^b Meibom. Rer. Ger. Script. vol. iii. p. 37.

other division of Saxony on the Weser, conferred likewise on him the duchy of Saxony on the Elbe. But this disposition kept the duchy of Saxony only during one generation out of the family of Magnus, his grandson, Henry, surnamed the Proud, son of Henry the Black, again succeeded to Saxony, in right of his wife Gertrand, only daughter and heiress of Lotharius, who was now become emperor.

A.D. 1137.

Henry the Proud, duke of Saxony and Bavaria.

Henry the Proud succeeded his father in 1127, and, as duke of Bavaria, possessed all the countries from Verona in Italy, northward to the Danube, and from Lower Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, westward, to the borders of Franconia; afterwards commanding the emperor's army in Italy, he conquered Tuscany, and several other provinces which the emperor Lotharius his father-in-law ceded to him; and soon after he resigned to him the duchy of Saxony on the Elbe, and Saxony on the Weser; which northern dominion Henry extended as far as Lubeck, by conquests from the Polabi, a race of the Venedi. Lotharius dying the year following, declared Henry his successor, and left him the imperial ensigns. But Conrad, who had disputed the empire with Lotharius for five years, being now elected emperor, obliged Henry to deliver up the regalia; but afterwards Henry, refusing to quit some of his possessions, at the emperor's desire he was put to the ban of the empire; Conrad giving Bavaria to his brother, the margrave of Austria, and Saxony to Albert the Bear, of the house of Anhalt. Notwithstanding this decree of the empire, many of Henry's subjects remained faithful to him, by whose assistance he still kept possession of great part of Saxony; but an accommodation being proposed at Quedlemburg, Henry was poisoned there in the fortieth year of his age.

A.D. 1139.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.

Henry the Lion succeeded his father when he was but ten years of age, and his uncle, Guelph VII. taking the administration of his states, concluded a peace with the emperor, by which Henry the Lion was reinstated in Saxony, and Albert the Bear was to possess the margraviate of Brandenburg; but Henry's mother marrying the margrave of Austria, the dukedom of Bavaria was confirmed to him. Henry, afterwards assisting the emperor Frederic Barbarossa in Italy, gained the favour of that emperor, by whose means he recovered Bavaria; but afterwards falling under the displeasure of Frederic, he was put to the ban of the empire, and deprived of all his states except Brunswick and Luneburg, which still continue to his descendants. That part of Sax-

• See the History of the Electore of Hanover.

ony, which came afterwards to be called the electorate of Saxony, was given to Bernhard of the house of Anhalt ^a.

Bernard III. was the youngest son of Albert the Bear, A.D. 1180.
count of Ascania, descended of a very ancient Saxon family,
and related to Wittekind, the last king of the Saxons. Bern-
nard dying in 1212, left, by his wife Jutha, daughter of
Canute, king of Denmark, Albert, who succeeded him in
the electorate, and Henry the Old, founder of the house of
Anhalt.

Albert I. died in 1260, and had by his wife Helena, *Albert I.*
daughter of the emperor Otho IV. Albert II. who suc-
ceeded him, and John the founder of the house of Saxe-
Lawenburg.

Albert II. died in 1311, having had by his wife Agnes, *Albert II.*
daughter of the emperor Rodolphus of Hapsburg, Rodol-
phus who succeeded him.

Rodolphus I. died in 1356, and left by his first wife *Rodol-*
Judith, daughter of Otho, margrave of Brandenburg, Ro-
dolphus his successor; and by his second marriage with
Cunegunda of Poland, he left Wencefflaus.

Rodolphus II. enjoyed the electorate twenty-three years, *Rodol-*
and leaving no male children, his brother Wencefflaus suc-
ceeded him. *phus II.*

Wencefflaus died in 1383, leaving by his wife Cecilia, *Wence-*
daughter of Francis, marquis of Carara, Rodolphus and
Albert. *fflaus.*

Rodolphus III. enjoyed the electorate thirty-five years, *Rodol-*
and dying without children, his brother Albert succeeded
him, and died in 1422, without leaving any posterity. *phus III.*
Albert III.

After the death of Albert III. the succession was disputed
by the dukes of Saxe-Lawenburg, the counts Palatine, and
the margraves of Brandenburg; but the emperor Sigismund
deprived the dukes of Saxe-Lawenburg of their right, pre-
ferable to the claim of the others, because they had not de-
manded the investiture soon enough, and gave the investiture
of the electorate to Frederic the Warrior, landgravé of Thu-
ringen and margrave of Misnia.

Frederic the Warlike, chief of the modern electors of A.D. 1422.
Saxony, is descended, according to some, from Wittekind
the Great; but we shall only mention that Conrad, count
of Wethin, obtained of the emperor Lotharius II. Misnia
and Luface, which he left at his death, in 1156, to his sons;
namely, Misnia to Otho his eldest, and Luface to Dieteric
the youngest. Otho had a son named Dieteric, who bought

*Frederic the
Warlike.*

^a Meibom. Rer. Ger. Script. vol. iii. p. 343. See also the History
of the Electorate of Hanover.

Lusace from the emperor Otho IV. and married Judith, the daughter of Herman, landgrave of Hesse and Thuringen. Her brother Henry being killed at the siege of Ulm, and leaving no issue, the sons of Judith disputed the succession with the posterity of Sophia, who was daughter of Lewis, brother to the deceased Henry, and had married the duke of Brabant. An accommodation being agreed to, Henry, son of Sophia, had the landgraviate of Hesse, and Thuringen was ceded to Henry, margrave of Misnia, surnamed the Illustrious, son of Dieteric and Judith, who re-united in his person the landgraviate of Thuringen and the margraviate of Misnia and Lusace. His son Albert married Margaret, daughter of the emperor Frederic II. who brought him the county of Altemberg, and the lordship of Plaisi. He had a son Frederic, who lived in 1308, who likewise had a son named Frederic the Grave, who was elected king of the Romans, but yielded his rights to Charles IV. He acquired the county of Weimar, and his son Frederic the Valiant had by his wife the principality of Coburgh. This last was father of Frederic the Warlike, first elector of Saxony, of the family of the margraves of Misnia. Frederic the elector left by his wife Catharine, daughter of Henry, duke of Brunswick, Frederic, who succeeded him, and William, who left issue, besides two daughters who were married to the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Brandenburg.

A.D. 1428.

*Frederic III.
the Pacific.*

Frederic, surnamed the Pacific, married Margaret, daughter of Ernest, duke of Austria, and sister to the emperor Frederic III. by whom he had two sons, who survived him, namely, Ernest, the ancestor of the Ernestine branch, and Albert the Courageous, founder of the Albertine branch. He had likewise four daughters, two of whom were abbesses, and the other two married to Lewis the Rich, duke of Bavaria, and Albert, margrave of Brandenburg.

A.D. 1464.

Ernest.

Ernest married Elizabeth, daughter of Albert III. duke of Bavaria, by whom he had Frederic his successor; Albert, or according to some Ernest, archbishop of Mentz; Ernest, or Albert, archbishop of Magdebourg; John, surnamed the Constant; Christina, married to the king of Denmark; and Margaret, married to Henry, duke of Brunswick.

A.D. 1486.

*Frederic
the Wise.*

Frederic the Wise would never marry. The emperor Maximilian I. chose him for president of his council, and vicar-general of the empire. After the death of that emperor, the imperial crown was offered to him, but he refused it, and gave his vote for Charles V. whom he caused to be elected on certain conditions, in order to secure the liberty of Germany. From thence arises that capitulation which

which all the emperors have since been obliged to swear to before their election. This wise prince was one of the first protectors of Luther, and was succeeded by his brother John.

John, surnamed the Constant, was the fourth son of Ernest, and was equally zealous as his brother for the establishment of Lutheranism. This prince married first, Sophia, daughter of Magnus, duke of Mecklenburg, by whom he had John Frederic, who succeeded him. By his second wife Margaret, daughter of Woldemar, prince of Anhalt, he had John Ernest, who died without issue; Mary, married to Philip, duke of Pomerania; and Margaret, who died at the age of nineteen. A.D. 1525.
John the Constant.

John Frederic, surnamed the Magnanimous, was one of the principal supports of the protestant religion, and chief of the Smalkaldic league, which brought upon him the hatred of the emperor Charles V. which was still increased by his opposition to the election of Ferdinand, as king of the Romans. He maintained great wars against this emperor; but having lost the battle of Mulberg, where he was made prisoner, he was deprived by that emperor of his electorate, and the greatest part of his states, which were given to his cousin Maurice, son of Albert the Courageous. He consented to his deprivation before his death, contenting himself with the counties of Altemburgh, Sacksenburg, Hisenberg, &c. with the title of elector, till his death. His sons also subscribed this resignation, and made a family pact of mutual succession with their cousins at Naumburg. A.D. 1532.
John Frederic.

Maurice, to whom the emperor Ferdinand gave the electorate after the battle of Mulberg, was cousin-german to the last elector, Albert the younger son of Frederic the Pacific being his grandfather. Albert was governor of Friseland, and married Zedena, daughter of George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, by whom he had, among other children, Henry the Pious, who, upon his return from the Holy Land, and Compostella in Galicia, introduced Lutheranism into his country. He married Catharine, daughter of Magnus, duke of Mecklenburg, by whom he had two sons, Maurice and Augustus, and three daughters. Maurice, the elector, married Agnes, daughter of Philip, landgrave of Hesse, but leaving no male issue, his brother succeeded him. A.D. 1547.
Maurice.

Augustus, surnamed the Pious, married first, Anne, daughter of Christian III. king of Denmark, by whom he had eight sons, who all died infants, except the sixth, Christian, who succeeded him; he had besides six daughters. A.D. 1553.
Augustus the Pious.

ters. His second wife was Agnes Hedwige, daughter of Joachim Erne, prince of Anhalt.

Christian I. Christian I. embraced Calvinism, and introduced that profession into Saxony. He married Sophia, daughter of John George, elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had Christian II. who succeeded him; John George, who continued the family; Augustus, who died without posterity; Sophia, married to the duke of Pomerania; Dorothy, abbess of Quedlemburgh, and two other daughters that died infants.

A.D. 1591. Christian II. being a minor when his father died, was under the guardianship of the duke of Weimar, grandson of John Frederic, the last elector of the Ernestine line, who administered the government for ten years, and again introduced Lutheranism into Saxony; Christian married Hedwige, daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, but leaving no children, his brother John George succeeded him.

A.D. 1611. John George I. married first Sibylla, daughter of Frederic, duke of Wirtemberg, who died without children. His second wife was Margaret Sibylla, daughter of Albert Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, and duke of Prussia, by whom he had John George, who succeeded him; Augustus, administrator of Magdeburg; Christian, administrator of Merseburg; Maurice, administrator of Naumburg; besides three other sons who died infants, and three daughters, namely, Sophia Eleonora, married to George II. landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt; Mary Elizabeth, married to Frederic, duke of Holstein Gottorp; and Magdalene Sibylla, married first, Christian I. prince of Denmark, and next to Frederic William II. duke of Saxe Altemberg.

A.D. 1656. John George II. married Magdalene Sibylla, daughter of Christian, margrave of Brandenburg Culmbach, by whom he had George his successor, and Ertmuth Sophia, married to Christian Ernest, margrave of Brandenburg Anspach.

A.D. 1680. John George III. was declared grand-huntsman of the empire by the emperor Leopold, in 1662. He signalized himself on many occasions, during the different wars of the empire against the French and Turks, especially at the raising of the siege of Vienna. He married Anne Sophia, daughter to Frederic III. king of Denmark, by whom he had John George, and Frederic Augustus, who both succeeded him in their turns.

A.D. 1661. John George IV. enjoyed the electorate only three years. He signalized himself in the war upon the Rhine, and in Hungary against the Turks; and married Eleonora Ertmuth Louisa, widow of John Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg Anspach,

Anspach, and daughter of John George, duke of Saxe-Eisenach ; but he died of the small-pox at Dresden, without leaving any issue.

Frederic Augustus succeeded to the electorate upon the death of his brother John George. He attached himself greatly to the interests of the house of Austria, and in his youth he continued a long time at the court of Vienna, where he became a particular friend of Joseph, king of the Romans, afterwards emperor. He signalized himself in the wars in Hungary against the Turks, and afterwards commanded the imperial army upon the Rhine. He was elected king of Poland by the credit and solicitations of the house of Austria, and having abjured Lutheranism, and made profession of the catholic religion, he was crowned at Cracovia by the bishop of Cujavia. Having entered into an alliance with the king of Denmark, and czar of Muscovy, against Charles XII. king of Sweden, that prince invaded Poland and Saxony, and obliged him to renounce the crown of Poland in favour of Stanislaus. But the king of Sweden being afterwards entirely defeated at Pultowa by the Muscovites, Augustus again entered Poland, notwithstanding his renunciation, and by the assistance of the Saxons, recovered the kingdom. His reign was afterwards disturbed by intestine troubles, which were at last accommodated by the mediation of the czar of Muscovy. By his queen Christina Everhardina, of Brandenburg Bareith, who died in the protestant religion in which she was educated, he had only one son named Frederic Augustus, who succeeded him.

A.D. 1694.

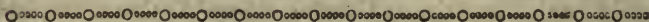
*Frederic
Augustus I.*

Frederic Augustus made profession of the catholic religion at Bologna, in Italy, in 1712 ; but he kept this change a secret till the year 1717, when being at Vienna, at the emperor's court, he declared publicly that he was a catholic, and assisted at the mass celebrated by the pope's nuncio. The emperor made him a knight of the Golden Fleece, and the king his father having named him president of his privy-council, and committed to him the general direction of all affairs within and without the kingdom, without any exception, he took his seat in that quality in the privy-council at Varsovia in 1726, and began from that time to give audience to foreign ministers and to those of the court. He succeeded to the electoral dignity, and the hereditary possession of his house by the death of his father, and to the crown of Poland, after an interregnum of two years. He married at Vienna, Mary Josepha Benedicta Antoinetta Theresa Xavier Philippina, archduchess of Austria, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, by whom
he

A.D. 1733.

*Frederic
Augustus II.*

he had Frederic Christian Gregory George Francis Leopold, born at Dresden, the 5th of September, 1722. Mary Amelia Christina Frances Xavier Flora Walpurga, born at Dresden the 24th of November, 1724. Mary-Margaret Frances Xavier, born at Dresden, the 12th of September, 1727. Anne Mary Angelica Xavier, born at Dresden, the 29th of August, 1728. Augustus Albert Frances Xavier Bennet, born at Dresden, the 25th of August, 1730; and Mary Josepha Carolina Eleonora Francis Xavier, born at Dresden, on the 4th of November, 1731.



C H A P. LXXXVIII.

History of the Electorate of Bavaria.

*The ancient
extent of
the duchy.*

THIS duchy was formerly a kingdom, which extended from the mountains of Franconia, to the frontiers of Hungary and the Adriatic Gulf. It comprehended the country of Tirol, Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, Austria, and other states, which, since that time, have fallen to different princes; so that what at present is called Bavaria, is only composed of the dominions comprehended under the modern division of Upper and Lower Bavaria. Although these two provinces have sometimes been augmented, and sometimes diminished, by intestine wars; however, they consist of twelve counties, which formerly sufficed to make a duchy, according to the laws of Franconia. This country is watered by five navigable rivers, besides several smaller ones, and sixteen lakes. It contains thirty-five good cities, of which Munich is the capital, ninety-four towns, seven hundred and twenty castles, four thousand seven hundred villages, eight great abbeys, seventy-five cloisters or monasteries, besides those of the Mendicants. It is bounded towards the east by Bohemia and Austria, towards the west by Suabia, by Franconia towards the north, and by Tirol towards the south. But the duke of Bavaria is not absolute master of all this country, for within its bounds are situated many free cities, among which is Ratisbon, and several lordships both ecclesiastical and secular.

Munich, the ordinary residence of the dukes of Bavaria, is a pretty large and populous city. Henry the Lion, of the house of Brunswick, caused it to be built on the ruins of the monastery of Schefflaer, from whence it was called Munich.

Munich. Others refer its origin to duke Otho, who called it Munchen, from the head of a monk that was found in the foundations. It is near a very fine salt spring, which, at a small expence, is converted into fine white salt. The emperor Louis of Bavaria gave it very large privileges, and John, duke of Bavaria, made it the capital of his dominions: The cities in Bavaria, most remarkable for their fortifications, are chiefly Ingolstadt, Donawert, Landsberg, Freiburg, Straubingen, Wilshaufen, Wasserburg, Eling, Rain, the castle of Burkhausen, Brannau, Scherding, &c.

Bavaria is divided into four great bailliages, which are called governments; namely, Munich, Landshut, Straubing, and Burkhausen; where justice is administered to the people which depend upon each bailliage; the appeals from these courts are carried before the sovereign council of the duke. As to the Upper Palatinate, which, by the last treaties of Westphalia, has been united to Bavaria, it is a duchy which comprehends several counties, cities, towns, and villages; the chief city is Amberg, which is the seat of the courts of justice for the whole province, and is situated upon the river Vils. Below Amberg, upon the same river, is Waldeg, a very strong castle, and the city of Rotemburg, with a citadel strongly fortified. On the other side of this province is Chamb, the chief city of the county of the same name, belonging likewise to the duke of Bavaria.

Besides the duchy of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, the duke possesses the landgraviate of Leichtenberg, which fell to him by the death of Maximilian Adam, last landgrave of that name, in consequence of family pacts, made betwixt the house of Bavaria and that of Leichtenburg, for their mutual succession. He possesses likewise the county of Kaag, since the year 1567, when that county fell to him by the death of Ladislaus, the last count of that name. There is likewise family pacts of mutual succession established betwixt the house of Bavaria, and the palatine of the Rhine. The inhabitants in this country are strong and laborious, and exercise themselves in shooting with rifled muskets at a mark, or elevated pole, in order to render themselves more expert at arms in time of war.

A.D. 1566.

All historians agree, that this house is one of the most ancient of Germany. The counts of Scheyren, whose castle is at present a cloister, gave them the name. At that place are shewn the tombs of more than twenty-six lords of Scheyren. The emperor, Otho I. established as counts palatine of Bavaria, and landgraves of Scheyren, Arnolph and Herman, sons of Arnolph, brother of the duke Berch-

told of Carinthia, marquis of the country upon the Ens. The emperor Otho I. after the death of Berchtold, instead of giving Bavaria to Henry his son, gave it to duke Henry his brother, who had married Judith, sister of Arnolph and Herman. This duke Henry of Bavaria, had by his marriage Henry Hezillon, who was succeeded by his son Henry, afterwards chosen emperor, under the name of Henry II. This emperor having no children by Saint Cunigond, his wife, Bavaria passed again to the family of Franconia, and afterwards to that of Suabia, under Henry IV. who possessed it till the year 1071, when this last emperor gave that country to count Wolf or Guelph, of Ravensburg, in Suabia. To this Guelph, who died in the island of Cyprus, succeeded his son Guelph II. and to him his brother the duke Henry IX. who was succeeded by his son Henry the Proud, who had married the only daughter of the emperor Lotharius, and who, after the death of his father-in-law, became also duke of Saxony. But refusing to deliver up the imperial ornaments of his father-in-law, to the emperor Conrad III. duke of Suabia, or to acknowledge him for emperor, he was put to the ban of the empire, and lost his states. After whose death, the emperor Conrad made his brother Leopold marquis of Austria, and duke of Bavaria, who dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Henry XI. whom the emperor Frederic I. made duke of Austria, joining together the two countries above and below the Ens, and declaring them free and independent of the jurisdiction of Bavaria. The same emperor Frederic I. gave Bavaria, thus dismembered, with Saxony, to Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud. But Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria and Saxony, afterwards losing the favour of the same emperor, was put to the ban of the empire, and lost all his possessions, except Brunswic and Lunenburg, which still remain to his descendants. The duchy of Bavaria was given by the emperor to Otho the landgrave of Wittelsbach, count palatine of the house of Bavaria, so that Bavaria returned again to its ancient princes and hereditary lords. It is from the time of this Otho that the castle of Scheyren was changed into a monastery, where his body is interred.

A.D. 1180.

Otho I.

Louis I.

Otho the

Illustrious.

Otho I. called the Grand, was succeeded by his son Louis I. who destroyed Wittelsbach, because his cousin, who resided there, had killed the emperor Philip. His son Otho the Illustrious received the investiture of the palatinate of the Rhine from the emperor Frederic II. on account of his marriage with Agnes, grand-daughter of Henry the Lion. Otho the Illustrious died in 1245, and divided his posses-

sions

sons between his two sons Louis II. and Henry. Louis succeeded to the palatinate of the Rhine and the electorate, and Henry to the duchy of Bavaria; but his issue failing in the third generation, Bavaria returned to the issue of the eldest son. Louis II. called the Severe, because he put his wife to death upon a false suspicion of adultery, had by his second wife, the daughter of the emperor Rodolphus I. two sons, Rodolphus and Louis. These two sons are the chiefs of two great families, which remain to this day in Germany. From Rodolphus the eldest are descended the counts palatine of the Rhine, and from Louis the youngest son, who became emperor, descend the present electors of Bavaria; for Louis, surviving all the posterity of his uncle Henry, took possession of Bavaria, notwithstanding the pretensions of his eldest brother Rodolphus. Louis becoming emperor, his brother Rodolphus declared against him, but was obliged to fly to England, where he died; nevertheless Louis gave the Upper Palatinate and Ambora, with their dependencies, to Adolphus, the son of Rodolphus, having made an agreement with him at Pavia, by which the electoral dignity was to be enjoyed alternately by both houses; but soon after, the emperor Charles IV. having published the golden bull, which orders the eldest sons of the electors to succeed to their fathers, that agreement never took effect, and the counts Palatine have ever since possessed the electoral dignity. Louis was succeeded by his second son, Stephen of Landshut, called the Old, who married first, Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic of Arragon, king of Sicily, by whom he had no children: his second wife was Margaret, daughter of John, burgrave of Nuremberg, by whom he had, Stephen II. Frederic, of whom the branch of the dukes of Bavaria Landshut are descended; John, the ancestor of the dukes of Bavaria Munich; and Elizabeth, married to Otho the Hardy, duke of Austria.

Louis II.

*Louis III.
duke of
Bavaria,
afterwards
emperor.*

A.D. 1347.

Stephen.

John, duke of Bavaria, called the Pacific, third son of Stephen, had Munich for his share of his father's possessions, and married Catherine, daughter of Muinhard II. count of Goritia, prince of Carinthia, by whom he had Ernest; Sophia married to the emperor Wenceslaus; William duke of Bavaria, called the Defender of the council of Basil.

*John the
Pacific.*

Ernest, eldest son of John, had a great share in the favour of the emperor Sigismund, whom he assisted in his war against the Hussites. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Barnaby, prince of Milan, by whom he had Albert and Beatrice.

A.D. 1397.

Ernest.

Albert III. Albert III. called the Pious, duke of Bavaria Munich, succeeded his father in 1438. He is called the third of that name, although in his branch there was not another prince Albert before him, but because there were two of that name in the other branches, who had likewise the title of dukes of Bavaria. He was elected king of Bohemia, but refused that crown. By his second wife Anne, daughter of Eric duke of Brunswick Grubenhagen, he had John, Sigismund, Albert, and other children. John and Sigismund governed their states together for several years, but both dying without issue, their brother Albert succeeded to the whole of Bavaria.

Albert IV. Albert IV. called the Wise, succeeding his brothers in 1501, entered into a war for the succession of the branches of Ingolstadt and Landshut, which George the Rich, his cousin, had left to Robert the Virtuous, his son-in-law. Being assisted by the emperor Frederic III. whose daughter he had married, and Robert being dead, an agreement was made with his sons, to whom was yielded Neuburgh upon the Danube. Albert married Cunigunda of Austria, by whom he had William IV. Lewis, Ernest, Sidonia, Sybilla, Sabina, and Susanna.

A.D. 1508. William IV. called the Constant, succeeded his father, and was one of the chiefs of the catholic league made at Nuremberg against the Lutherans. He married Mary Jacqueline, daughter of Philip, marquis of Baden, by whom he had Theodon, who died young; Albert William, who likewise died when a child; and Mathilda, who married the marquis of Baden.

Albert V. the Magnanimous. Albert V. called the Magnanimous, duke of Bavaria, &c. was greatly attached to the house of Austria, and introduced into his family the privilege of birthright; in consequence of which his eldest son succeeded him, without making any division of his states with his brothers, as had been done formerly. He married Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I. by whom he had Charles, who died an infant; William; Ferdinand, from whom the counts of Wirtemberg are descended; Frederic, who died an infant; Ernest, who became archbishop and elector of Cologne; Mary Maximilian, who died unmarried; and Mary, who married Charles archduke of Austria.

William V. William V. called the Young, duke of Bavaria, &c. knight of the Golden Fleece, has given the name of Willielmine to the branch of Bavaria. He married Reny, daughter of Francis duke of Lorraine, by whom he had, besides other children, Maximilian Philip, afterwards bishop of Ratisbon, and cardinal; Ferdinand, who succeed his uncle

in

in the archbishoprick of Cologne, &c. without being a priest; Albert, founder of the branch of Leuchtenberg. William left the government of his states to his son Maximilian, and retired into the solitude of the Chartreuse, near Ratibon, where he lived thirty years, and died in 1626, aged seventy-six years.

Maximiliani I. called the Solomon, born in 1573, supported the interests of the house of Austria in Germany, as an acknowledgment of which service, the emperor bestowed upon him, in 1623, the electorate of the Upper Palatinate, of which Frederic the Constant, elected king of Bohemia, had been deprived. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles III. duke of Lorraine, who died without issue; his second wife was Mary Anne, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand II. by whom he had two sons, Ferdinand Mary his eldest, and Maximilian Philip, who died in 1705, aged sixty-seven, without any children.

Maximilian the first elector.

Ferdinand Mary Francis Ignatius Wolfgang succeeded his father in all his states. He was a prince of great prudence and wisdom, who truly understood his own interests, and was extremely beloved by his subjects, and maintained a perfect neutrality during the wars between Germany and France. He died suddenly in his forty-fourth year, soon after the conclusion of the peace at Nimeguen, leaving by his wife Henrietta Adelaide, daughter of the duke of Savoy, among other children, Maximilian-Mary, and Mary Anne Victoire, married to the dauphin of France, only son of Lewis XIV.

A.D. 1651.

Ferdinand Mary.

Maximilian Mary Emanuel, &c. II. was brought up under the care of his uncle; when he became master of his own actions, he gave himself up wholly to the service of the emperor Leopold, and greatly distinguished himself in Hungary, where he commanded the emperor's army for some campaigns, and expended each year a million of crowns in supporting his troops. In 1689, he was present at the siege of Mentz; the year following he commanded the imperial army on the Rhine, and was afterwards made governor of the Spanish Netherlands by the king of Spain, which government he enjoyed during that king's life. But in the war of the succession of Spain, refusing to engage with the emperor Leopold, he and his brother, the elector of Cologne, were put to the ban of the empire, and deprived of their states, by the sole authority of the emperor, in which they were again re-established by the peace of Baden. He died in 1726, leaving by his second wife Theresa Cunegund, daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, Charles Albert his successor;

A.D. 1679.

Maximilian II.

Philip-Maurice, &c. elected bishop of Paderborn, but died at Rome on the day of his election; Ferdinand Mary, who married Leopoldine Elizabeth, daughter of the count palatine of the Rhine, by whom he had several children. This elector by his first wife Mary-Ann, daughter of Leopold, had three sons, who all died in their childhood.



C H A P. LXXXIX.

The History of the Palatine Electorate.

*The origin
of the name
of this
principa-
lity.*

THE country that was given to the elector Palatine, by the execution of the treaties of Westphalia, is called the Lower Palatinate. It derives its name from the office of count Palatine, which the emperor conferred upon those who in his name administered justice in the empire. There were two, one towards the Rhine, under whose jurisdiction was Franconia and the neighbouring provinces; the other in Saxony, and the other countries subject to the Saxon law. Upon these two offices of count palatine of the Rhine, and count palatine of Saxony, are founded the two vicariates of the empire, which the elector of Bavaria, or the elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, exercise each in their provinces during an interregnum of the empire by the death of the emperor or otherwise.

*The terri-
tories of
the electo-
rate.*

When the counts palatine of the Rhine began to execute their office, they neither possessed on that river, lands, cities, nor castles; but having by degrees made great acquisitions by marriages, purchases, agreements, imperial donations, or otherwise, they have at length formed a very considerable principality. So that besides several fiefs, situated between Coblenz and Andernach, and in the country of Juliers, which hold of him, and besides the duchies of Neuburgh, Sultzbach, Deuxponts, and others, which are dependent upon them, the elector Palatine possesses other duchies and counties, and several bailliages of a considerable revenue, such as Lindeselt, Stronberg, Landech, Altenstadt, Morbach, Newstadt upon the Hurt, Federsheim, Sintzheim, Germerstheim, Atzheim, Oppenheim, and others.

With regard to the cities, Heidelberg, which is the chief, is famous for its ancient academy, and for its castle, where the princes of the branch of Simmeren ordinarily resided.

resided. There was formerly in the castle a library of great repute, which count Tilly, after the taking of Heidelberg, caused to be removed, in order to send it to the pope, and it is at present one of the greatest ornaments of the Vatican. Mannheim is a city newly built, and fortified at the confluence of the Neckar and the Rhine. Caub is a little city, with its castle of Gudenfelts, upon the Rhine, opposite to which is a castle named Pfaltz, in the middle of the Rhine, from whence some pretend, without foundation, that the title of Pfaltzgrave, or count Palatine, is derived. The city Delsburgh has a fine castle upon the Neckar. As to the city Franckendal, which was formerly the best fortified of all the Lower Palatinate, the elector Frederic III. in the year 1576, appointed it as a place of retreat to the families of the reformed religion, which were driven from the Spanish Netherlands. His successors giving the same privilege to the other cities of their principality, and the rigour of the edicts still augmenting against the reformed in the Low Countries, the cities of the electorate became very populous, and consequently very rich.

The electors Palatine and their subjects at length entirely separating from the Roman church, forgot not to dispose of the possessions of the ecclesiastics to their own advantage; and exercising their privilege of conducting people and merchandize, which pass or repass through their territories, they extended this right even into the neighbouring archbishopricks and countries, in virtue of an imperial privilege, and have likewise asserted their right of wildfang or propriety over strangers or strollers that happen to possess or inhabit any houses within the extent of these neighbouring countries, claiming them as their proper subjects. By these means and other impositions, the elector Palatine has raised his revenue very considerably. As his country is exposed on the other side of the Rhine, to the discretion of the imperial garrison in Philippsburgh, and on this side the Rhine, to the garrisons of French troops that are in the neighbouring places, he has no small difficulty to manage his interests with these two great powers.

The people of the Palatinate are the most civilized and polite of any in Germany; they are open and complaisant to strangers: as to their religion, they became Lutherans under the government of Frederic II. Frederic III. afterwards introduced Calvinism; and the duke of Neuburgh, who was a Roman Catholic, succeeding to the electorate, those of that persuasion were again countenanced, and the Protestants deprived of many privileges they enjoyed under former electors, which has occasioned great numbers of

them to quit the country, some retiring into Holland, and others transporting themselves to the British colonies in America.

The elector Palatine is at this day only the eighth in the electoral college, although the golden bull assigns him the fifth rank. This alteration was made by the peace of Westphalia. He has a right to carry the emperor's crown at his coronation; and he has for deputy-officer, the count of Zindzendorff. He has the title of judge of the emperor, but for a long time past he has not exercised that right. He has likewise lost the right of convoking the electors to the election. There is a difference between him and the elector of Bavaria upon account of the vicariate of the empire in the countries of the Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia. According to an ancient custom, he has a right to create nobles. He enjoys the right of wildfang, by which the lord is master of the body of all those who are not born in lawful marriage. He appropriates to himself all new islands that are formed in the Rhine. He is director of the circle of the Lower Rhine; and upon account of his principality of Simmeren, he is director of the circle of the Upper Rhine, together with the bishop of Worms; and of the circle of Westphalia, together with the king of Prussia, upon account of the duchy of Juliers. He has likewise three voices in the college of princes for the principalities of Lautern, Simmeren, and Neuburgh.

The antiquity of this family is the same with that of Bavaria, it being the elder branch, and descended of Rodolphus, eldest son of Louis the Old, or the Severe, the second elector Palatine of the house of Wittelsbach. Rodolphus married Mathilda, daughter of the emperor Adolphus, and did his utmost to accommodate the difference which that prince had with his competitor Albert of Austria; but not succeeding, he followed the party of his father-in-law, who was killed at the battle of Spires in 1298. Rodolphus afterwards giving his vote for the emperor Frederic III. while the other electors had chosen his brother Louis for emperor, he thereby exposed himself to the resentment of his brother, and not believing himself safe, he retired into England, where he died, leaving by his wife three sons, who succeeded him, and one daughter. Adolphus, his eldest son, succeeded him, and was called the Simple, because he ceded the Lower Bavaria to the emperor Louis his uncle, and resigned the electorate to his brothers. Rodolphus II. succeeded him, but died in his forty-fifth year, leaving only one daughter, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, who founded the university of Heidelberg; but he dying without

*Louis the
Severe son
of Otto the
Illustrious.*

*Rodolphus
I.*

A. D. 1313.

Adolphus.

*Rodolphus
II.*

A. D. 1346.

Robert I.

without issue, the electorate returned again to the posterity of Adolphus. Robert II. only son of Adolphus, succeeded his uncle Robert, and joined to the electorate the duchy of Deuxponts, Hornbach, and other dominions; and left by his wife Beatrice, daughter of the king of Arragon and Sicily, one son and two daughters. Robert III. surnamed the Short, and the Debonaire, succeeded his father, and was elected emperor in 1400. Louis III. surnamed the Bearded, the Debonaire, and the Blind succeeded his father, and was vicar of the empire during his absence. He afterwards appeared at the council of Constance, of which he was declared protector during the absence of the emperor Sigismund, who charged him to guard pope John XXII. after he had been deposed by that council. He likewise powerfully assisted the Teutonic knights, and sent troops to Anthony of Lorraine, prince of Vaudemont; afterwards he made a voyage to the Holy Land, and became blind towards the end of his days. He was succeeded by his eldest son Louis, called the Pious, and the Merciful, who, during his youth, was under the guardianship of Otho, his uncle. He had two wives, but had only one son by his second marriage, born after his death, during whose minority he was succeeded in the electorate by his brother Frederic the Victorious, who enjoyed that dignity upon the condition of his remaining a bachelor; but he marrying, his nephew and pupil succeeded him. Philip I. called the Ingenious, and the Posthumous, succeeded his uncle, and was engaged in a cruel war against Albert IV. duke of Bavaria, for the succession of George the Rich, duke of Lower Bavaria, but he concluded a peace, and died in 1508, leaving by his wife Margaret, daughter of Louis, duke of Lower Bavaria, Louis, who died without issue, Philip, bishop of Frisingen and Naumburgh; Robert, Frederic, and other children. Louis V. his eldest son, enjoyed the electorate thirty-six years, but leaving no issue, his brother Frederic succeeded him. His brother Robert the Virtuous had a great dispute for the succession of his father-in-law George the Rich, of Bavaria Landshut, who had appointed him his heir, and having refused the advantageous offers of Maximilian I. who interested himself for Albert II. his son-in-law, his father Philip supporting his interests, and assisted by the Bohemians, opposed the emperor, and was put to the ban of the empire. Robert had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the emperor, with his wife and eldest son, who poisoned them, and the following

Robert II.

Robert III.

Louis III.

A.D. 1438.

Louis IV.

Frederic V.

Philip I.

Louis V.

- A.D. 1504. lowing year made an accommodation with the survivors.
 Robert, besides the son that died with him, had Otho Henry, who succeeded his uncle, and Philip the Warrior, who died without alliance.
- A.D. 1508. Frederic II. called the Wise, succeeded his eldest brother Louis, to the prejudice of the children of his elder brother Robert. He embraced Lutheranism, which he established in his states, and engaged in the Protestant league of Smalcald; but was obliged to ask pardon of the emperor, and died without children, after having enjoyed the electorate forty-eight years.
- A.D. 1556. Otho Henry. Henry, called the Magnanimous, son of Robert, succeeded his uncle Frederic, and was re-established by the emperor Maximilian I. in that part of Bavaria which the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the same branch, possess at this day. He embraced Lutheranism, which his uncle Frederic had introduced into his states; and dying without children, the electorate, which had continued hitherto in the direct line from Otho the Illustrious, fell to Frederic of the branch of Simmeren, cousin to Otho Henry in the fourth degree.
- A.D. 1559. Frederic III. was descended of Robert the emperor, and eighth elector, by his fourth son Stephen, who inherited from his father the lands of Simmeren and Deuxponts. Stephen left Frederic and several other children. Frederic had three sons and three daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was grandfather to Frederic III. elector. Frederic III. called the Pious, duke of Bavaria, duke of Simmeren, count palatine of the Rhine, and elector, was eldest son of John II. duke of Simmeren. Having succeeded his cousin Otho Henry in the electorate, he continued for some time to encourage Lutheranism, but afterwards he became a zealous follower of Calvin. He, for two years, sent powerful assistance to the Hugonots of France, who were then in arms in defence of their religion, and was succeeded by his second son Louis. Louis, surnamed the Easy, having succeeded his father, expelled the Calvinists from his states, and obliged his subjects to profess Lutheranism. He loved men of learning, and was always fond of peace. He had several sons, but none survived him but Frederic. Frederic IV. called the Sincere, was, during his minority, under the guardianship of John Casimir, his uncle, who received the order of the Garter from Elizabeth queen of England. When he came of age, he again established Calvinism, which he himself embraced, and died of the gout, leaving, by Charlotte of Bourbon Montpelier, his third wife, several sons; of whom Frederic the eldest succeeded him. Frederic V. called the Patient, and the Constant,

Constant, was elected king of Bohemia in 1619, put to the ban of the empire two years after, and deprived of his states and the electorate, which were given to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. After the loss of the battle of Weissemburg, his affairs being ruined, he was obliged to fly into Holland with his family, where he lived several years, and died afterwards at Mentz, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, without recovering his electorate. He left by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England, seven children, namely, Charles Louis, Robert, duke of Cumberland, master of the horse, and vice-admiral of England, &c. Maurice, who was lost at sea in a voyage to America; Edward, who died a catholic at Paris; Gustavus Adolphus; Elizabeth, a very learned princess, who died a protestant abbess of Herworden, in Westphalia; Louisa Hollandina, who became a Roman catholic, and died in France, abbess of Maubuisson; Henrietta Mary, married to Sigismund Ragotski, duke of Montgatz; Sophia, married to Ernest Augustus, duke of Hanover, afterwards elector. It was this princess which the parliament of England declared first in succession to the crown of England, after the death of king William, the princess of Denmark and their issue, in preference to five elder branches that were Roman catholics.

Charles Louis, eldest surviving son of Frederic, was re-established in the Lower Palatinate, and created the eighth elector at the treaty of Westphalia, under the title of arch-treasurer of the empire. He married Charlotta, daughter of William V. landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by whom he had Charles, who succeeded him, and Elizabeth Charlotta, who became a catholic, and married Phillip, duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. by whom she had issue.

A.D. 1648.

Charles
Louis.

Charles was born the 31st of March, 1651, married Willelmina Ernestina, daughter of Frederic III. king of Denmark, and died in 1683, without children. By his death, the electorate passed to the branch of Neuburgh, descended still of the Rodolphus line, from Robert III. the emperor, by his second son Stephen, who was likewise the ancestor of the last branch which had possessed the electorate.

A.D. 1680.

Charles II.

Stephen, fourth son of Robert the emperor, had six sons, the two eldest of whom succeeded to his states, and continued the family in two distinct branches; the four youngest became ecclesiastics. Frederic, his eldest son, inherited Simmeren and Veldents; and Louis, his second, inherited Deuxponts, which he left to his third son Alexander, called the Lame. Alexander was succeeded by his eldest

niola, the counties of Hapsburg, Tirol, Kyburg, and Goritia, the Brisgaw, other principalities.

Austria is one of the principal provinces of the empire towards the east, and it is from this situation that it has its name, Oost-ryck in German signifying *the eastern country*^e. It is bounded on the north by Moravia, on the east by Hungary, on the south by Stiria, and on the west by Bavaria. It is divided into Upper and Lower; Lower Austria is situated on the north side of the Danube, and Upper Austria on the south side of that river. Vienna, the capital of the country, is in Upper Austria, and the other most remarkable cities in the province are, Kremps, Lintz, Steira, Ens, Neustadt, Weidhoven, Melcka, Ipsia, Gemunda, &c. The country is very fertile, and has a great many mines, especially of sulphur. The rivers besides the Danube, are the Teja, the Kamps, the Leythe, &c. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Austria was the frontier of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians, and especially of the Hungarians. The emperor, Henry the Fowler, seeing it was of great importance to settle some person in Austria, who might oppose these irruptions, invested Leopold, surnamed the Illustrious, descended of the ancient dukes of Suabia, with that country. Otho I. erected Austria into a marquisate, in favour of his brother-in-law Leopold, whose descendent Henry II. was created duke of Austria by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa^f. His posterity becoming extinct in 1240, the states of the country, in order to defend themselves from the incursions of the Bavarians and Hungarians, resolved to put themselves under the protection of Henry, marquis of Misnia; but Othogar II. king of Bohemia, being likewise invited by a party in the duchy, took possession of it, alleging not only the invitation of the states, but the right of his wife, heiress of Frederic the last duke. The emperor Rodolphus I. pretending a right to that duchy, refused to give Othogar the investiture of it, and afterwards killing him in a battle, procured the duchy of Austria to his family^g. From this Rodolphus, the present house of Austria descended, which has rendered itself so famous and so powerful for these four hundred years past, and which has given fourteen emperors to Germany, and six kings to Spain. Since this conquest, the descendents of Rodolphus have laid aside the title of Hapsburg, and taken that of Austria.

A.D. 928.

^e Aventin. Ann. Boir. lib. iv. p. 251.
 Script. vol. i. p. 270.

^f Meib. Rer. Ger.

^g Dubrav. Hist. Bohem. lib. xvii. p. 143.

A.D. 1477.

The privileges belonging to the archduchy.

To render Austria the most considerable principality of Germany, the emperor, Frederic the Pacific, erected it into an archduchy for his son Maximilian, who was afterwards emperor, with these privileges: that they shall be judged to have obtained the investiture of their states, if they do not receive it after having demanded it three times; that if they receive it from the emperor, or the imperial ambassadors, they are to be on horseback, clad in a royal mantle, having in their hand a staff of command, and upon their head a ducal crown of two points, and surmounted with a cross, like that of the imperial crown. The archduke is born privy-counsellor of the emperor, and his states cannot be put to the ban of the empire. All attempts against his person are punished as crimes of leigé-majesty, in the same manner as those against the kings of the Romans or electors. He dared not be challenged to single combat. It is in his choice to assist at the assemblies, or to be absent; and he has the privilege of being exempt from contributions and public taxes, excepting twelve soldiers, which he is obliged to maintain in Hungary against the Turk for one month. He has rank immediately after the electors, and exercises justice in his states without appeal, in virtue of a privilege granted by Charles V. His subjects even cannot be summoned out of his province upon account of law-suits, or to give witness, or to receive the investiture of fiefs. Any lands of the empire may be alienated in his favour, even those that are feudal; and he has a right to create counts, barons, gentlemen, poets, and notaries. In the succession to his states, the right of birth takes place; and failing males, the females succeed according to the lineal right; and if no heir be found, they may dispose of their lands as they please.

Genealogists are greatly divided concerning the ancestors of Rodolphus I. the founder of the present house of Austria; some deriving them from the Trojan horse, others from Charlemagne. Others say, that their true origin ought to be drawn from the counts of Alsace; Rabothon, brother of Werner, bishop of Strasburg, in 1070, being progenitor, in the eighth degree, to Albert the Wise, father of Rodolphus.

A.D. 1273.

Rodolphus, emperor.

Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, duke of Austria and Stiria, and emperor, had two wives; Anne, daughter of Albert, count of Hockberg; and Agnes, daughter of Otho, count of Burgundy. By his first wife he had several children, and married seven of his daughters to seven of the greatest princes of Germany. Rodolphus, one of his sons, was created duke of Suabia, and married Agnes, daughter of

of Othogar, king of Bohemia, by whom he had a son named John, who became a monk. Albert, the eldest son of the emperor Rodolphus, received Austria and Stiria from his father, and was afterwards called Albert of Austria. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Mainhard, count of Tyrol, and duke of Carinthia; and after his father's death expected to be chosen emperor, as all the secular electors were his brothers-in-law; but the archbishop of Mentz prevailed with them to chuse Adolphus of Nassau, his relation. Adolphus afterwards being deposed, Albert killed him in battle, and was elected emperor at Francfort, and was afterwards killed by the duke of Suabia as he had passed the Rhine, in order to go into Bohemia, which kingdom he wanted to conquer for one of his sons. Albert had by his wife Elizabeth twenty-one children, of whom Frederic, Otho, Henry, and Albert, succeeded him in their turns. Frederic the eldest, leaving no sons, was succeeded by his other brothers, and they, leaving no male issue, were succeeded by their youngest brother Albert.

A.D. 1291.

Albert, emperor.

Frederic.

Albert II. duke of Austria, surnamed the Wise, was at first an ecclesiastic, but seeing all his brothers dead, without male children, he quitted that profession, and married Jean, the daughter of Ulric, count of Ferretta, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. Rodolphus, who died without children, Albert III. who succeeded him, Leopold, and Frederic.

A.D. 1340.

Albert II.

Albert III. by some called the Astrologer, possessed Stiria and Austria, but he was obliged to yield Stiria, with a part of Carinthia, and the march of Treviso, to his brother Leopold. He re-established the university of Vienna in Austria, and built the fortrefs of Laxembourg; but his too great earnestness for the exercise of hunting, brought on a distemper which occasioned his death. By his second wife Beatrice, daughter of Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, he had a son named Albert, who succeeded him.

A.D. 1358.

Albert III.

Albert IV. called the Patient, was a very mild and pious prince, and likewise very skilful in architecture and sculpture. He respected learned men and ecclesiastics; but being obliged to take arms against Josselin, marquis of Moravia, he died of poison during that war. By his first wife Jean, daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria, he left one son, named Albert, who succeeded him.

A.D. 1394.

Albert IV.

Albert II. as emperor, and V. as archduke of Austria, was surnamed the magnanimous, and succeeded his father when he was only ten years of age. He gave great assistance to the emperor Sigismund in his wars with the Hussites, and obliged the Moravians to quit their party, and promise to

A.D. 1404.

Albert V. emperor.

submit

submit to a general council. For these services Sigismund gave him his only daughter Elizabeth, and after the death of that emperor, he succeeded to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and was likewise chosen emperor, but died soon after of a bloody flux in Hungary, occasioned by eating melons. His son Ladislaus, born after his death, was chosen king of Hungary and Bohemia in his cradle, but died without children.

A.D. 1450.

Ladislaus.

A.D. 1458.

*Frederic
the Pacific,
emperor.*

By the death of Ladislaus, the succession of the house of Austria fell to his cousins. Leopold, the third son of Albert II. among his other children, left Ernest, whose eldest surviving son, named Frederic, was elected emperor upon the death of Albert V. and succeeded to the Austrian possessions by the death of Ladislaus. Frederic married Eleonora, daughter of Edward, king of Poland, by whom he had, among other children, Maximilian who succeeded him.

A.D. 1493.

*Maximi-
lian I.
emperor.*

Maximilian having been chosen king of the Romans during the life of the emperor his father, succeeded him in the empire. He married the richest heiress of Europe, Mary, the daughter of Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, by whom he had, among other children, Philip, who married Jean, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand V. king of Arragon, Granada, and Sicily; and of Isabella, queen of Castile and Leon, by whom he enjoyed the crown of Spain, and left two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. He died before his father, leaving the kingdom of Spain, then greatly enriched by its acquisitions in America, to his son Charles.

A.D. 1519.

*Charles V.
emperor.*

Charles V. took possession of the states of Spain in 1517, and was two years after elected emperor. After a reign of thirty-eight years, he abdicated the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and left the Spanish monarchy, with all its dominions, in Europe and America, to his son Philip, retiring himself into a monastery at Estramadura. He married Isabella, daughter of the king of Portugal, by whom he had Philip, and two daughters. Philip continued the Austrian line in Spain for several generations; but it became extinct by the death of Charles II. of Spain, who left no children.

A.D. 1556.

*Ferdinand
I. emperor.*

Ferdinand I. second son of Philip, is the chief of the branch of the house of Austria in Germany. His brother Charles V. resigned to him in 1550, all his hereditary possessions in Germany, caused him to be elected king of the Romans the year following, and quitted the empire in his favour in the year 1556. Ferdinand married Anne, the daughter of Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, by whom

whom he had Maximilian, who succeeded him; Ferdinand, count of Tyrol, marquis of Burgaw; John, who died young; and Charles, archduke of Gratz, besides eleven daughters.

Maximilian II. eldest son of Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans two years before his father's death. He married his cousin Mary, daughter of the emperor Charles V. by whom he had several sons, six of whom survived him; namely, Rodolphus, who succeeded him; Ernest, governor of the Low-Countries; Matthias; Maximilian, grand-master of the Teutonic order; Albert, prince of the Low Countries; Wenceslaus. His daughters were Anne, who married Philip II. king of Spain; Elizabeth, married to Charles IX. king of France; Margaret, who became a nun; and three others who died young.

A.D. 1564.

Maximilian II. emperor.

Rodolphus succeeded to the empire after the death of his father, having been elected king of the Romans two years before; after a weak reign of thirty-five years he left his hereditary possessions to his brother Matthias.

A.D. 1577.

Rodolphus II. emperor.

Matthias, after the death of his brother, was chosen emperor, which dignity he enjoyed seven years, leaving no issue by his wife Anne, daughter of Ferdinand his cousin. By his death, the hereditary possessions of Austria fell to Ferdinand II. grandson of the emperor Ferdinand I. by his fourth son Charles, archduke of Gratz.

A.D. 1612

Matthias emperor.

Ferdinand II. was adopted by the emperor Matthias, who caused him to be elected king of Bohemia in 1617, and king of Hungary in the year following. He was chosen emperor upon the death of Matthias, and married, first, Mary Anne, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, by whom he had John Charles, who died young; Ferdinand, who succeeded him; Leopold William, who became bishop of Passau, Strasburg, Halberstadt, Olmutz, and Breslaw, master of the Teutonic order, abbot of Mourbach, and governor of the Low-Countries; Christina, who died young; Mary Anne, married to the elector of Bavaria, her uncle; Cecilia Reng, married to Ladislaus, king of Poland. Ferdinand, by his second wife Eleonora, daughter of Vincent I. duke of Mantua, had no children.

A.D. 1619.

Ferdinand II. emperor.

Ferdinand III. was elected emperor after the death of his father. He married Mary Anne, daughter of Philip III. king of Spain, by whom he had Ferdinand Francis, chosen king of the Romans, in 1653, but who died the year following. Philip Augustus, and Maximilian Thomas, who died in their infancy; Leopold Ignatius, who succeeded him; Mary Anne, married to Philip IV. king of Spain; and Mary who died an infant. By his second wife Mary

A.D. 1637.

Ferdinand III. emperor.

Leopoldine, daughter of his uncle the archduke of Inspruck; he had Ferdinand Charles Joseph, bishop of Passaw, &c. By his third wife he had Eleonora Mary, married to the king of Poland, Michael Wiefnowiski, and afterwards to Charles Leopold, duke of Lorraine; Mary Anne Josepha, married to John William, duke of Neuburg, afterwards elector Palatine.

A.D. 1655. Leopold, after the death of his father, was elected emperor, though he was only eighteen years of age. He married first Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. king of Spain, by whom he had Mary Antonietta Josepha, married to Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria. By his second wife Claude Felicita, daughter of Ferdinand Charles, archduke of Inspruck, two daughters who died infants. His third wife was Eleonore Magdalene Theresa, daughter of the duke of Neuburg, by whom he had Joseph Jacob Ignatius, who succeeded him; Charles Francis Joseph, Mary Anne Josepha, married to John, king of Portugal, and some others who died unmarried.

A.D. 1705. Joseph was declared hereditary king of Hungary in 1687, being then but nine years of age; he was chosen king of the Romans three years after, and succeeded to the empire upon the death of his father. He married Willelmina Amelia, the daughter of John Frederic, duke of Hanover, by whom he had two daughters, Mary Josepha, married to Frederic Augustus, electoral prince of Saxony; and Mary Amelia, married to Charles, electoral prince of Bavaria.

A.D. 1711. Charles VI. was chosen emperor at Frankfort, after the death of his elder brother who left no male issue. He married Elizabeth Christina, daughter of Lewis Rodolphus, of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, she having abjured Lutheranism to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. By her he had four children, two of whom only survived him, namely, Mary, Theresa Walburg Amelia Christina, born the 13th of March, 1717; and Mary Anne Eleonore Wilhelmina Josepha, born the 4th of September, 1718.

C H A P. XCI.

The History of the Electorate of Hanover.

THOUGH the house of Hanover be the last that has been raised to the electoral dignity, yet for nobleness and antiquity of family it may vie with any in Germany. It is likewise very considerable for the extent of its territories, which are at present the duchy of Calenberg, in which are Hanover, Calenberg, Hamelen, Neuſtadt, Göttingen, &c. the duchy of Grubenhagen, the county of Diepholt, the county of Hoga in the biſhoprick of Hildesheim, the bailliages of Coldingen, Luther, Badenbug, and Weſterſhoven, with theright of protection of the city of Hildesheim, and the county of Danneberg, ceded by the dukes of Wolfenbuttle to the dukes of Luneburg, as an equivalent for their pretensions upon the city of Brunſwick. The elector poſſeſſes likewiſe the county of Delmenhorſt, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden, purchaſed of the king of Denmark in 1715; he is alſo in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburg, till the concluſion of the difference among the princes pretending to the ſucceſſion: the right of poſſeſſing alternatively the biſhoprick of Oſnabruck, belongs ſolely to the electoral branch; but if it ſhall happen to fail, the dukes of Wolfenbuttle are to enjoy the ſame right.

The territories of this electorate.

In conſideration of the great ſervices which Erneſt Auguſtus, duke of Brunſwick Hanover, gave to the emperor Leopold, in his wars againſt Lewis XIV. that emperor conferred the dignity of an elector of the holy Roman empire upon him and his heirs male, of which he received the inveſtiture from Leopold, on the 19th of December, 1692. This new creation met with great oppoſition, both in the electoral college and the college of princes; but at laſt, by a concluſion of the three colleges, on the 30th of January, 1708, it was unanimouſly determined that the electoral dignity ſhould be confirmed to the duke of Hanover and his heirs male; but it was added, that if, while that electoral dignity ſubſiſted, the Palatine electorate ſhould happen to fall into the hands of a proteſtant prince, the firſt catholic elector ſhould have a ſupernumerary vote. This concluſion being eaſily agreed to by the emperor, the duke of Hanover was introduced into the electoral college on the 12th of September the ſame year.

Erneſt Auguſtus firſt elector.

The princes of this house have their seat in the college of princes immediately after those of the electoral houses, each branch having a vote. The elector, besides his seat in the electoral college, was invested with the office of arch-standard-bearer of the empire; but this being disputed by the duke of Wirtemberg, the elector Palatine having obtained the office of arch-steward, yielded that of arch-treasurer to the elector of Hanover, who was confirmed in this dignity by a decree of the diet of the 13th of January, 1710. For the administration of the government the elector has a council of state, a council of war, the court of justice, the chancery, the justice of the court, and a consistory. But for making new laws, or establishing new taxes, the consent of the states, which are composed of the nobility, clergy, and burghers, is necessary.

The antiquity of the house of Brunswick.

The antiquity of this family is carried down by genealogists to the times of the first kings of Rome, but with very little authority; however, it is certain, that the house of Brunswick may be lineally deduced from Cajus Actius, a noble Roman, who lived in the ancient city of Este, or Atteste^b, in that part of Italy which is called the Venetian Lombardy. His son, of the same name, signalizing himself at the battle of Verona, fought between the Wisigoths and Romans, the emperor Honorius conferred upon him the dignities of quatuor vis, decurio, and senator of Rome; afterwards he became prince of Este, in 402. Aurelius Actius succeeded him, and Tiberius, the son of Aurelius, acquired Monselico, Vicenza, and Feltri, and built the city of Ferrara. His son Alphoriscus lost his life at the great battle of Lodi, against Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who dethroned the last emperor of the West. He was succeeded by Maximus, to whom succeeded Bonifacius, who lost his life in an engagement with the Ostrogoths. Valerianus, his son, was sent by Narses, in the fourteenth year of his age, to guard a passage over the river Po, against Totilas; but the Longobards afterwards invading Italy, he lost his life fighting against these barbarians; Gundelhardus, his second son, who succeeded him, was called the right-hand of Dagobert I. king of the Franks. To him succeeded Heribertus, whose son Ernestus, at the head of a Venetian army, relieved Ravenna, and defeated the king of the Longobards at Rimini. The Longobards afterwards besieging Ravenna, Ernest defended the place three years, till an arrow from the enemy's camp killed him. Upon whose

A.D. 478.

A.D. 537.

A.D. 752.

^b Tacit. lib. iii. Pliny, lib. iii. cap. xix.

death

death the city soon surrendered to the Longobards, who, by this conquest, put an end to the exarchate of the Greek emperors.

Charles the Great, king of the Franks, afterwards emperor, made Henry, son of Ernest, prince of Treviso; and erected the principality of Este into a margraviate; from which time the family was honoured with the title of margraves. Henry assisted the emperor in subduing Desiderius, the last king of the Longobards, and afterwards lost his life in a tumult at Treviso. His son Berengarius, who succeeded him, was greatly in confidence of Lewis the Debonnaire, and had frequently the command of his armies; he died the same year with the emperor, and left three sons, the youngest of which, Otho, continued the family. This margrave acquired the city and territory of Comachio, as a reward for his own and his father's services, done to the imperial crown; which is evident by the emperor's grant, yet to be seen among the records of the house of Este. Otho had several sons, but none of them continued the family long, except the youngest, Sigfried, or Sigbert, who left a lasting posterity, and added Lucca and Parma to the states of the family of Este. His son Azo, or Actius II. augmented his possessions with Placentia and Reggio, and became vicar of the empire in Italy. He assisted the emperor Otho I. in his wars against the Bohemians, the Sclavi, and the Vandals; and defeated Berengarius, who, at the instigation of the court of Rome, set up for emperor, or king of Italy. This margrave having two sons, the greatest part of his states went to his eldest, Theobald, whose issue failed with his grand-daughter Mathildis, who was possessed of Ferrara, Mantua, Lucca, Parma, Modena, Placentia, Pisa, Spoleto, Ancona, and Tuscany, which states were, after her death, usurped by the see of Rome.

A.D. 780.

Albert Azo's second son continued the family, and was possessed of the margraviate of Este, with Milan and Genoa; he married the sister of the emperor Otho II. who augmented his states with ten castles in Lombardy, and the city of Friburg in Germany. His third son, named Hugo Actius, succeeded him, and being threatened by the emperor Henry II. because his father Albert had prevented Henry's father from being emperor, Hugo used all his interest to ruin the emperor's power in Italy, and, being joined by most of the nobility in Lombardy, got one Arduinus elected king at Pavia. Henry coming into Italy with an army, defeated Arduinus, and took Hugo prisoner; but, instead of punishing him, he generously restored him to whatever he formerly possessed. Hugo, to

shew himself worthy of the emperor's clemency, made it afterwards the whole study of his life to promote his service. Hugo left three sons, the youngest of which, named Azo IV. continued the family; by his bravery the city of Milan, which had revolted from the emperor Henry III. was subdued, and tranquillity restored. But the emperor was no sooner returned to Germany, than the papal party prevailing, despoiled Azo of his states; upon which he repaired to the court of the emperor, and was soon after reinstated in his dominions, which Henry III. considerably augmented. Azo married Cunegunda, daughter of Guelph III. duke of Bavaria and Carinthia, and her brother dying without issue, her son Guelph succeeded to all the states of her family.

A.D. 1056.

In Guelph V. duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Valiant, the blood of the two ancient families of the Aëtii or Este and of the Guelphs was united. Henry IV. who, though a minor, was then emperor, and inherited the duchy of Upper Bavaria; but the Bavarians disliking his government, revolted, and chose one Otho, a Saxon prince, for their duke. Guelph V. married his daughter; but the emperor having put Otho to the ban of the empire, and expelled him, Guelph, out of compliment to the emperor, divorced Otho's daughter; and, being in high esteem with Henry IV. he received from him the investiture of the whole duchy of Bavaria, of which before he had a considerable part in right of his mother. Towards the end of his life the pope, Urban II. having prevailed with the Christian princes to undertake an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land, Guelph V. engaged to join in the crusade. After the conquest of Jerusalem he left the Holy Land, but, in his return home, died near Paphos, in the island of Cyprus, and his remains were transported to the convent of Weingarten, in Suabia. He left two sons, Guelph VI. and Henry, who both succeeded him in their turns. Guelph VI. married Mathildis, the richest heiress of her time, but died without issue.

A.D. 1120.

Henry, surnamed the Black, succeeded his brother, and married Wulfhild, the eldest daughter and heiress of Magnus, the last duke of Saxony of the Bulling race; by his right the duchy of Saxony, on the Elbe, should have fallen to his son, but the emperor Henry V. disposed of it in favour of Lotharius, count of Supplinburg, afterwards his successor on the imperial throne. This emperor Lotharius had only one daughter, named Gertraut, who married Henry, surnamed the Proud, son of Henry the Black. When Henry the Proud succeeded his father, the boundaries

of

of his possessions were, towards the south, Verona, in Italy; towards the north, the Danube; towards the east, the Lower Austria, Stiria, and Carniola; and towards the west, the borders of Franconia, the territory where the city Ulm is situated, and the lake of Constance in Suabia; which possessions were equal to a considerable kingdom. Lotharius, his father-in-law, being engaged in a war with Roger, king of Sicily, whom an anti-pope had likewise declared king of Naples, Henry commanded the emperor's army, and deprived Roger of almost all Naples. In these wars Tuscany, and several other provinces in Italy, being conquered from those who sided with the anti-pope, the emperor Lotharius bestowed them upon Henry his son-in-law. He afterwards ceded to him the whole duchy of Saxony, which Henry extended towards the north as far as where Lubec is now situated, by conquering from the Polabi, a race of Venedi, the country called Saxe-Lawenburg. Lotharius dying the year following, declared him his successor, and sent him the crown, sceptre, sword, and other insignia of the empire. A diet was to be held at Mentz on Whitsuntide, to chuse an emperor in the room of Lotharius; but Conrad, duke of Suabia, fearing that the majority might be for Henry, anticipated the term, and assembled his friends at Coblentz, where he got himself elected emperor, and was crowned by the pope's legate at Aix la Chapelle. Henry and his brother, surprised at this irregular proceeding, protested against Conrad's election, and refused to deliver up the insignia of the empire at Bamberg, where a diet was appointed for this purpose. Conrad did all in his power to move the princes of the empire against Henry, by representing him as a stranger in Germany, and that his great-grandfather had been the first that settled there; and concluding, that the interest Henry had in Italy and Germany was so formidable, that the constitution of the Germanic body would be in danger, in case the princes of the empire favoured his cause. His brother, who was present, vindicated Henry and himself to the satisfaction of the whole assembly. Upon these debates the diet was dissolved, and another appointed at Ratisbon, where greater disputes were expected. But Henry being prevailed upon by the promises of Conrad, acknowledged him as emperor, and delivered up the insignia. Conrad soon after increasing his demands, and desiring Henry to give up Nuremburg, and several territories in Italy, Henry, finding himself deceived, refused to take the investiture of his states from Conrad, and being summoned to appear at the diet of Augsburg, came thither with a large army.

A.D. 1136.

A.D. 1138.

Conrad was so much terrified, that he fled in the night-time, with his domestics and a few friends; and afterwards assembling the princes of the empire at Wurtzburg, he represented to them that it was not lawful for a prince of the empire to possess two duchies, and since Henry had acquired Saxony when Bavaria was already in his possession, he thought proper that this prince should be obliged to give up Saxony, and, in case of refusal, lose both duchies. Henry refusing to give up the least part of his possessions, the arguments of Conrad prevailed with the princes, and a decree passed, *nemine contradicente*, by which he was put to the ban of the empire. The proclamation of the ban had such an unexpected effect, that Henry was entirely deserted, and no more than four of his servants remained with him. Conrad gave Bavaria to his brother Leopold, margrave of Austria, and Saxony to Albert, of the house of Anhalt; but Henry, in a great many engagements, having defeated the competitors, the emperor agreed to a cessation of hostilities, and the city of Quedlinburg was appointed for a place of congress. Henry, repairing thither, was poisoned, in the fortieth year of his age, before any thing was concluded upon.

A. D. 39. Henry, surnamed the Lion, on account of his valour, succeeded his father, and was only ten years of age when he was poisoned. His uncle took upon him the guardianship, and acquitted himself with great fidelity, and obtained of Conrad that Henry should keep Saxony, and Albert, of the house of Anhalt, should be contented with the margraviate of Brandenburg; but Henry the Lion's mother marrying the margrave of Austria, the possession of the duchy of Bavaria was confirmed to him by the emperor. After this marriage peace seemed to be re-established in Germany; and Conrad, with six thousand cavalry, marched into the East against the Saracens. A much greater number having assembled to serve against the Saracens than was required, Henry the Lion led these against the Venedi, and, defeating them in several engagements, their king Niclotus offered to embrace the Christian religion, in consideration of which a peace was made, and part of his dominions restored to him.

Henry the Lion, having finished this war, and being now come of age, kept the greatest part of the army in his service, and marched against the margrave of Austria, his step-father, to re-conquer the duchy of Bavaria. The margrave applying to the emperor, who was now returned from the Holy Land, a scheme was laid to stir up the city of Brunswick against Henry in his absence; but he having secured

secured the city, disposed his troops for pushing the war. Meanwhile, the emperor Conrad dying, Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa, was, by both parties, unanimously elected emperor in his stead; after which election a truce followed between Henry and his step-father. The emperor going to Rome to be crowned by the pope, Henry accompanied him; the Romans attempting to oppose the public entry of Frederic into Rome, a skirmish ensued, and Frederic being surrounded by the Romans, Henry rushed into the midst of the enemy, and rescued the emperor, already lying under the horses feet. In consideration of this service, he yielded to Henry the right of founding bishopricks in the countries conquered from the Venedi, and being returned to Germany, he obliged the margrave of Austria to give up Bavaria to Henry, for which he received the country now called Upper Austria as an equivalent, which was erected into a duchy, with several singular privileges annexed to it. In the same year the last count of Lauenrode dying, A.D. 1157.

Henry incorporated this county, and the city of Hanover on the Leine, with his dominions, and enlarged Hanover. The emperor made him likewise a present of the large possessions of count Uto, situated upon the Hartz; and the year following the city of Lubec was annexed to his dominions. Henry marching afterwards with the emperor into Lombardy, Niclotus, king of the Venedi, took up arms against him in his absence; but being soon defeated and killed at Mecklenburg, his sons submitted and swore allegiance to Henry. These princes afterwards revolting, Henry was engaged several years in war in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, but at last entirely routed these heathens, and peopled their country with Saxons and Frieslanders. About this time the Greek emperor, Emanuel I. sent an embassy to Brunswick,

The great honour and glory Henry was arrived at, raised him many invidious enemies. Christian, count of Oldenburg, at the head of a great number of Frieslanders, seized the city of Bremen, and all the places on the Weser that belonged to Henry the Lion, while Wickman, archbishop of Magdeburg, marched his troops to join those of Hildesheim, in order to fall upon the county of Brunswick; but Henry defeated them both, and, by the mediation of the emperor, a peace was concluded. The same year he married Mathilda, daughter of Henry II. king of England, having divorced his former wife some years before, upon account of their consanguinity. Henry had, at this time likewise, a war with the king of Denmark, but peace being established, Canutus, the king's son, married Gertraut, Henry's

A.D. 1164.

A.D. 1168.

Henry's daughter. Henry, out of devotion, having made a journey to the Holy Land, upon his return his uncle, resolving to retire from the world, left by will all his possessions to his nephew, reserving only a yearly pension to himself, which he spent at Memmingen in Suabia. Henry being remiss in paying the pension, Guelph, at the emperor's intreaty, altered his will, and bequeathed his dominions to him. Nevertheless, Lombardy again revolting, Henry went to the assistance of the emperor, though he did not serve him so warmly as before; but hearing the Venedi again made incursions into his states in Germany, he left Lombardy to defend his own territories.

A.D. 1135. The emperor being obliged to make a peace with the pope and the Italians, laid the blame of the bad success upon Henry, and summoned him to appear at the next diet. Upon this decline of the emperor's favour, Henry's states were invaded by several enemies, and he himself was soon after put to the ban of the empire; in consequence of which sentence, all his enemies seized what lay most convenient for them, and nothing remained but Brunswick and Luneburg. Henry, after opposing his enemies for two years, found himself obliged to submit, and, appearing at the diet of Erfurt, he threw himself at the emperor's feet; but all the conditions he could receive was to banish himself for three years. Henry chose England for the place of his exile, where his wife was delivered of her youngest son William Longaspatha. After the expiration of the term of banishment, Henry again returned to Germany; but by a decree of the diet at Goslar, he was obliged to banish himself for other three years. Upon this sentence he returned to England, while the emperor, and many princes of Germany, had set out on an expedition to the Holy Land. In his absence, his enemies violating the truce that had been agreed upon, he returned to Germany, and recovered some of his territories; but the emperor Henry IV. son of Barbarossa, marching against him, obliged him to submit to very hard conditions, and give his son a hostage for the performance of them. Afterwards, a reconciliation was proposed between the emperor and the duke; but Henry falling from his horse as he was riding to the place of interview, he was carried back to Brunswick, where he soon after died, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was modest and grave, of an extraordinary genius; he had a strong body, and his person was very graceful. Some years before his death several of his enemies sought his friendship again, and he was proposed as
a can-

a candidate for the imperial throne, when Henry lay sick in Italy.

Henry the Lion left three sons, Henry the Long, who possessed the greatest part of his paternal estates, and survived his other two brothers, but died without male issue. His second son Otho, after many disputes, at last obtained the imperial dignity, but died likewise without issue. His third son, William, surnamed Longsword, continued the family. He was born at Winchester, during the time of his father's exile in England, and was afterwards one of the hostages for king Richard of England, who was treacherously detained a prisoner by Leopold, duke of Austria, upon his return from the Holy Land. William married Helena, daughter of Woldemar, king of Denmark, by whom he left one son, named Otho.

Otho was surnamed the Infant, being but six years of age when his father died. He was early engaged in war-like expeditions, having assisted his uncle Woldemar, king of Denmark, against the count of Holstein and the Lubeckers. In the same year his uncle, Henry the Long, died without male issue. By his death, his paternal estates should have fell to Otho; but Henry having sold Brunswick to the emperor Frederick II. Otho marched against Brunswick, and drove out the imperial garrison. After the conquest of Brunswick, Otho employed his troops in recovering the rest of his dominions, and revived his claim to the county of Stade, which the archbishop refused to restore to him; whereupon Otho marched against him, and defeated him in several engagements, but did not think proper, at that time, to make himself master of the county. During these transactions, the emperor, Frederic II. had been absent in the Holy Land, but, returning to Germany, he celebrated his nuptials with his third wife Isabella, daughter of John, king of England, at Mentz, where a diet at the same time was appointed to be held. Isabella, being Otho's relation, interceded with the emperor to have him restored to the states that had been taken from his ancestors. Frederic delayed to comply with this request; but as a recompence for Otho's services during his absence in the Holy Land, he created him duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, whereof the diploma is still extant, which declares them inheritable by both sexes. From this time the titles of dukes of Saxony and duke of Bavaria have no more been used in his family. Brunswick and Luneburg at that time comprehended the country of Luneburg, containing the principality of Zelle, and the cities of Luneburg, Hanover, Giffhorn; the country of Brunswick containing

*Otho the
Infant,
first duke of
Brunswick.*

A.D. 1239.

taining the principality of Wolfenbittel, and the cities and castles of Brunswick, Brimrode, Assenburg, Schoningen, Gerxen, Kichtenberg, Geberhagen, and Slauffenburg; besides the country between the mountain Deister and the river Leine; the country of Gottingen, with the county of Northein; and the lordship of Piesse; and lastly, the country on the Werra and Weser, containing several cities and castles. Otho now resumed the war against the archbishop of Bremen, and forced him to yield up some lordships which he incorporated with his dominions; and, after the conclusion of the peace, he made an expedition into Prussia, to the assistance of the knights of the Teutonic order.

Frederic II. being excommunicated by the pope, Henry, landgrave of Thuringen, succeeded him; but he dying two years after, the princes of the empire chose William, count of Holland and Zealand, emperor against Frederic. William married Otho's daughter, and was supported by him in his new dignity. Next year Otho was taken ill on his return from the diet at Frankfort, and died soon after.

A.D. 1252.

*Albert the
Great,
second duke
of Brun-
swic.*

Otho left four sons, the two youngest of which became bishops; and Albert the eldest, surnamed the Great, succeeded to his father's estates. After governing seventeen years, he made a partition with his second brother John, and ceded Luneburg to him. During the first twenty-three years of his government, Germany was involved in troubles occasioned by the long inter-regnum; but the dominions of the house of Brunswic and Luneburg were free from these disorders, and Albert was at leisure to assist the king of Bohemia against Bela IV. king of Hungary. After his return from this expedition, he took the castle of Assenburg, and punished the family for having represented his coat of arms in a disrespectful manner; and the house of Wolfenbittel slighting his authority, Albert went before the castle, took it, and ordered it to be razed. While Albert was employed in reducing these rebellious subjects, Conrad, count of Eberstein, another of his vassals, entered into an alliance with Gerhard, archbishop of Mentz, against him; and in order to divert Albert from the siege of Assenburg, he invaded the country of Gottingen, destroying all with fire and sword; but being taken prisoner, Albert ordered him to be hanged by the feet, and the archbishop he kept prisoner a twelvemonth, and obliged him to pay eight thousand marks of silver for his ransom.

The cities of Hamelen and Eimbec soon after voluntarily subjected themselves to Albert; and disputes arising between the king of Denmark and the duke of Sleswic, he went

to the assistance of the young king, and by his assistance a peace was concluded. Going afterwards with the king and his mother to Denmark, he restored tranquillity to that kingdom, which he found torn in pieces by domestic dissensions. Albert having been a widower for a considerable time without any issue, he went to England, where he married Adelhaid, sister of Otho, margrave of Montferrat, and obtained at the same time of the king, a grant for the city of Hamburg to trade with that kingdom. Five years afterwards, he acquired the city and territory of Grubenhagen, which, with the acquisitions made to it, came to be called a principality, and, as such, in latter times, obtained a vote at the diets of the empire. Albert died soon after, and left behind him six sons, three of whom entered into the Teutonic order, and the other three made a partition of his states; Henry at Grubenhagen, Albert at Gottingen, and William at Brunswick.

A.D. 1265.

Albert, surnamed the Gross, second son of Albert the Great, succeeded to his brother William, who died before him, without leaving issue; and thus united, in his person, the lines of Gottingen and Brunswick. Albert the Gross died in 1318, and left seven sons behind him, four of whom were ecclesiastics, and the other three divided his states between them. Otho resided at Brunswick, Ernest at Gottingen, and Magnus, after the demise of Otho, kept his residence at Brunswick.

Albert the Gross.

Otho dying without male issue, his states fell to his two brothers; and Brunswick happening to the share of Magnus, he fixt his residence at that city. He is surnamed by some the Meek, and by others the Pious, on account of his singular piety. He married Sophia, or Agnes, daughter of the margrave of Brandenburg, and by her he had three sons, Louis, Magnus, and Albert, which last became archbishop of Bremen.

Magnus I.

Magnus II. succeeded to part of his father's possessions, and his elder brother Lewis dying without issue, he likewise enjoyed his states. He engaged in a war with Gerhard II. bishop of Hildesheim, which proved unfortunate to him, for being taken prisoner, he was obliged to sell the margraviate of Misnia, and three lordships, to raise money for his ransom. But two years afterwards he entered into family pacts with Eric II. then duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, by which it was agreed, that upon extinction of either of the houses, the surviving family should succeed the other in its possessions. Magnus finished his days in a miserable manner, being run through the body by a common soldier belonging to Otho, count of Schaumburg, with whom he had a personal

A.D. 1358.

*Magnus II.
surnamed
Torquatus.*

sonal dispute. He left four sons, Frederic, Bernhard, Henry, and Otho: Otho got the archbishoprick of Bremen, and Frederic, the eldest, was elected emperor; but setting out for Brunswick after the election, he was basely murdered at the instigation of the archbishop of Mentz.

Bernhard.

The emperor Frederic was succeeded by his brothers, Henry and Bernhard, who ruled jointly for nine years, after which they made a partition. Brunswick fell to Bernhard's share, and Luneburg to Henry. Some years after their families exchanged their dominions; Henry's posterity kept Brunswick, and Luneburg became the property of Bernhard and his heirs. Bernhard besides bought the county of Hamburg from its last possessor, and joined the city of Ultzen to the duchy of Luneburg; he also demolished the castle of Klozec. The military art being much improved in his time by the late invention of fire arms, besides the cannon of common size, he caused an extraordinary one to be cast at Brunswick, which was called Faule Mette. This remarkable piece is still preserved in the arsenal of that city, it weighs nine tons, discharges a ball of above six hundred weight, and requires fifty-two pounds of powder at one loading. Bernhard died in the year 1434, and left by his wife Margaret, daughter of the elector of Saxony, two sons, Otho and Frederic, surnamed the Pious, both of whom succeeded him in their turns. Otho dying without issue, Frederic succeeded him.

*Frederic,
the Pious.*

Frederic, of the house of Luneburg, was surnamed the Pious, on account of his exemplary life. In his time the city of Luneburg being greatly in debt, intreated the prelates and the other clergy that received rents from the salt-pits of that city, to give up for some years part of these rents. The clergy refusing to comply, and the city insisting upon it, complaints were carried before the pope; and Frederic, partly on this account, and partly moved by devotion, made a journey to Rome, and took upon him to solicit in behalf of the city: but his efforts were without success, sentence being given in favour of the prelates, which for a long time after occasioned great commotions in the city of Luneburg. Frederic having a natural propensity to great and good actions, assisted the citizens of Munster, who disagreed with the chapter of that see about the election of a bishop. He commanded their little army against the archbishop, who attacked him before all his troops had assembled, and took him prisoner. Frederic continued for some time in captivity, and was obliged to give a considerable sum of money to redeem himself. Some years after he resolved to retire from the world and having founded

A.D. 1450.

founded a convent in Zelle, he fixed his abode there, giving up the government of his states to his eldest son Bernhard II. then bishop of Hildesheim. Bernhard dying before him, his youngest son Otho succeeded, and he likewise departing this life before his father, and leaving a son under age, Frederic was obliged to quit the convent, and resume the government of his states, which he held for seven years after the death of his two sons. He married Magdalene, daughter of Frederic I. elector of Brandenburg.

*Otho the
Magnanimous.*

Henry the Younger, the eldest son of Otho the Magnanimous, was only three years of age at his father's death, and succeeded to the government in his eleventh year, by the death of his grandfather Frederic. His mother kept the administration till he came of age. At that time Francis, count of Diepholt, offered to hold his county as a fief from him, and to become his vassal, which was complied with, and hereby, after the extinction of that family, the county of Diepholt devolved to the house of Luneburg. Towards the end of his government, Henry brought himself into great distress by becoming the ally of the bishop of Hildesheim, who, from an ambitious view, made war upon Eric I. and his nephew, of the line of Wolfenbuttel. The war having continued for some time, with great calamity to the poor people on both sides, a truce was at last agreed to between the contending parties, and the dispute was left to the decision of the new emperor Charles V. The bishop appearing at the diet at Worms, was ordered to forbear hostilities, and wait the decision of the emperor, being threatened with the ban of the empire in case he refused to comply. The bishop, thinking it for his interest, continued the war, and ridiculed the intimation; whereupon the ban of the empire was declared against him and his ally Henry of Luneburg. In consequence of this declaration, the bishop was stripped of all his possessions, except the city of Hildesheim, and three other fortresses; the difference was finally left to the decision of the electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and each party kept what it had taken during the troubles. Henry of Luneburg was no sooner informed that the ban was proclaimed against him, but, to prevent the effects of it, he divested himself of all his possessions, gave them up to his sons, and retired to France. He resided there for six years, after which he returned to Germany, and died at Winhusen, two years after the ban was repealed. His wife was Margaret, daughter of the elector of Saxony, by whom he had Otho, Ernest, and Francis.

*Henry the
Younger.*

At the time that Henry, of the line of Luneburg, was put to the ban of the empire, Otho, as his eldest son, should

A.D. 1521.

*Ernest the
Confessor.*

have had the chief government of the duchy of Lunenburg; but he contenting himself with Harburg, ceded his right to Ernest; whilst Francis, the youngest brother, kept his residence at Giffhorn. Ernest was educated under the inspection of his uncle, Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who sent him early to the university of Wittemberg, where he not only made great progress in learning, but had an opportunity of conversing with Luther, who, at that time began to discover his sentiments about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the see of Rome. From Wittemberg, he went to Paris, where he was in great esteem with Francis I. then king of France, and after having acquired at that court such accomplishments as were to be met with nowhere else in those days, he returned to his native country, when the ban was proclaimed against his father, and succeeded to his states at the time that the tenets of Luther began to interest all Germany.

Luther, having for two years exclaimed against the errors of the church, was hearkened to by several of the princes of the empire, and the emperor Maximilian I. was so far from being persuaded to proceed against him, that he used to say, that did the clergy lead pious lives, there would be no necessity for Luther's reforming. His successor, Charles V. being of a different disposition, violent measures were followed, and Luther was excommunicated, which proved the greatest fault pope Leo X. ever committed; for his pretended infallibility not permitting him to retract, Luther was thereby drove to despair. The year following, the emperor summoned Luther to appear at the diet of Worms; and Ernest being then just returned from France, went thither with his two brothers, where with them he concerted the preparatives that were necessary to introduce a reformation in the circle of Lower Saxony, as his uncle, Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony was doing in Upper Saxony. Ernest shewed uncommon prudence and moderation in carrying on his undertaking, publicly declaring to his subjects, that his intention was by no means to force their consciences, but only to afford them an opportunity to examine the merits of the doctrine in debate, and to determine accordingly. The clergy, not relishing these proceedings of Ernest, solicited his father Henry to return from France, hoping, that his presence would be a hindrance to the reformation; but here they missed their aim, for though he came back to his native country, he was prevailed upon by his sons, not to interfere in the business of the reformation; whereby Ernest was left at liberty to pursue the scheme he had formed, of gradually abolishing the errors

errors and abuses that had crept into the church. For this end, he cheerfully exerted himself with an uncommon share of application and constancy, and generously sent learned men to preach the Gospel in the county of Hoya, East-Friesland, and other parts of Germany. His great zeal for the cause of the reformation, and the many difficulties to which he exposed himself on that account, justly acquired him the title of Confessor.

The pope, and his adherents, being, by this time, fully sensible of the danger they were threatened with from the reformation, thought of means to stop its progress. With this view it was insisted upon by them, at the diet of Spire, that the ban declared against Luther should be put in execution; and that all those that followed his doctrine should be comprised in it. But when the emperor was on the point of gratifying their desire, John the Constant, then elector of Saxony, Philip the Magnanimous, landgrave of Hesse, Ernest the Confessor, his brother Francis, and other members of the empire, protested against it with so much steadiness and resolution, that Charles determined to use moderation for the present. Next year, the princes, encouragers of a reformation in the church, who were now distinguished by the name of Protestants, presented their confession of faith to the diet of Augsburg; but not being able to obtain free liberty of conscience, they returned home, and afterwards, upon account of their common danger, solemnly entered into an union at Smalkald. Ernest the Confessor was one of the parties concerned in this union, which subsisted for fifteen years, during which time each party kept the other in suspense. A.D. 1529.

Ernest was not only engaged in opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the emperor and popish princes, but likewise sent a body of troops against the peasants, who had made an insurrection in several parts of Germany, refusing to pay obedience to their superiors; and laying waste whole countries, and murdering their masters in a most barbarous manner. His example being followed by other princes, the rebels were at last subdued, though not till after one hundred thousand of them had been killed during the commotion. Soon after an insurrection broke out of a more dangerous nature, threatening the subversion of all civil government. It was owing to a particular sect of Anabaptists, who, after the reduction of the peasants, attempted to settle in Upper Germany; but the magistrates of Strasburg, and other cities, expelling them, they retired to Holland and Westphalia: being likewise driven from Holland, the whole swarm settled at Münster, where they deposed the magistrates. A.D. 1535.

gistrates, and afterwards formed a government of their own. Ernest being solicited by the bishop of Munster to assist in reducing them, marched against the city with the other princes of the house of Brunswick, and took it by storm, after it had been the scene of a bloody tragedy for near two years.

A.D. 1552.

Ernest, after a life spent with unwearied application to promote the welfare of his subjects, died in his forty-eighth year; leaving four sons, whereof the second was killed in the battle of Sivershausen; the eldest, Francis Otho, succeeded him; and, after his death, the two youngest, Henry and William, founded two new lines, which subsist to this day, and are called the houses of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and of Brunswick Luneburg. Ernest has obtained the character of a pious, steady, and valliant prince. Notwithstanding the cares and toils of government, he employed a great part of his time in study, and inspecting the education of his children; he took great delight to see his subjects instructed in the Protestant religion, for which purpose he ordered frequent visitations to be made in the different dioceses. He likewise admitted into his presence, and patiently heard, such of his subjects as desired personally to make their suits known to him, living up to the sense of his emblem, which was a burning candle, with this inscription, *Aliis inserviundo, meipsum consumo; I serve others, and thereby consume myself.*

*William of
the house of
Luneburg.*

The sons of Ernest being all under age at his death, the states of the principality of Zelle, took upon them the administration of the regency. During that time, Frederic lost his life in the battle near Sivershausen. Francis Otho, who as the elder brother, came to the government of his father's possessions in 1555, died four years after, leaving his dominions to his two younger brothers, Henry and William, who agreed to govern jointly, which they continued to do for ten years with great unanimity and friendship. During this joint government, Frederic II. king of Denmark, with the assistance of the dukes of Holstein, commenced a war against a people called the Deithmarses, inhabiting a country situated on the German ocean, between the Elbe and the Eider, and formerly conquered by Henry the Lion. The king of Denmark having killed three thousand of them in a battle, the rest fled to the marshes, and by the mediation of Henry and William, who set aside their own interests, a peace was concluded and ratified in the open field, by which the Deithmarses surrendered themselves, and their country was incorporated into the duchy of Holstein.

Some

Some years after, Henry having taken a resolution to live a quiet life, resigned his share of the government to his brother William, reserving no more to himself than the counties of Danneberg and Luchow, with their dependencies. William thus enjoyed a larger share of his father's dominions than he expected, and afterwards succeeded to the castles and bailiwicks of Hoya, Menburg, Liebenau, and Bruchhausen, by the death of the last count of Hoya; on the demise likewise of Frederic, last count of Diepholt, that county, as a fief of the house of Luneburg, devolved entire to him, with its dependencies. William, after he came to the sole government of his states, caused the sum of the Protestant doctrines to be reduced into a body, and published, ordering, that every clergyman within his dominions should swear at his ordination to conform himself to its contents. He died in 1592, leaving seven sons, the four eldest of whom succeeded him by turns. He was much beloved by his subjects; and high encomiums have been bestowed upon him by authors, on account of his knowledge and learning.

Ernest, Christian, Augustus, Frederick, Magnus, George, and John, the seven sons of Ernest the Confessor, being resolved to keep up the splendor of their house, came to an agreement among themselves not to divide their paternal inheritance; determining that only one should marry, and that the elder brother should have the sole regency over the Luneburg dominions, and be succeeded by the eldest that should survive him. They kept to this brotherly agreement with great exactness, which so new and uncommon thing, reaching the ear of the grand signor Achmet I. he expressed great surprize, saying, it was worth a man's while to undertake a journey on purpose, to be an eye-witness of this wonderful unanimity. The seven brothers, according to their agreement, having drawn lots to determine who should marry, the happy lot fell upon George, the sixth brother, who thereupon entered the married state, and continued the family. By his marriage George secured the government to his posterity; but he died before the regency fell to himself.

George, so early as in the ninth year of his age, was sent with his brother Magnus to the university of Jena; when he had finished his studies he learned the art military under prince Maurice of Nassau, who, at that time, defended the liberties of the new republic of Holland against Spain. He afterwards went upon his travels into France, England, and Italy, and when returned he served Christian IV. king of Denmark, in his war against Charles IX. king of Sweden. In the beginning of the war of thirty years,

he espoused the party of the emperor Ferdinand II. and would have kept steady to the same interest, had not the imperial general seized upon the principality of Calenberg, and exacted large sums from its inhabitants. These hostile proceedings induced the house of Luneburg to league itself with Gustavus Adolphus. George recovered Calenberg, and defeated the imperial generals in several engagements, in consequence of which, many cities and fortresses fell into their hands, amongst which was Hildesheim, which he afterwards retained. The peace of Prague being concluded between the emperor and the elector of Saxony, he declared himself in favour of that treaty, and rejected the offers of the Swedes; upon which they committed some hostilities against him. George being afterwards fully convinced of the emperor's ambitious views, again sided with the Swedes, and drove the imperialists out of the fortress of Steinbruc, and having taken several other places, he sat down before the fortress of Wolfenbittel. Here a period was put to his warlike exploits; for while he was present at a banquet at Hildesheim with general Banier, a monk administered poisoned wine to several of the chiefs that were assembled there, and though he drank but little of it, yet it had so fatal an effect upon him, that from that time, his strength visibly abated, and soon after, a fever put an end to his life. He

A.D. 1641.

*Ernest
Augustus
the first
elector.*

Ernest Augustus, the youngest son of George above mentioned, was but twelve years old at the time of his father's decease. As he discovered a very early inclination to learning, he was sent to the university of Marburg, where he went through his studies, and was complimented with the rectorship of the university. He improved his knowledge afterwards by travelling into Holland, England, France, Spain, and Italy. The alternate succession in the bishoprick of Osnabrug being granted to the houses of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, and Brunswick Luneburg, by the treaty of Westphalia, Ernest Augustus succeeded to this bishoprick after the death of the cardinal, who then possessed it; and fixing his residence in that city, he there built a fine palace, at his own charge. His court, like that of the elector of Mentz, was called *Aula Laboriosa*, on account of the share he had in all the public transactions of his time.

He concurred in bringing the bishop of Munster to relinquish the war against the Dutch, and was instrumental in terminating

terminating the differences of the house of Brunswick Wolfenbittel with this bishop, about the protectorship of the city Hoxter. When Louis XIV. invaded Holland, he accepted of a neutrality, but nevertheless used all his dexterity to free Westphalia from the French troops. Louis XIV. afterwards carrying his arms into Franche Compté, the empire declared war against France; and Ernest Augustus joining the grand alliance, took the field himself, and made a campaign on the Rhine and on the Moselle. The year following, he acted in the Netherlands with the prince of Orange, who commanded the allied army. Here he assisted at the siege of Maeltricht, and carried on an attack himself on the side of the Meuse. About the time of the conclusion of the peace at Nimeguen, the principality of Calenberg devolving to him by the death of John Frederic his brother, he appointed a regency at Osnabrug, and translated his residence to Hanover. Here he established the right of primogeniture in the house of Brunswick Luneburgh, abolishing the pernicious custom that had hitherto prevailed in his house, of dividing the dominions belonging to it.

A.D. 1680.

The death of the elector Palatine affording Louis XIV. another pretence for invading the empire, a new alliance was formed against him, to which Ernest Augustus acceded, and recalled his ambassador from Paris. He joined the auxiliary army on the Moselle with eight thousand men, and proposed to relieve Philipsburgh; but it being too late, he secured Coblentz and Frankfort, and leaving four thousand of his troops on the Rhine, under the command of his eldest son George Lewis, he returned with the rest to his dominions. Next campaign he marched a body of eight thousand men to the Netherlands, but while they were on their march, the French having passed the Rhine, and entered Suabia, the emperor entreated Ernest Augustus to join the confederate army on the Rhine, which enabled the allies to make themselves masters of Mentz. The following year, he had a body of eleven thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of his eldest son George Lewis, who behaved with great bravery at the unfortunate battle of Fleury. The war still continuing, the emperor desired Ernest to send reinforcements to the armies: accordingly, he augmented the forces he had in Hungary with five thousand men, and sent another body of eight thousand to the Netherlands.

A.D. 1688.

In consideration of these services, Leopold proposed to the college of princes at Ratisbon, that he thought the house of Brunswick worthy of a place in the electoral college,

A.D. 1692.

which declaration of the emperor was agreed to by a majority of votes, and a resolution was accordingly drawn up, declaring him worthy of the electoral dignity. Against this resolve the college of princes immediately entered a protest; however, the emperor, the same year, gave the solemn investiture of the electoral dignity to the plenipotentiary of Ernest Augustus. The opposing princes again protested, declaring the investiture null, and contrary to the golden bull. Several assemblies were held upon this affair

A.D. 1698.

at Goslar and Nuremberg, and the opposition had almost proceeded to an open rupture, when Ernest dying in 1698, the dispute was omitted, on account of the new war that threatened the empire. Ernest Augustus was an active and laborious prince, and assiduous in the administration of justice. He married Sophia, daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. king of England, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. George Lewis, the eldest, succeeded him. Frederic Augustus, the second, was slain in an action against the Turks in Transylvania; as was also the fourth, Charles Philip, in a battle with the Turks and Tartars the same year; Maximilian William died as field-marshal-general of the imperial army; Christian, the fifth son, on returning from an engagement with the French near Ulm, was drowned in the Danube; and the youngest, Ernest Augustus, became bishop of Osnabrug. Sophia Charlotta, the only daughter of his electoral highness, was married to Frederic I. king of Prussia.

George
Lewis.

George Lewis, eldest son of the elector Ernest Augustus, was born in the year 1660. His father had him early initiated in the liberal arts, and in all the sciences necessary for a prince. When he was but fifteen years old, he attended his father and the duke of Zelle his uncle to the army on the Moselle, and was present in all the dangers they exposed themselves to in the battle near Triers, and in the siege of that place. The emperor Leopold, highly pleased with these proofs of his valour and intrepidity, congratulated him by a letter on the honour he had acquired in this campaign. He followed his father in the next campaigns in the Netherlands, where he assisted at the siege of Maestricht and Charleroy. The peace being concluded next year at Nimeguen, some time after, Louis XIV. with a view to engage the elector Ernest in his interest, proposed a match between George Louis and a daughter of the duke of Orleans, but some overtures of a marriage between
George

George Louis and the princess Anne, second daughter of the duke of York, were more acceptable; for this purpose, the prince came over to England, where he was extremely well received by the whole court. However, his stay was but short in England, his father having concluded a match for him with his cousin-german Sophia Dorothy, only daughter of the duke of Zelle. The marriage was celebrated with great solemnity in 1682, and heaven blessed it the year following with a prince, named George Augustus, the late king of Great Britain.

Scarce two years after this alliance, George Louis engaged to assist the emperor in his war against the Turks, and the three following campaigns he signalized his valour in Hungary, especially at the siege of Buda, which the imperialists took by storm. Afterwards, on the breaking out of the second war between the empire and Louis XIV. his father acceding to the grand alliance, he commanded the Luneburg troops at the siege of Mentz and Bonn, and signalized his valour in all the campaigns till the conclusion of the peace at Ryswick. The year following, his father dying, he wholly applied himself to the government of his dominions; but the peace of the North being disturbed by the death of the king of Sweden, and the dispute between the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, the elector, to prevent the flame from spreading, marched to the assistance of the duke of Holstein, as guarantee of the treaty of Altena, and obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Tonningen. Whilst these things were doing, the king of Sweden having entered Zealand, and bombarded Copenhagen, the king of Denmark was obliged to conclude a peace to the satisfaction of the duke of Holstein. A.D. 1700.

This year the duke of Gloucester, the only surviving issue of princess Anne's thirteen children, dying, king William earnestly recommended to the parliament of England to regulate the succession of their crown. In consequence of which recommendation, an act of settlement was made the year following, by which the electress Sophia was declared next in succession to the crown of England, France, and Ireland, after king William and the princess Anne of Denmark, and in default of their issue: which act, sealed with the great seal of England, was carried to Hanover by the earl of Macclesfield.

A new war breaking out betwixt the emperor and the king of France, with regard to the succession of the crown of Spain, George Louis and his uncle the duke of Zelle, A.D. 1702.

became auxiliaries of the emperor, and the grand alliance being formed, the elector marched a body of troops into the country of the house of Wolfenbittel, whose princes had made an engagement with France, and by taking several of their towns, forced them to quit that alliance. A few years after, George William, duke of Zelle, yielded to fate, by whose decease the elector re-united all the dominions of the house of Luneburg, the subjects of his uncle having some years before taken the oath of allegiance to him.

A D. 1707. After the memorable battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim, the military affairs of the empire not being managed to the content of the allies, the command of the army was given to the elector, and he accordingly arrived at Philippsburg on the 13th of September, and soon after put a stop to the ravages of the French in the circles of Suabia and Franconia. Hearing they had seven regiments of horse and dragoons in a camp at Offenburg, he sent count Merci with a detachment to surprise the enemy. He succeeded in his enterprise, and brought away four standards, a hundred and fifty prisoners, one thousand three hundred horses, with the loss of only two lieutenants, and thirty men. The duke of Marlborough leaving the army in Flanders about the beginning of October, met the elector George and the elector of Mentz at Francfort, where they concerted the operations for the next campaign. The elector returning to the army, the French began to repass the Rhine, and go into winter-quarters, while the allies employed themselves in carrying a line from Daxlant to Etlingen. The diet of Ratisbon made some vigorous decrees for reinforcing the army against the next campaign; nevertheless, the army of the allies was very weak on the Rhine, and the elector was obliged to keep himself on the defensive. The year following, likewise, but half the number of men proposed assembled in the field, by which neglect, the designed invasion of Upper Alsace and Franche Comté, was prevented.

A.D. 1710. The elector being thus disappointed of succours during three campaigns, by the remissness of the empire, resigned the command of the army; but left his troops both in Flanders and on the Rhine. About this time, the bishop and chapter of Hildesheim oppressing their protestant subjects, and notwithstanding the representations of the elector, refusing to redress their grievances, he, as a chief party concerned in former conventions, ordered a detachment of dragoons to enter the bishoprick, who making themselves

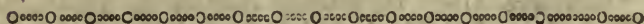
masters;

masters of the city of Hildesheim, the fortress of Peina, and three bailiwicks, the chapter at last consented to give sufficient security for the Protestants.

The empire at last concluding this long war with France by a peace at Rastadt and Baden, Louis XIV. formally acknowledged the electoral dignity in the house of Luneburg, as he had the year before, by the treaty of Utrecht, owned the succession to the British realms, as it was limited by acts of parliament in favour of the princess Sophia and her issue. This princess lived not to enjoy the crown destined for her, but died this year of an apoplectic fit, when she had almost completed the eighty-fourth year of her age. Her death was followed a few weeks after, by that of her majesty queen Anne, who leaving no issue, the elector George was proclaimed on the first of August, the day of her death, at the usual places, and with the usual ceremonies, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. As soon as his majesty received the news of the queen's death, and of this proclamation, he expressed his intention to set out for England, where he soon after arrived. After reigning almost thirteen years over that kingdom, he died at the palace of Osnabrug, on his way to Hanover, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving behind him an only son, George Augustus, late king of Great Britain. He was a prince eminently endowed with talents for governing, and besides blessed with a soul capable of tasting the pleasures of social intercourse, disdaining pride, but at the same time maintaining his dignity.

A.D. 1714.

A.D. 1727.



C H A P. XCII.

History of the Line of Brunswick Wolfenbittel.

OF the three sons of Ernest the Confessor that survived him, Otho, the eldest, dying without issue, the dominions of the family fell to the two youngest brothers Henry and William, who both left posterity. The descendants of William founded the line of Luneburg, and Henry, the elder brother, is the ancestor of the present house of Wolfen-

A.D. 1546.

Henry.

Wolfenbittel. Henry governed his father's states jointly with his brother for ten years, and afterwards chusing a retired life, he resigned the government to his brother, and reserved only to himself the counties of Daneberg and Luchow, with their dependencies. He died in 1598, leaving three sons, Julius Ernest, Francis, and Augustus.

Augustus.

Julius Ernest dying without issue, and Francis being drowned in passing a river, Augustus succeeded; and besides the counties above mentioned, he inherited the principality of Wolfenbittel, with the lordship of Wustrow. He established his residence at Hitzaker, where his love to learning induced him to collect a library consisting of eighty thousand volumes, and which at present amounts to above one hundred and sixteen thousand volumes, besides two thousand select manuscripts. This valuable collection, after his succeeding Frederic Ulric, was removed to Wolfenbittel, where it is open to all comers during the greatest part of the week-days. He wrote several tracts, which remain as monuments of his labour and erudition. He died in 1666, leaving three sons, Rudolph Augustus, Antony Ulric, and Ferdinand Albert.

Ferdinand Albert.

Ferdinand Albert, his youngest son, continued the family; he married Christiana, daughter of Frederic, of Hesse Cassel, by whom he had Sophia Eleonora, Augustus Ferdinand, Ferdinand Albert, Ferdinand Christian and Ernest Ferdinand, twins, and Henry Ferdinand. He died in 1687, and his son Ferdinand Albert continued the family.

Ferdinand Albert II.

Ferdinand Albert II. married Anthonetta Amelia, of Blankenburg, by whom he had fourteen children; namely, Charles, duke of Wolfenbittel, born the first of August, 1713; Anthony Ulric, Elizabeth Christina, Lewis Ernest, Augustus, Ferdinand, Louisa Amelia, Sophia Anthonetta, Albert, Christine Caroline Louisa, Theresia Natalia, Juliana Maria, Frederic William, Frederic Francis. He died in 1735.

C H A P. XCIII.

The History of the Electorate of Brandenburg.

THE electorare, though formerly first in order, was deprived of that rank by the emperor Charles IV.¹; but the extent of its territories, and the number of its inhabitants, render it still one of the most considerable. Besides its ancient hereditary dominions of the marquissate of Brandenburg, the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Mark and Ravensberg, and the dukedom of Prussia, erected into a kingdom in the beginning of this century, it is at present possessed of several great provinces, adjudged to it by the treaties of Westphalia, in compensation for that part of Pomerania which was ceded to the crown of Sweden. These provinces are, the duchy of Magdeburg, the principality of Halberstadt, the principality of Minden, and Farther Pomerania. The province of Silesia has likewise been lately ceded to this house, by a treaty concluded between the late empress and the present king of Prussia. The electors have been possessed of part of Brandenburg, from the earliest accounts of history; and, after many conquests and purchases, they have now the dominion of the whole country, which is divided into the Old March, Pregnitz, the Middle March, the March Ukraine, and the New March. Brandenburg is the capital of the marquissate, from whence the electors have their title. It is a rich and populous city, situated upon the river Havel, and was formerly the principal place of the idolatry of the Vandals, where they sacrificed to two superior divinities. But Berlin, upon the same river, is the ordinary residence of the elector, having been greatly augmented by the numbers of French Protestants, who resorted to it upon the repeal of the edict of Nantz.

The elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg having both pretended to the succession of Cleves, Juliers, and Bergues, made a provisional division of these states, till it should be determined who was the right heir to the whole; the last duke, who died without issue, having prohibited, by his will, any division of his estates. By this provisional division, the elector of Brandenburg enjoys the duchy of Cleves and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg.

¹ Brand. lib. i. cap. 11.

A.D. 1579.

Prussia.

Prussia, likewise, is become hereditary to the house of Brandenburg, though formerly it belonged to a grand-master of the Teutonic order, these knights having, after a long war, subdued the ancient heathen inhabitants, in order to convert them to Christianity. By a long course of oppression, they obliged their subjects to surrender themselves to the king of Poland, who, entering Prussia with an army, vindicated the rights of the people. After a thirteen years war, between the knights of the order and the king of Poland, a peace was concluded, by which that part of Prussia, on the higher side of the Vistula, was annexed to the kingdom of Poland; and the grand-master of the order paid homage for what remained to the conquerors. Afterwards, Albert of Brandenburg, grand-master of the order, refusing to pay homage, declared war against Poland, but finding himself unequal, he abandoned the interests of the order, went to Cracovia, and swearing allegiance to the king of Poland, received the investiture of the province to himself, and his lawful heirs male, failing of whom it was to be re-united to Poland. Afterwards the emperor Leopold erected Prussia into a kingdom; in consideration of the assistance which the elector gave him in his wars with France. The capital of this kingdom is Königsberg, a large trading city, with a fine harbour at the mouth of the river Inset, which falls into the gulf of Frischaff, on one side of which is the fort of Pilau, and, on the other, that of Memel.

Magdeburg.

The duchy of Magdeburg is a considerable state, situated upon the Elbe. It was formerly an archbishoprick, but since the death of Augustus, duke of Saxony, in 1680, it hath remained hereditary to the elector of Brandenburg, under the title of a duchy, and, under this quality, he hath a seat and voice on the bench of secular princes.

Halberstadt.

The principality of Halberstadt was formerly a bishoprick, of the foundation of Charlemagne; it is, at present, secularized with the fourth part of the canons, and a part of the county of Hohenstein, all for the advantage of the elector of Brandenburg. Its prince is intitled to a seat and voice in the diets and deputations, as well as at the assemblies of the states of the circle of Lower Saxony, of which it is one of the principal members. The capital of this principality is Halberstadt, situated upon the river Holtheim.

A.D. 1644.

Minden.

The bishoprick of Minden has likewise been secularized by the peace of Westphalia, in favour of the elector of Brandenburg. The capital of this principality is Minden, upon the Weser, but the courts of justice are held at Paderbushague.

The

The succession of Pomerania having been confirmed by the emperor to the elector Frederic II. surnamed Irontooth, in virtue of a treaty concluded between the elector and the dukes of Pomerania, by which, if their line should become extinct, Pomerania was to fall to the electorate, the succession became open in 1637, by the death of Bogislaus XIV. who left no male children. The Swedes, at that time, possessing not only the cities and fortified places, but all the country of the duchy of Pomerania, the elector could not then take possession of that principality. So that the war still continuing in Germany till the general pacification of Westphalia, the succession of Pomerania was so regulated by that treaty, that the elector was obliged to content himself with the farther part of that duchy, the other part being left to Sweden, with a perpetual power of succeeding to the rest of the duchy, failing male princes of Brandenburg. After the determination of the succession, the elector established the principal seat of justice at Sturgard.

*Farther
Pomerania.*

In all his different estates, which extend more than three hundred leagues, almost the whole breadth of Germany, the elector causes justice to be administered according to the use and custom of each country; and all appeals are carried before the sovereign court residing near the prince, to be judged in the last instance; for his subjects cannot appeal from his final decrees, which is a right confirmed not only by the golden bull, but by a special concession granted to the elector by the emperor Maximilian II.

A.D. 1568.

The elector, and the greatest part of his subjects, profess the protestant religion; but in the countries of Cleves, and the Mark, the Roman Catholics have preserved their churches, with the liberty of the public exercise of their religion.

The elector is arch-chamberlain of the empire, in which quality he carries the sceptre at the coronation of the emperor, and when the emperor holds his court. His prerogatives consist in having the first prayers in the chapters depending upon his states; to judge sovereignly, and without appeal, through the whole extent of his electorate; which right the emperor Leopold extended to the hereditary states of this electorate. The emperor Frederic III. in 1456, granted him the power to establish new taxes, or to augment old ones, according to his pleasure; but this privilege is disputed. In quality of the duke of Magdeburg, he concurs in the direction of the circle of Lower Saxony, and, as duke of Cleves, he concurs in that of the circle of Westphalia. In the diets, besides his electoral

vote,

vote, he has five voices in the college of princes, upon account of Magdeburg, Farther Pomerania, Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin. He has, likewise, several voices in the college of counts; and lastly, by a very ancient agreement, he has the reversion of the duchy of Mecklenburg.

A. D. 927.

The ancient inhabitants of Brandenburg.

The most ancient inhabitants of Brandenburg were the Suevi^k, who were expelled by the Vandals, the Henetes, the Saxons, and the Franks. These were with difficulty subdued by Charlemagne; but at last, the emperor, Henry the Fowler, established margraves, or governors of the frontiers, in that country, to rule the barbarous people, who were inclined to revolt. Sigefroy, brother-in-law to the above emperor Henry, was the first margrave of Brandenburg, under whose administration the bishopricks of Brandenburg and Havelberg were established by Otho I. From this Sigefroy, to the succession of the princes of the house of Hohenzollern, from which the present elector is descended, there are reckoned eight different families who have been margraves of Brandenburg; namely, the family of the Saxons, of Walbec, Staden, Plantzk, Anhalt, Bavaria, Luxemburg, and Misnia; to these that of Hohenzollern succeeded, which continues to this day.

The eight first families that possessed the margraviate.

The margraves of the four first races had continual wars with the kings of the Vandals, and other barbarous people. Albert, surnamed the Bear, the first prince of the Anhaltine race, by his power secured his country from their ravages. He was made margrave by the emperor Conrad III. and afterwards raised to the dignity of an elector by Frederic Barbarossa, about the year 1100. Some years afterwards, the king of the Vandals dying without issue, left the Middle March by his last will to the elector, who was, besides, possessed of the Old March, Upper Saxony, the country of Anhalt, and part of Lusace. History makes no mention of the descendants of this race; yet, it is certain, that this line became extinct in 1332, by the death of Woldemar II. The electorate being devolved to the empire, Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, gave it to his son Louis, who was the first of the sixth race. Louis the Roman succeeded his brother, and as he died likewise without children, his third brother, Otho, succeeded him. This prince was so pusillanimous, that he sold the electorate to the emperor Charles IV. of the house of Luxemburg, for two hundred thousand florins of gold. Charles IV. gave the March to his son Wenceslaus, to whom Sigismund succeeded; this elector, having need of money, sold the New

^k Mem. de Branden. p. 5. Cluverii, Geog. lib. iii. cap. 3.

March to the knights of the Teutonic order. Joffe succeeded Sigismund, and aspiring to the empire, he sold the electorate to William, duke of Misnia, who possessed it only one year, the emperor Sigismund buying it from him.

The next family that succeeded to the electorate was that of Hohenzollern, the original of which, like that of many others, is hid in the darkness of antiquity. Tassilon is the count of Hohenzollern known in history; he lived about the year 800. His descendents were Danes, Rodolph I. Otho, Wolfgang, Frederic I. Frederic II. Frederic III. Rodolph II. whose obscure lives are not known. Conrad, who lived about the year 1200, is the first of the family whom history mentions, as burgrave of Nuremberg. His successors were Frederic I. Conrad II. Frederic II. Frederic III. John I. Frederic IV. Conrad IV. John II. Albert VI. Frederic V. his nephew, declared prince of the empire at the diet of Nuremberg by the emperor Charles IV. Frederic VI. his son, succeeded his father as burgrave of Nuremberg, and in the year 1417, received the investiture of the country of Brandenburg, at the diet of Constance, from the hands of the emperor Sigismund, who, two years before, had conferred upon him the dignity of elector and arch-chamberlain of the holy Roman empire.

An account of the family of Hohenzollern.

A.D. 1363.

Frederic, the first elector of the house of Hohenzollern, upon his investiture, found himself possessed of the Old and Middle March, but that the dukes of Pomerania had usurped the March Ukraine; he declared war against them, and, defeating them at Angermund, re-united the March to his province. The New March having been sold to the knights of the Teutonic order by the elector Sigismund, of the house of Luxemburg, the elector Sigismund extending his views of grandeur, took possession of Saxony, which electorate was vacant by the death of the last elector of the Anhaltine branch. The emperor, who did not approve of this acquisition, gave the investiture of Saxony to the duke of Misnia, upon which Frederic I. desisted voluntarily from his conquests. The elector made a division of his estates by his will; his eldest son, surnamed the Alchymist, was deprived of his rights by his father, who left him only the Voightland and his crucible. His second son, Frederic, had the electorate; Albert, surnamed the Achilles, had the duchies of Franconia; and Frederic, surnamed the Fat, had the Old March, but his death re-united that province to the electorate. Frederic I. dying in 1440, his second son succeeded him according to his will.

Frederic I.

Frederic II. surnamed Irontooth, upon account of his strength, may likewise be called Magnanimous, because he

refused

Frederic II. surnamed Irontooth.

refused the crown of Bohemia which the pope offered him, having excommunicated George Podiebrad; and declared likewise, that he would not accept of the crown of Poland, but after the refusal of Casimir, brother of the last king Ladislaus. This grandeur of soul in the elector procured him the confidence of his people, and the estates of Lower Luface submitted themselves to him by inclination. George Podiebrad, who was king of Bohemia, to prevent that province, which was a fief of his kingdom, from passing under the dominion of Frederic II. made war upon him in Luface, and in the March. These two princes

A.D. 1462.

concluded a treaty afterwards at Guben, by which Cothus, Peitz, Sommerfeld, Bobersberg, Storgaw, and Bessékaw, were ceded in propriety to the elector, by the crown of Bohemia. Frederic afterwards redeemed the New March from the Teutonic order; and Otho III. the last duke of Stetin, happening to die, he entered into a war with the duke of Wolgast about the succession. This affair was afterwards settled by a treaty, by which the duke of Wolgast, indeed, possessed the duchy of Stetin, but it became feudatory to the elector, and Pomerania rendered him a provisional homage. The elector, likewise, re-united the county of Wernigerode to the March, as a vacant fief, and took the titles of duke of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Vandalia, Schwerin, and Rostock, upon which he had a right of reversion. Having no children, he abdicated the electorate in favour of his brother Albert, surnamed Achilles, reserving only a moderate pension of six thousand florins, upon which he lived as a philosopher till the year 1471, when he died, loaded with infirmities.

A.D. 1464.

*Albert,
surnamed
Achilles.*

Albert was surnamed Achilles and Ulysses upon account of his prudence and valour. He was fifty-seven years of age when his brother yielded the government to him. When he was burgrave of Nuremberg, he made war against Lewis du Barbu, duke of Bavaria, and took him prisoner; he likewise gained eight battles against the people of Nuremberg, who disputed his title of burgravitate, and took possession of the city of Greiffenberg, as Alexander did that of the capital of the Oxidrace, leaping from the top of the walls alone into the city, where he defended himself till his troops, having forced the gates, came to his assistance. Albert, being greatly in the confidence of the emperor Frederic III. governed almost the whole empire, and commanded the imperial armies against Louis the Rich, duke of Bavaria, and against Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, who laid siege to Nuis, in the electorate of Cologne. Having negotiated a peace with these

these princes, he acquired the surname of Ulysses, having always deserved that of Achilles, both upon account of his valour at the head of the troops which he commanded, and for having carried away the prize at seventeen tournaments, which were fashionable sports in those days¹. Albert, A.D. 1473. having succeeded his brother, re-united his possessions of Franconia to the electorate, and made a treaty of confraternity with the houses of Saxony and Hesse, which regulated the succession of their estates, in case any of their lines should become extinct. The same year he settled the succession among his sons, giving the electorate to his eldest son John; to the second, Bareith; and to the youngest, Anspach; and soon after abdicated in favour of his son John. His daughter Barbe, married Henry, duke of Glo-gaw and Crossen, and brought the last duchy into the house of Brandenburg, in consequence of her contract of marriage, which bore, that in case her husband died without children, the elector should have a right to raise annually fifty thousand ducats upon the duchy of Crossen. Duke Henry dying without issue, John, the elector, put himself in possession of the city of Crossen, and maintained that acquisition.

The third son of Albert the Achilles, Frederic the Old, margrave of Anspach, was the grandfather of that George Frederic who received the duchy of Jagendorff from the king of Bohemia. This George Frederic made a contract with the dukes of Oppelen and Ratibor, who promised him as an equivalent the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand florins, which was never paid.

It is said, the surname of Cicero was given to this elector, upon account of his natural eloquence, he having reconciled three kings, who disputed the succession of Silesia; namely, Ladislaus of Bohemia, Casimir of Poland, and Matthias of Hungary. John the Cicero, and the elector of Saxony, entered Silesia at the head of six thousand horse, and declared themselves enemies to that king who should refuse the peace which they offered. The kings coming to a treaty, by the mediation of the electors, Silesia and Lusace were divided between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary. There is need of other proofs of the eloquence of John than the above example, for here the six thousand horse seem to have been the strongest argument. John the Cicero had a new war to maintain against the duke of Sagan, who formed pretensions upon the duchy of Crossen; having engaged with him near that city, he

*John, the
Cicero.*

¹ Mem. de Branden. p. 20.

defeated him, and took him prisoner. After governing twenty years, he died in the year 1499, leaving two sons, the eldest of which, Joachim, succeeded to the electorate; and the second, named Albert, became elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg. It was this elector who founded the university of Frankfort upon the Oder.

A.D. 1498. Joachim was only sixteen years of age when he became elector. The county of Ruppin having become vacant by the death of Wickmann, count of Linclaw, the elector re-united that fief to the March. He died in 1532, leaving two sons; namely, Joachim, who succeeded him; and the margrave, John, to whom he left the new March, Crossen, Sternberg, and Storkaw.

Joachim II. Joachim, having inherited the electorate of his father, embraced the doctrine of Luther in 1539. It is not known what was the principal motive of his changing his religion; but it is certain, that the courtiers, and the bishop of Brandenburg, followed his example. He acquired by the communion under both kinds, the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus, which he incorporated into this March. And, whilst the war of religion desolated Saxony, and the neighbouring countries, he maintained his electorate in peace, having declined to enter into the union which the protestants concluded at Smalkalde. The emperor Charles V. who had put himself at the head of the catholics, having made use of the equivocation of a safe-conduct to seize the landgrave of Hesse, who, with the elector of Saxony, had commanded the protestants; Joachim, who had been guarantee of the safe-conduct, enraged at this breach of faith, drew his sword against the duke of Alka, the emperor's ambassador at Berlin; and would have, by his death, revenged the injury committed by his master, had not those who were present prevented him. The ruinous war of religion was at last concluded by the peace of Passau and Augsburgh; but the elector of Saxony was deposed, and his electorate given to prince Maurice, of the Albertine line. However, Joachim did not agree to the Interim which the emperor published.

The elector of Brandenburg, and the new elector of Saxony, were charged by the emperor to lay siege to Magdeburg, which surrendered after a defence of fourteen months. The archbishop of Magdeburg dying, the canons elected in his place, Frederic, bishop of Havelberg, second son of the elector Joachim; and, after his death, the elector had credit enough to cause Sigismund, his third son, to be elected, who was a protestant. Soon after the peace of

of religion, the elector caused Spandaw to be fortified, while his brother John, the margrave, fortified Custrin.

Joachim II. obtained of his brother-in-law Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, the right of succeeding to Albert Frederic, of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, in case he should die without heirs; and he engaged to assist Poland with a certain number of troops whenever she should be attacked. The reign of this prince was quiet and peaceable, the manners of the country beginning to be a little more polished, yet not without a mixture of disguised barbarity, mistaken for magnificence, and a formal ceremony instead of real politeness. It is related in history, that Joachim II. when he married Sophia, the daughter of the king of Poland, out of an heroic gallantry, went to bed to his young spouse on his wedding-night, with all his armour on. This elector is accused of pushing his liberality to a degree of prodigality, and exceeding his predecessors in luxury and vain pomp. He died in 1571.

John George inherited the electorate by the death of *John George.* his father, and the New March from his uncle, the margrave John. It is to be remarked, that one of his wives was a princess of Lignitz, named Sophia. During his government, the branch of the margraves of Bareith and Anspach becoming extinct, he divided that succession between his two younger sons; Christian, the oldest of the two, having Bareith, and Ernest having Anspach. His reign was pacific, and he died in 1598.

Joachim Frederic was fifty-two years of age when he *Joachim Frederic.* succeeded to the government. During the life of his father, he enjoyed the bishopricks of Magdeburg, Havelberg, and Lebus. When he succeeded to the electorate, he resigned the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, in favour of his son Christian William. He administered Prussia during the insanity of duke Albert Frederic, and recovered the succession of the duchy of Jagersdorff, which he gave to one of his sons, named John George, as a reparation for the bishoprick of Strasburg, which he had been obliged to renounce, it being usual, in these times, for successions to be often divided and re-united. Joachim Frederic was the first prince who established a council of state; and considering, likewise, the necessity of providing for the education of youth, he founded the college of Joachimthal, where a hundred and twenty persons are educated, and maintained according to the institution. This college was afterwards transferred to Berlin by the grand-elector. The poverty of the country, and the great want of money, obliged

obliged this elector to publish sumptuary laws. He died in 1608, aged sixty-three years.

John Sigismund succeeded to the countries of Juliers, Berg, &c.

John Sigismund married, at Königsberg, Anne, the only daughter of Albert, duke of Prussia, heiress of that duchy and of the succession of Cleves. This succession, which consisted of the countries of Juliers, Berg, Cleves, the Marck, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein, was too tempting not to excite the ambition of all those who hoped to share in it. Before we speak of the rights of the elector of Brandenburg, and the dukes of Neuburg, it is proper to explain the pretensions of Saxony. The emperor Maximilian had given the reversion of this succession to the princes of the two lines of Saxony, namely, the Ernestine and Albertine; failing all heirs, male and female, of the dukes of Cleves: for the patents which George William obtained of the emperor prove, that females had a right to inherit that fief. John Frederic, the last elector of Saxony, of the Ernestine house, married Sybilla, daughter of John III. duke of Juliers. William, duke of Cleves, son of this duke of Juliers, married the niece of the emperor Charles V. This marriage, joined to the resentment the emperor had against Frederic of Saxony, who was one of the members of the Smalkaldic league, influenced him to confirm to John William, the right which he had of disposing of the succession in favour of his daughters, failing male children. The son of this duke dying without children, the succession fell to the sisters. The eldest, named Mary Eleonore, had been married to the duke of Prussia, Albert Frederic; the second, Anne, was married to the prince palatine of Neuburg; the third, Magdalene, was wife of the count palatine of Deuxponts; the fourth, Sybilla, was married to a prince of Austria, count of Burgaw: these four princesses, and their children, pretended to the succession. Mary Eleonore, wife of Albert of Prussia, founded her rights upon her contract of marriage, which bore, in express terms, that if her brother died without children, she and her posterity should inherit the six duchies, in virtue of the fundamental agreements, by which the eldest daughters have the right of succession. The duke of Prussia engaged to pay two hundred thousand florins of gold to his wife's sisters, in lieu of all their pretensions. Eleonore being dead, her daughter Anne, wife of the elector John Sigismund, inherited the rights of her mother, which was the point of dispute. Anne, duchess of Neuburg, founded her pretensions upon this, that as her sister Mary Eleonore was dead, she succeeded to her rights, and became of course the eldest of the other sisters, and nearest relation to her deceased brother,

A.D. 1609

ther, as Anne of Brandenburg was only his niece; but these pretensions were contrary to the agreements of the family, and the contract of marriage of Mary Eleonore.

The two younger sisters of duke John William, did not demand the entire possession; they proposed only to dismember it. But what rendered null the right of the three younger sisters, was, that in their contract of marriage they had renounced all their rights whilst there was any children of their eldest sister alive. The elector, John Sigismund, and Wolfgang William, duke of Neuburg, were to take joint possession of the disputed estates; in the mean time, reserving to themselves their respective rights. What contributed to this agreement, was, that the emperor Rodolph wanted to take possession of this inheritance, under a pretence of sequestration, till the dispute should be legally decided. The archduke Leopold was preparing to take possession of it, but the protestant princes opposed him, and formed a celebrated alliance, which is called the Union; to counterbalance the Union, the Roman catholics made a like treaty at Wartzburg, which they called the League. The elector had endeavoured to bring about an accommodation with the duke of Neuburg; but at an interview which they had, in the heat of the dispute, John Sigismund gave the duke a blow, which embroiled matters afresh.

A division of these countries between the elector and duke of Neuburg.

Albert, duke of Prussia, and father-in-law of John Sigismund, becoming a lunatic, Joachim Frederic had administered the government of Prussia during his life; after his death, Albert still continuing in the same melancholy condition, John Sigismund afterwards charged himself with the same care, and received, from the king of Poland, the investiture of Prussia for himself and descendants, which was the third investiture that had been given to the electoral house. This country was called anciently Borussia; Bo, signifying *near*; Russia, the river *Russie*, which is a branch of the Niemen, at present called the Memel. Prussia was originally inhabited by the Bohe-mians, Sarmates, Russians, and Venedi, all idolatrous nations; adoring gods of the lakes, woods, and the rivers, and even serpents and elks, without any temples; worshipping only under oaks, and sacrificing to their false gods their enemies taken in war. St. Adelbert was the first that preached Christianity to these people, from whom he received the crown of martyrdom. They were afterwards invaded by three successive kings of Poland, in order to convert them to Christianity; but these warlike people, in return, ravaged Massovia and Cujavia. Conrad, duke of

The elector receives the investiture of Prussia.

An account of Prussia, and its first inhabitants.

A.D. 1000.

Cujavia, called in to his assistance the knights of the Teutonic order from Germany. Herman de Saltza, who was then grand-master, entered Prussia, and, by the assistance of the Livonian knights, established the four bishopricks of Culm, Pomesan, Ermeland, and Sameland. This war, which the order made against the Prussians, continued fifty years before they established themselves; and afterwards they were engaged in wars with the king of Poland, and sometimes with the dukes of Pomerania, who were jealous of their establishment. From these knights, most of the present noble families of Prussia are descended.

A.D. 1450.

Under the grand-master Conrad of Erlichhausen, the cities of Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, having suffered greatly by the oppression of the order, declared to them, that, being weary of obeying them, they had surrendered themselves to Casimir, son of the king of Poland. This concession was followed by a war between the knights and the king of Poland, which, after continuing thirteen years, was concluded by a treaty, by which all Prussia, on the nigher side of the river Vistula, was annexed to the kingdom of Poland, and called Royal Prussia; but Farther Prussia was left to the order, upon the condition of their paying homage for it to the conquerors. Some of the masters of the order observed this condition; but Frederic, duke of Saxony, master of the order, being promised assistance from the emperor and German princes, refused to pay homage to Poland. Afterwards, finding himself unequal for the war which threatened him from Poland, he left the province, and went into Germany. After his death, Albert of Brandenburg, who was the great grand-child of Albert the Achilles, being chosen grand-master of the order, and refusing to acknowledge Poland as superior to the fief, in consequence of the desire of the emperor and the pope, he was immediately engaged in a war with that kingdom, which, for some time, he supported with vigour; but finding himself unable to withstand the forces of Poland, and being offered the fief as a personal inheritance, he abandoned the interests of the order, and concluded a peace with Sigismund, who created him duke of Prussia, and gave him the farther province as an hereditary fief of Poland. Albert, having thus renounced the Teutonic order, and likewise the Roman catholic religion, afterwards had a war to maintain against Eric, duke of Brunswick, and commander of Memel. Eric entered Prussia, at the head of twelve thousand men; but Albert stopped him upon the banks of the Vistula. As nothing remarkable happened, and the banks of the rivers were covered with soldiers,

A.D. 1525.

diers, who employed themselves in gathering nuts, this expedition was called the War of Nuts. To the first duke Albert, his son Frederic Albert succeeded, and received the investiture of the duchy from king Sigismund Augustus, in which the envoy of the elector Joachim II. had part. It is this Albert Frederic, who married Mary Eleonore, daughter of John William, and sister of the last duke of Cleves. John Sigismund being son-in-law and tutor of this duke of Prussia, by his death was put in full possession of that duchy. The elector, who had become protestant to please his new subjects, feeling the approaches of age, and finding himself loaded with infirmities, resigned the government to his son George William, and died soon after.

A D. 1618.

During the unhappy government of George William, who succeeded his father in 1619, the electorate suffered the most miserable calamities, being desolated by the war of thirty years, the devastations of which are not to this day quite repaired, and having at its head a prince incapable of governing, who had chosen a minister, a traitor to his country, and besides the armies of friends and enemies, who harrassed the whole country, suffering under a contagious and malignant distemper, which destroyed the poor remains of their fury. Misfortune seemed not only to attend the elector, but likewise to persecute all his relations. The unhappy Frederic V. the elector Palatine, whose sister he had married, though elected and crowned king of Bohemia, was put to the ban of the empire by the emperor Ferdinand II. deprived of his electorate, and entirely defeated at Weisenburg. The duke of Jagerndorff, uncle of the elector, was dispossessed of his country, because he embraced the party of Frederic V. His second uncle, likewise, was deposed and put to the ban of the empire, for having entered into the league of Lavenburg, and having made an alliance with the king of Denmark.

George William succeeds to the electorate.

The war of thirty years had begun in 1618, upon account of the revolt of the Bohemians, who had chosen Frederic V. elector Palatine, for their king. Though the greatest part of Germany was afterwards concerned in this war, we shall only relate those events which directly regard the history of this electorate. The truce between the Hollanders and Spaniards being now expired, the duchy of Cleves, where both these nations had troops, immediately became the theatre of war. The Spaniards forced the garrison of Juliers, which the Hollanders held for the elector, and likewise made themselves masters of Cleves and Lipstadt. However, some years afterwards,

The Spaniards and Dutch take possession of Cleves.

the Hollanders drove the Spaniards from the country of Cleves, and retook some cities for the elector; and soon after, the Spaniards, by an accommodation, evacuated the provinces of the elector, and put garrisons into the towns belonging to the duke of Neuburg, while the Hollanders garrisoned those of George William. This accommodation continuing only for a few years, in 1635, the war began again in those provinces with more violence than before; and during the whole government of the elector, the provinces of this succession were a prey to the Spaniards and Hollanders, who took possession of posts, surprised cities, and alternately gained and lost advantages, without performing any thing of consequence; the exactions of the officers, and the plundering of the soldiers, being, at that time, the chief part of the art of war.

The elector Palatine being put to the ban of the empire, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony interceded with the emperor for their colleague, and their intercessions having no effect, they refused to acknowledge the elector Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, whom Ferdinand II. had raised to that dignity, to the prejudice of the Palatine house, and against the laws of the empire; for according to the golden bull, the emperor has no right to degrade an elector, or put him to the ban of the empire, without the unanimous consent of the whole diet in a full assembly.

The despotic government of the emperor, at this time, alarmed the protestants, who were interested in maintaining the free exercise of their religion, and keeping possession of the ecclesiastic estates which they had secularised; the dukes of Lunenburg, Holstein, and Mecklenburg, and the king of Denmark, concluded a league at Lavenburg.

The emperor sends an army into Saxony against the protestants,

The emperor, taking umbrage at this league, and thinking it below him to use the means of negotiation with the parties engaged, he sent Tilly, at the head of twelve thousand men, into the circle of Lower Saxony, while Wallenstein marched with another body of Austrians towards the bishopricks of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Tilly, having pillaged the city of Hall, though it surrendered to him without resistance, the states of Lower Saxony, astonished at these hostilities, requested an accommodation with the emperor; but these propositions did not hinder Tilly and Wallenstein's seizing on the country of Halberstadt and Magdeburg. The troops of the administrator, and the king of Denmark, who had entered Lower Saxony to oppose the imperialists, being defeated, they retired into the March of Brandenburg, which they pillaged. At the same time, another body of Danes being defeated by Tilly, near

who are defeated, and retire into Brandenburg.

Huter,

Huter, the elector George William thought proper to comply with the desire of the emperor, and acknowledge the new dignity of Maximilian of Bavaria; the imperial troops being then quartered in Brandenburg, Rathenau, Havelburg, and Perleburg.

The Danish general, having assembled the remains of his army, entered the Marches without the leave of the elector; but the imperialists, detaching seven thousand men, to whom the elector added eight hundred, the Danes were forced to retire. By this weak assistance which the elector then gave, it clearly appears, that he had but very few forces on foot. The imperialists making an advantage of their successes, put garrisons into all Pomerania; the emperor, under a pretence of defending the empire from the Swedes, who claimed a right to Pomerania, designed secretly to take possession of that duchy; although, in virtue of a treaty, the succession was to fall to the elector George William. upon the death of duke Bogislaus, who had no issue. Stralsund, after having sustained a long siege from the imperial general Wallenstein, concluded an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and received a Swedish garrison of nine thousand men.

The imperialists put garrisons in Pomerania;

In the mean time, the emperor, elated with the success of his generals in Germany, and believing it a favourable opportunity to humble the protestant princes, and suppress the new religion, published his famous edict of restitution, by which he enjoined the protestant princes to restore to the church those possessions which they had seized upon, since the transaction of Passau. This edict, by which the most part of the princes would have lost considerable estates, and the house of Brandenburg would have been deprived of the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Lebus, was a new signal for the Protestants to arm against the Catholics. These divisions in Germany determined Gustavus Adolphus to declare war against the emperor. Having defeated the king of Poland, who had formed pretensions to the crown of Sweden, he concluded a truce with him for twenty-six years, in which the elector was included, and afterwards published a manifesto against the emperor, complaining, that he had given assistance to the king of Poland; that he had deposed his ally, the duke of Mecklenburg; and that he had used violence against the city of Stralsund, which was in alliance with him.

While the Swedes were preparing to invade Germany, Wallenstein, who had taken his quarters in Brandenburg, raised most exorbitant sums in the Marches, having no regard

and raise great contributions in the marches of Brandenburg.

gard to the elector, who, though he was in friendship with the emperor, and complained to him, yet was not relieved. It is reported, that the regiments of Pappenheim and St. Julian, who were quartered in the middle March, raised three hundred thousand crowns in that province within six months.

*Gustavus
Adolphus
enters Ger-
many,*

At length, Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, and made a descent upon the island of Rugen, from whence, by the assistance of his garrison at Stralsund, he dislodged the imperialists. Upon the approach of the Swedes, the emperor gave orders to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to prepare provisions and ammunition for his troops; assuring them, that, in consideration of this service, he would modify, with regard to them, his edict of restitution. While the diet of Ratisbon was deliberating upon the means of delivering Germany from so many evils, and especially from the invasion of the Swedes; Gustavus Adolphus took possession of all Pomerania, and having put a garrison in Stetin, obliged the imperial general to retire through the New March towards Frankfort upon the Oder. Gustavus, having thus conquered Pomerania, made a treaty with the duke Bogislaus, in which it was stipulated, that if any one should dispute the succession of Pomerania with the elector of Brandenburg, after the death of the duke, or if Sweden was not entirely indemnified for the expences of the war, that province should remain in sequestration in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus.

*and takes
possession of
Pomera-
nia.*

The Protestants, encouraged by the approach of the king of Sweden, held an assembly at Leipzig, where they deliberated upon their interests. The city of Magdeburg had already made an alliance with Gustavus, and granted him a passage over its bridge upon the Elbe. In consequence of this alliance, it had driven the imperialists from the open country; but Tilly returned at the head of his army, and began the famous blockade of that city. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, disapproving of the conduct of Magdeburg, resolved to continue attached to the emperor, and, upon the first approach of the Swedes, the elector ordered some works of earth to be thrown up before the gates of Berlin; and not having time to assemble the *arriere-ban*, he ordered the citizens to mount guard upon the ramparts, where he had placed some cannon. Meanwhile Gustavus crossed the March, and hastened to the assistance of the duke of Mecklenburg, and, designing to engage all the Protestants in his interests, he published every where, that he was come into Germany only with the intention of delivering the princes from the yoke of the emperor, and especially

*The elector
fortifies
Berlin.*

especially to defend the liberty of religion. The Swedes making a progress in Mecklenburg, Tilly left some troops to continue the blockade of Magdeburg, and marched with his forces to Frankfort on the Oder, where, having joined the other imperial general, they afterwards marched through the electorate to attack the Swedes. But Gustavus quitting Mecklenburg, passed the Oder, and took Frankfort, where he found a great deal of artillery; afterwards taking Crossen, he marched quickly towards Berlin, in order to assist Magdeburg.

When Gustavus Adolphus arrived at Copenick, he demanded of the elector the fortresses of Spandaw and Custrin, under pretence of securing his retreat; but in reality, with the intention of forcing George William into his interests. The elector, at first astonished at the demand, was at a loss how to reply; but consulting with his ministers, it was at last resolved to invite the king of Sweden to come to Berlin. Gustavus Adolphus entered that capital with an escort of a thousand foot, and four pieces of cannon, two hundred Swedes mounted guard in the castle of Berlin, and the rest of the troops were lodged with the citizens; next day, the whole Swedish army encamped at the gates of the city, and the elector, now in the power of the king, was obliged to consent to what he desired. The Swedish troops, which possessed the fortresses of Custrin and Spandaw, took the oath of fidelity to the elector, and the king promised to deliver up the places, when the imperial troops had evacuated the country. Gustavus afterwards advancing beyond Potsdam, the imperialists, who were in Brandenburg and Rathenau, retired towards their army that was besieging Magdeburg. The elector of Saxony refusing the Swedes a passage over the bridge of the Elbe at Wittenberg, Gustavus was hindered from assisting the city of Magdeburg as he designed.

Gustavus Adolphus demands the fortresses of Spandaw and Custrin, and enters Berlin.

This unhappy city, being at last taken by surprise, suffered all the miseries that an enraged enemy could inflict, all Germany deploring the fate of the city, and exclaiming against the cruelty of the imperial soldiers. After the loss of Magdeburg, Gustavus Adolphus returned again to Berlin, and encamped before the city, severely blaming the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. The elector, repairing to the Swedish camp, appeased the king by granting him all his demands. When the elector returned to Berlin, the Swedish army saluted him with a triple discharge of their cannon; but as the pieces were loaded with balls, and directed towards the town, a great many houses

and

and roofs were damaged. Next day the Swedish army passed the Spree, and marched through the city.

*The elector
joins the
party of
the Swedes.*

The elector of Saxony, observing the prosperity of the Swedish arms, forsook the party of the emperor, and gave the example to all the protestant princes. The Swedes then restored to the elector Spandaw and Custrin, and entering the Old March, encamped at Werben, situated at the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe. Tilly marching to join Papenheim, who was now shut up in Magdeburg, advanced towards the camp of the king of Sweden, who, hearing of his march, surprised his avant guard, and cut three regiments to pieces. The imperialists, finding it impossible to force the Swedish camp, marched towards Halle, with the intention of forcing Leipsic, and oblige the elector of Saxony to quit the party of the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus penetrating his design, quitted his camp at Werben, passed the Elbe at Wittenburg, and being joined by the Saxons at Duben, fell upon the imperialists, whom he totally defeated, taking all their artillery, among which there were a great many pieces with the arms of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Luneburg, which the imperialists had appropriated to themselves.

After this battle, Gustavus Adolphus became the arbiter of Germany, and penetrated as far as the Danube, while Banier, at the head of another body of Swedes, drove the imperialists from the bishopricks of Magdeburgh and Halberstadt, and established in that country a government in the name of his master. The emperor, from the bad success of his arms, being now become more moderate, made use of a softer style, in order to detach the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony from the party of Sweden; but these electors now consulted their own interest more than the emperor's. The elector of Brandenburg, though he equally dreaded the Imperialists and the Swedes, yet thought it at present the most advantageous for his states to attach himself to the fortune of Gustavus Adolphus, which seemed then so well established; the elector therefore sent some small assistance to the Saxons, who, in Silesia, pursued a body of imperialists, commanded by Balthasar de Maradas.

*The emperor
sends
an army
against the
electors of
Saxony and
Brandenburg.*

The emperor, irritated at the refusal of the two electors, and still more at the irruption they made in Silesia, sent Wallenstein, at the head of a strong army to take possession of the two electorates. Wallenstein, being joined by Pappenheim from Westphalia, entered Saxony, and took Leipsic, Naumburg, Merseburgh, Halle, and Giebichenstein. The king of Sweden, who was then in Bavaria,

ria, returned to the assistance of Lower Saxony, and engaging the imperialists at Lutzen, gained an entire victory, but with the loss of his life. After his death, the Swedes drove the imperialists from Lower Saxony, and recovered all the cities which Wallenstein had taken. Wallenstein and Galas afterwards entering Silesia, the elector sent three thousand horse, and five thousand foot, as an assistance to Arnim who commanded the Saxon troops in that province, and likewise assembled the *arriere-ban* through all his states; but as he wanted funds to maintain his troops, he never assembled forces sufficient to oppose his enemies. Wallenstein advancing in Silesia with an army of forty-five thousand men, surprised a party of eight hundred Swedes at Steinau, and sent parties to ravage Pomerania, and the electoral March, and summoned the city of Berlin to send him the keys of its gates. Arnim and Banier marching to cover Berlin with their army, the imperial general retired from Silesia, leaving garrisons in Frankfort, and some other towns. Though the elector was then at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, yet there was scarcely a sixth part of them his own troops.

Gustavus Adolphus defeats the imperialists, but is killed in the action.

While Banier directed the military operations of Sweden, Oxenstiern was the soul of their negotiations. He having concluded an alliance, in the name of Sweden, with several circles of the empire at Heilbron, proposed another alliance with the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony. This alliance was afterwards concluded at Halberstadt, and the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony became the principal members. This minister having concluded these two alliances, and seeing the Swedish arms every where triumphant in Germany, thought his interest so well established, that he proposed in the assembly at Frankfort on the Main, that to indemnify Sweden for the expences of the war which it had made for the Protestant princes, the empire should cede Pomerania to that crown after the death of the last duke.

The elector of Brandenburg was extremely offended with this proposition of Oxenstiern, as it tended to frustrate his rights upon Pomerania. But at this time, the archduke Ferdinand, and the cardinal-infant, happening to gain a complete victory over the Swedes at Nordlingen, the electors, who before began to waver, now entirely forsook their party, and concluded a peace with the emperor at Prague, by which the emperor promised to the elector of Brandenburg to support his rights upon Pomerania, and not to claim any more the goods of the church which he possessed; besides, he confirmed the settlements of confraternity

A.D. 1635.

The elector concludes a peace with the emperor.

ternity between the houses of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Hesse.

*The Swedes
ravage
Branden-
burgh.*

Notwithstanding this peace, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and the Old March, still continued to feel the troubles of war; for the imperialists and the Saxons possessed all the banks of the Elbe and the Havel; nevertheless, the Swedes made irruptions into the country as far as Oranienburg. Banier, to remove the seat of the war from Pomerania, assembled his army at Rathenau, and marched towards Magdeburgh, to relieve the Swedish garrison, which was greatly pressed by the imperialists, but Magdeburgh at last surrendering, he came back to the March, where Wrangel joined him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, after which junction, he surprised and took Brandenburg and Rathenau, where there were imperial garrisons. Thus the unhappy electorate became a prey to the strongest party; the cities, situated upon the Havel, being in less than six weeks twice pillaged by the Swedes and once by the imperialists. It being the misfortune of the time, that success never entirely declared for one party, those who were now depressed soon became unexpectedly superiors, and the superiors experienced misfortune in their turn. The Swedes, in consequence of their reinforcement, gained a victory over the imperialists and Saxons at Wittstock, after which they over-run the March, and Wrangel entering Berlin, left five companies in garrison, and made a new demand of the fortresses from the elector. George William, who was retired to Peixt, answered him, that he committed himself to the discretion of the Swedes; but that the imperialists were in possession of these places, so that he could not dispose of them. Wrangel having received this answer, took up his winter-quarters in the New March.

At this time died Ferdinand II. and his son Ferdinand III. succeeded him, as though that throne had been hereditary. Likewise Bogislaus, whose family had possessed Pomerania for seven hundred years, died during these troubles, and with him his house was extinct. The Swedish armies, then possessed of Pomerania, and even of the states of Brandenburg, prevented the elector from making good his rights upon the duchy; he contented himself with sending a trumpet to the states of Pomerania, ordering them to treat the Swedes as enemies. In the mean while, Klitzing, at the head of the Saxons, delivered the March, and the banks of the Havel from the Swedes; the war being now carried into Pomerania, where the imperialists were joined by three thousand Hungarians. This province had the same fate with the Marches, being taken and re-
taken

taken, burnt and ruined. The Swedes, afterwards receiving fresh assistance, forced the imperialists to retire as far as Bohemia, and appeared for the fourth time before the gates of Berlin. The elector, to revenge the evils which the electorate suffered from the Swedes, ordered four thousand Prussians to enter Livonia, where they made some devastation; but neglecting to take possession of any cities, they quickly abandoned their conquests, and their expedition became of no service. The Swedes made the Marches feel the losses which they suffered in Livonia, and their commander at Berlin blocked up Spandaw and Custrin, where the elector had retired with his fugitive court.

The states of Pomerania, who were then sitting, received the deputies of the elector, who likewise sent envoys to the diet at Ratibon for the duchies of Wolgast and Stetin; and as the states of Prussia were to be held this year at Koningsburgh, George William repaired thither to solicit the payment of some subsidies; but he died the 3d of December, leaving to his son Frederic William, a desolated country in possession of his enemies, allies that could not be depended upon, few troops, and almost no resources of supplies.

A.D. 1640.

Frederic William was born at Berlin, the 6th of February 1620; his education was that of a hero, being brought up in the camp of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange. Schwartzzenburgh, the minister of George William, being secretly in the interest of the emperor, and knowing the transcendant genius of the young prince, removed him early from the court of his father, and kept him in Holland as much as he could, fearing the presence of such a penetrating inspector, who would have narrowly examined his actions. However, the young prince sometimes waited upon his father, notwithstanding the endeavours of the minister, and went with the elector in his last journey to Prussia, where, by his father's death, he succeeded to his estates.

*Frederic
William,
the grand
elector.*

Frederic William was twenty years of age when he came to the government; but the Marches of the electorate were then almost wholly in the possession of the Swedes, who had made the country a frightful desert. The duchies of the succession of Cleves were a prey to the Spaniards and Hollanders, who raised excessive contributions upon them, and pillaged them under pretence of defending them. Prussia, which Gustavus Adolphus had seized upon some time before, had not yet recovered the miseries of war; thus was he a prince without being in possession of his provinces, an elector without the power, and an ally without friends

friends. With all these disadvantages Frederic William began his government, but, by the wisdom and prudence of his conduct, he at length recalled prosperity and peace. He began with establishing order in his finances, and proportioning his expence to his income, and dismissed those ministers whose mal-administration chiefly contributed to the misfortunes of the people. The count of Schwartzenburg, who had been governor of the March, president of the council, great-chamberlain, and grand-commander of Malta, voluntarily resigned his employments, and retired to Vienna, where he died the same year; his son, who had been elected coadjutor of the order, and commandery of Malta, was not acknowledged by the elector, who besides, ordered him to restore all the baillages to the state which his father had appropriated. After the death of the count at Vienna, the elector sent the baron of Borgsdorff to Spandaw and Custrin, to put his seal to the effects of the deceased; but the commanders of these forts refused to obey him, under pretence that they had taken the oath of fidelity to the emperor. Borgsdorff seemed satisfied with this answer, but observing Rochau, the commander of Spandaw, he took him prisoner one day when he came out of the fortress. The emperor ordering the head of this rebellious subject to be struck off, and by this example intimidated the commanders of the other places.

*Receives
the investiture of
Prussia
from the
king of
Poland.*

The elector, though he could not succeed to the duchies of the succession of Cleves, because the difference among the pretenders was not yet decided, yet he received the investiture of Prussia personally from the king of Poland, upon condition of paying an annual tribute of one hundred thousand florins, and not making truce or peace with the enemies of that crown; his envoy likewise received the investiture of the electorate from the emperor Ferdinand III. These formalities being over, the elector thought of recovering his provinces from those who had usurped them: he concluded a truce for twenty years with the Swedes, who evacuated the greatest part of his estates; he likewise payed one hundred and forty thousand crowns to the Swedish garrisons, which still possessed some of his towns; he concluded likewise a treaty with the Hessians, who delivered up a part of the country of Cleves which they were in possession of, and he obtained of the Hollanders the evacuation of some other cities.

The powers of Europe now wearied with the war, which became every day more destructive, began equally to desire a peace. The cities of Osnabrug and Munster being chosen as the most proper places for the negotiation, the conferences

conferences were opened in the year 1645, but, by reason of the multiplicity of matters, they were not concluded till two years after. France, which had espoused the interests of Sweden, demanded that Pomerania should be ceded to that kingdom, as an indemnification for the expences which the war had cost Gustavus Adolphus and his successors. Although the empire, and the elector refused to give up Pomerania, it was at last agreed to yield to the Swedes Hither Pomerania, with the isles of Rugen and Wollin, and some other cities; in equivalent for which cession, the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, were secularized in favour of the elector, of which he was put in possession, with the lordships of Hohenstein and Reichenstein; he received likewise the reversion of the archbishop of Magdeburgh. This treaty, which serves as a basis to all the possessions and rights of the German princes, being published, the elector, the following year, concluded a new treaty with the Swedes for the regulation of limits, and for the acquittal of some debts, of which Sweden would only pay a fourth; next year the electorate, Pomerania, and the duchies of Cleves were entirely evacuated by the Swedes and Dutch.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, the dukes of Neuburgh vigorously persecuting the Protestants of the duchies of Juliers and Berg, Frederic William declared himself their protector, and sent general Spar, with some troops, into the territories of the duke, at the same time, proposing an accommodation by the mediation of the Dutch. An agreement being concluded, the order of possessions was regulated according to the treat of Westphalia, and the liberty of conscience by former treaties.

About this time, Charles Gustavus, prince of Deuxponts, succeeding to the crown of Sweden, by the abdication of queen Christina, made great preparations of war, with design to oblige the king of Poland to renounce the pretensions which that crown formed upon the crown of Sweden, and likewise to deliver up Livonia to the Swedes. The truce between these two kingdoms being near expired, Charles demanded of the elector the ports of Pillau and Memel, pretending that his designs were only against Russia. The elector rejected his demand with disdain, but added, that if his real intention was to invade Russia, he would assist him in that war with a body of eight thousand men; the elector being desirous to stop the progress of the Muscovites in Poland, to prevent them from approaching his frontiers. Having thus defeated the demand of the Swedes, he informed Poland of the danger which threatened their

A D. 1648:

*Is put in
possession of
Farther
Pomerania
by the
treaty of
Westphalia*

*Charles
Gustavus
declares
war a-
gainst Po-
land, and
demand's of
the elector
the ports of
Pillau and
Memel.*

republic, but at the same time refused to engage as a party in the war.

Desiring to secure the tranquillity of his provinces, he concluded a defensive alliance with the states of Holland for eight years. He courted the friendship of Cromwell; endeavoured to make an alliance with Lewis XIV. and even flattered the pride of Ferdinand III. from whom he only received vain promises, that emperor being then employed in augmenting his troops, which the elector observing, followed his example. Charles Gustavus, desiring to signalize the beginning of his reign with some warlike expedition, did not wait for the expiration of the truce with Poland, but ordering a body of Swedes, under the command of general Wittenburg, to advance through the New March, without asking leave, towards the frontiers of Poland, he invaded that kingdom, and quickly made himself master of two palatinates. As the greatest efforts of the war were towards the frontiers of Prussia, the elector marched thither at the head of his troops, to be in readiness to execute those measures which he should find necessary, and concluded a defensive alliance with the states of Polish Prussia.

A.D. 1655.

The elector concludes a treaty with the Swedes at Koningsburg.

The Swedes having made great progress in Poland, took up their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Koningsburg, and making several advantageous offers to the elector, he attached himself to their fortune, and concluded a treaty with that crown at Koningsburg, by which he acknowledged himself a vassal of Sweden, and promised to do homage to that crown for ducal Prussia, upon condition that the bishoprick of Warmie were secularized in his favour. To strengthen his party, he entered into an alliance with Louis XIV. who guaranteed his provinces upon the Rhine and the Weser. The elector afterwards changing his treaty with Sweden into an offensive alliance, marched by Mazovia, and joined the Swedish army at the confluence of the Bog and the Vistula. The allies passing the Bog, at the same time that the king of Poland passed the Vistula at Warsovia, there was now no obstacle that separated the two armies. The ministers of France, jealous of the increasing power of the Swedes, went often betwixt the two camps to endeavour an accommodation; but the Poles, who were more than double the number of the enemy, rejected all terms of agreement. The allies afterwards attacking them in their camp, entirely routed them after several engagements, and next day made themselves masters of Warsovia. The king of Poland, in order to force the elector to abandon the party of the Swedes, ordered a body of Tartars to ravage

ducal

ducal Prussia; and the emperor and the Danes, to prevent the Swedes from becoming masters of Poland, concluded an alliance with that crown, and earnestly pressed the elector to quit the party of the Swedes. Frederic William, foreseeing that the emperor and the king of Denmark could oblige him to abandon the party of Charles Gustavus, by invading his states in Germany, concluded a peace with the Poles at Velau, by which that kingdom acknowledged the entire sovereignty of Prussia, and ceded to the elector the bailliages of Lavenburg and Butau, which important treaty was confirmed at Braunsburg. By this peace, the ancient connections of the elector with Sweden and France being broken, he thought proper to secure the friendship of other powers, and concluded an alliance with the emperor and the king of Denmark.

He concludes a treaty with Poland, by which the sovereignty of Prussia is acknowledged.

Meanwhile the king of Sweden, irritated at the proceedings of the king of Denmark, invaded Zealand, by marching his army over the ice, which sudden irruption obliged that king to conclude a peace at Roschild; but the Swedes were no sooner retired than he solicited the assistance of the emperor and the elector. Charles, being informed of these proceedings, embarked his troops that were in Holstein, and sailed towards Zealand, with a design of besieging Copenhagen; Frederic William, who had promised assistance to the king of Denmark, leaving Berlin at the head of his cavalry, and three thousand imperialists, he forced the Swedes that remained in Holstein to retire beyond the Eider, and put a garrison of his own troops into Gottorp, and after having drove the Swedes from the isle of Aland, he put his troops into winter-quarters in Jutland. The year following, he opened the campaign with the taking of Fredericksode, and the island of Fione; but failed in his enterprize upon the isle of Fuynen. Returning afterwards from Jutland to oppose Wrangel, in Pomerania, he took Warnemund, Tripsee, and Demmin.

In the midst of these troubles and confusions, Charles Gustavus dying in the flower of his age, and John Casimir abdicating the crown of Poland, the animosities ceased on both sides, and each party sincerely desiring peace, the conferences were opened at the abbey of Oliva, near Dantzick. By this treaty, the sovereignty of Prussia was acknowledged and gaurantied to the elector; the other powers agreed to settle their possessions on the same footing they were before the beginning of the war.

The states of Prussia submitted with reluctance to the treaty of Braunsburg; they pretended that Poland had no right to dispose of their liberty; a gentleman, named Rade,

The states of Prussia refuse to submit to the elector.

more seditious than the rest, was seized; and the first motions of the revolt being appeased, the elector received in person the homage of the Prussians at Königsburg. The tranquillity which followed, gave the elector an opportunity of turning his attention to the welfare of his people; he raised again the walls of his cities which had been destroyed, encouraged the cultivation of the country, and the peopling of villages, and by his care and application recovered the provinces from the state of desolation, to which the war had reduced them. Receiving likewise the eventual homage of the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, he put a garrison into that capital, and re-united to his dominions the lordship of Registein, which was a fief of the principality of Halberstadt, maintaining his rights against the pretensions of the dukes of Brunswic. The elector did not confine his cares to the private concerns of his electorate, but sent two thousand men to the assistance of the emperor, who was attacked by the Turks in Hungary, and assisted the king of Poland in his war against the infidels; by his mediation likewise, the sons of the duke of Luneburg came to an accommodation with regard to their paternal inheritance. The elector likewise settled the difference with the duke of Newburg relating to the succession of Cleves, concluded a defensive alliance with Sweden, and entered into a quadruple alliance at the Hague with the king of Denmark, the republic of Holland, and the duke of Brunswic.

*The elector
sends assistance to the
emperor
against the
Turks.*

Louis XIV. who about this time took the reins of government into his own hand, invaded Spanish Flanders in right of his wife, who pretended to be sole heir, and desiring to secure the neutrality of the elector, sent an ambassador to Berlin, who prevailed with him not to take any part in the war. The states of Holland, averse to the neighbourhood of the French, protected the Spaniards from the enterprizes of the king of France; and to stop the progress of his arms, concluded the triple alliance at the Hague, with England and Sweden. Louis XIV. irritated at the states of Holland, for presuming to form alliances to oppose his ambitious views, concluded a peace with Spain, and resolving to make the Dutch feel the effects of his resentment, solicited the elector to join him in that war. But Frederic William refusing the offers of France, concluded a treaty with the United Provinces, by which he engaged to furnish them with twenty thousand men, one half of whom were to be paid by the states; soon after, the emperor Leopold acceded to this alliance, the contracting parties promising not to make a separate peace with their enemies.

A. D. 1671.

*Concludes a
treaty with
the United
Provinces.*

The

The elector, immediately raising his troops, marched to Halberstadt, where Montecuculi joined him with ten thousand imperialists; after which junction, they advanced towards Westphalia. Upon the news of their approach, Turenne quitted Holland at the head of thirty thousand French, and taking some towns in the country of Cleves, marched to oppose the allies. The elector, though desirous of engaging Turenne, was prevented by Montecuculi, who would not consent to it, having secret orders not to act offensively. Being thus obliged to conform to the intentions of the emperor, he marched towards Frankfort on the Main, which obliged Turenne to repass the Rhine, and freed the Dutch from thirty thousand enemies. The imperialists still continuing to oppose any active measures of the elector, he took up his winter-quarters in Westphalia, while Turenne made himself master of the duchies of Cleves and Marck, and advanced towards the Weser. During the course of this campaign, Frederic William had a signal occasion of testifying his generosity. A Frenchman, named Villeneuve in Turenne's camp, offered to the elector to assassinate his general. Far from hearkening to his offer, he had an abhorrence of his villainy, and informed Turenne that he might guard against the traitor.

Marches to their assistance, but is opposed by Turenne;

who possesses himself of all the elector's provinces in Westphalia.

The Hollanders neglecting to pay the subsidies for which they had engaged, the emperor and Spain not having heartily declared against France, and all the provinces which the elector possessed in Westphalia being lost; all these reasons, joined to his own weakness, disposed Frederic William to make an accommodation with France. The peace was concluded at Wossen, and all his provinces were restored to him, except the cities of Retz and Wezel, which the French kept till the peace should be concluded with Holland. The elector promised not to assist the Dutch, reserving, nevertheless, the liberty of defending the empire in case it were attacked; all the attempts which he made to dispose the king of France to comprehend the Hollanders in the peace were useless; however, the French having weakened their army by putting garrisons into too many places, and Montecuculi having joined the prince of Orange, they were obliged to evacuate the provinces of Holland. Turenne afterwards marching into Franche Comte, and from thence into the Palatinate, ravaged the whole country, in order to oblige the Germanic body to observe a neutrality, while he ruined the United Provinces. The miseries which the Palatinate suffered, awakened the princes of Germany, and the emperor having made an alliance with Spain and Holland, Frederic William engaged

The elector concludes a peace with France.

Louis XIV. attacks the empire.

to lead sixteen thousand men to the assistance of the empire. The beginning of the campaign was unsuccessful for the allies both in Flanders and upon the Rhine, where Turenne had defeated the imperial generals, Caprara and Bournonville.

The elector joins the imperial army on the Rhine.

The elector passed the Rhine at Strasburg, and joined Bournonville a few days after his defeat; the imperial army, by this reinforcement, being upwards of fifty thousand men; the elector pressed Bournonville to hazard an engagement, but he would not consent to it; so that Turenne was allowed to retire without being attacked. Turenne, afterwards receiving a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Flanders, surprised the imperial quarters, and took a regiment of the elector's troops prisoners. The elector, after being thus surprised, passed the Rhine at Strasburg, and took up his winter-quarters in Franconia.

The Swedes invade Pomerania.

The French, desirous to free themselves from a dangerous enemy upon the Rhine, prevailed with the Swedes to create a diversion for the elector in his own territories, and Wrangel entering the Marches of Brandenburg with a Swedish army, though at first he observed an exact discipline, declaring that he would evacuate the country when the elector should make his peace with France; yet he soon proceeded to hostilities, taking possession of several towns in the electorate, and ravaging the country. The elector, who was then in winter-quarters in Franconia, complained of this invasion to the diet at Ratisbon, and soon after leaving his winter-quarters, marched towards Magdeburg, where he arrived on the 11th of June, without the knowledge of the Swedes, there being no posts at that time in Germany. Immediately upon his arrival, he shut the gates of that fortress, using all possible precautions to conceal the knowledge of his approach from the enemy. Towards the evening, his army passed the Elbe, and arrived next night at the gates of Rathenau, where he surprised a Swedish regiment that was in garrison, and not waiting for the arrival of his infantry, who were not yet come up, he marched with his cavalry directly to Naven, to post himself between the Swedes who were in Brandenburg, and those who were in Havelburg. But the Swedes by this time, knowing of his arrival, had quitted Brandenburg, and marched to Fehrbellin, where the garrison of Havelburg was to join him. Notwithstanding the elector had only five thousand six hundred horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, without any infantry, and the Swedes had ten regiments of foot, and eight hundred dragoons in their camp, he immediately resolved to attack them. On the 18th of June,

June, the prince of Homburg being sent with sixteen hundred horse to reconnoitre the Swedish camp, rashly engaged the enemy, which would have been fatal to him, had not the elector quickly marched to his assistance with the rest of his troops. After an obstinate engagement, the Swedes were entirely defeated, leaving three thousand dead upon the field, and a great number of officers; those who saved themselves fled to Fehrbellin, breaking down the bridge behind them. In this action, one of the masters of the horse observing, that the Swedes by their firing remarked the white horse upon which the elector was mounted, prevailed with the elector to exchange him with his, under pretence of furnishing him with a better horse, and the exchange was hardly performed when the faithful domestic was killed.

Are defeated by the elector at Fehrbellin.

General Dorfling arriving with the infantry, the elector pursued the Swedes the next day, took a great many prisoners, and recovered great part of the spoil in their baggage. The Swedish army being now reduced to four thousand men, retired by Ruppın and Wittstock into the duchy of Mecklenburg; and being declared enemies of the empire, for having attacked the Germanic body in one of its members; the elector, assisted by the emperor and the Danes, attacked the Swedes in Pomerania, where he took the city of Wolgast, and made himself master of the isle of Wollin, and the three principal passages of the Pene.

The Swedes, by this invasion, having drawn upon themselves many enemies; namely, the empire, Denmark, and Holland, made some propositions of peace to the elector, in order to separate him from his allies. But Frederic William; far from entering into any negociation, put himself at the head of his troops, and took Anclam, and afterwards blocked up Stetin. The Swedes, though they had this year defeated the Danes at Lunden, in Scania, yet were very unsuccessful in Pomerania, the elector taking several places, and at last forcing Stetin, the capital of the province, to surrender. While the elector was thus making conquests in Pomerania, the contending powers in Flanders, and on the Rhine, wearied with the war against France, agreed to the negociations of peace, which was concluded at Nimeguen betwixt France and the empire.

A.D. 1677.

The elector, hoping to retain his conquests, refused to be comprehended in the peace. so that the war still continued in Pomerania; the Swedes, losing the island of Rugen, and the cities of Stralsund and Gripswald. Nevertheless, the Swedes, hoping to oblige the elector to evacuate Pomerania, invaded Prussia with sixteen thousand men from

A.D. 1679.

The Swedes invade Prussia from Livonia.

Livonia, and advancing in the country, they burnt the suburbs of Memel, and took Tilse and Insterburg. The elector, to oppose the invaders, left Berlin on the 10th of January, and passed the Vistula on the 15th, at the head of nine thousand men, preceded by the terror of his name, which was now become formidable to the Swedes. The Swedes, retiring at his approach, were greatly harrassed by his troops in their march, losing almost one half of their army, who were either made prisoners, or killed by the peasants, who had joined the van of the elector's troops. The elector, continuing his march, arrived at the Frischhaff, and drew his army over that gulf upon the ice, and likewise passing the gulf of Courland in the same manner, he arrived on the 19th of January with his infantry within three miles of Tilse, where the Swedes had their quarters. The same day his general, Tresenfeldt, defeated two regiments of the enemy near Splitter; and the Swedes, who were in Tilse, abandoned that place, and retired towards Courland; the elector ordering general Gortz to pursue their rear, he entirely defeated them, and returned with much booty, and a great number of prisoners: of the sixteen thousand Swedes, who entered Prussia, scarce three thousand returning to Livonia.

Are repulsed by the elector.

The French enter the duchy of Cleves, and oblige the elector to conclude a peace with Sweden.

This expedition was hardly over, when Louis XIV. to oblige the elector to an accommodation with the king of Sweden, his ally, ordered general Calvo to enter the duchy of Cleves with thirty thousand French, requiring the elector to resign all his conquests, and insisting upon the entire re-establishment of the Swedes in all that they possessed before the war. Frederic William, being now abandoned by the emperor, and receiving only denials from the Dutch, who were far from fulfilling their guarantee, resolved at length upon an accommodation, and sent the baron Meinder to the court of France then at St. Germain; where, after a great many difficulties, the following conditions were agreed to; namely, that the treaty of Westphalia should serve for a basis to the peace; the elector should have the property of the customs in all the ports of Farther Pomerania, with the cities of Camin, Gartz, Greiffenburg, and Wildenbruck; he consented on his side to give up to the Swedes all that he had conquered from them, and give no assistance to the king of Denmark, upon condition that France delivered up his provinces in Westphalia, and paid him three hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnification of the damages committed by Crequi in his states.

The peace of St. Germain terminated the military exploits of Frederic William, his last years being pacific, and

passing

passing over with less external glory; yet his great genius manifested itself even in all the actions of his life, being equally admirable at the head of his armies, where he appeared as the deliverer of his country; and at the head of his council, where he administered justice to his people. This prince was not only esteemed in Europe, but likewise received an ambassador from Murad Geray, cham of the Tartars, his friendship being courted by these eastern people.

The king of Spain having delayed to pay him the subsidies which he had stipulated during the war, he sent nine small vessels, which he employed in the Baltic, towards the coast of Guinea, and seized a large Spanish man of war, which was afterwards brought into the port of Koningzburg. About this time, likewise, he entered into the possession of the duchy of Magdeburg, which was incorporated for ever into the electorate of Brandenburg; and having the imperial commission as director of the circle of Westphalia, to protect the states of East Friesland, he settled the disputes betwixt them and their prince, who they complained had made some encroachment upon their privileges; and as he had the eventual succession of that principality, he took this opportunity of putting a garrison into Gritzel, and established a company of merchants at Embden, who traded to Guinea; and built the fort of Grand Fredericburg in that country.

The French having surprised Strasburg, a free city of the empire, and taken possession of several other cities and lordships of the empire, under pretence of their being ancient fiefs depending upon those provinces which had been ceded to them at the peace of Nimeguen, the empire, which at this time was exhausted by the long war, contented itself with remonstrating against these proceedings by memorials; but the elector, who was not comprehended in the peace of Nimeguen, refused to sign these writings, but concluded an alliance with the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Hanover, for the support of the peace of Westphalia and St. Germain. The elector likewise made an alliance with the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia for their common defence; in which it was stipulated, that the princes who should assemble the confederate troops, should draw contributions from the neighbouring states.

Louis XIV. not only troubled the repose of Europe, but disturbed his own kingdom by the revocation of the famous edict of Nantes, denying the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and compelling them, by violent means, to embrace the Roman catholic faith. This persecution obliged thousands

A.D. 1680.

*A Spanish
man of war
carried into
Koningf-
burg.*

A.D. 1684.

*The French
protestants
retire into
Branden-
burg.*

thousands of Protestants to leave the kingdom, and seek for liberty and peace in other nations. Twenty thousand of them established themselves in the states of the elector, and by their industry repaired the desolation caused by the war of thirty years, introducing many arts and manufactures that had never before been known in the electorate. The elector, by the protection which he gave these persecuted Protestants, disobliging the king of France, and losing the annual subsidy which had been paid him by Louis XIV. since the peace of St. Germain, contracted new alliances with the emperor, and sent eight thousand men to serve in his armies against the Turks in Hungary; in recompence for which service, the emperor yielded to the elector the circle of Schwibus in Silesia, in form of an equivalent for all his rights in that province.

The death of the elector Palatine afforded Louis XIV. another pretence for disturbing the repose of the empire; and, under the appearance of supporting the rights of the duchess of Orleans, the late elector's daughter, he prepared to invade the Palatinate, which obliged the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Lower Rhine, to make an alliance of mutual defence at Augsburg. The elector, at that time, likewise, a second time, granted his protection to the city of Hamburgh, which the king of Denmark besieged in person; and he acted also as mediator in the difference betwixt the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, with regard to the entire sovereignty of his duchies, which the king of Sweden had procured to him at the peace of Roschild. Death prevented the elector from having the satisfaction of concluding this accommodation; the gout, which for a long time had attacked him, now degenerating into a dropsy, carried him off on the 28th of April. Two days before his end, he assembled his council, and having assisted at their deliberations, he thanked his ministers for their faithful services, and exhorted them to serve his son with the same attachment; after which, he addressed himself to the electoral prince, explained to him the duties of a good prince, and made a short analysis to him of the state in which he left his affairs; he strongly recommended to him to assist the prince of Orange in the expedition upon England, which he was at that time making preparations for, and insisted above all upon his loving and protecting the people which he was about to govern. Frederic William had all the qualifications that make a great man, and Providence gave him great opportunities of displaying them; from his early youth he gave great proofs of prudence and wisdom,

and

A.D. 1688.

*Death of
the elector.*

*His cha-
racter.*

and through his whole life testified himself a great politician, and a humane and good prince. He had two wives, Henrietta of Orange, mother of Frederic III. who succeeded him; and Dorothy of Holstein, mother of the margraves Philip, Albert, and Lewis, and of the princesses Elizabeth, Sophia, and Mary Amelia.

Frederic III. was born at Königsburg, in Prussia, on the 22d of July, 1637. Having early lost his mother, in his youth he met with great trouble and vexation from his step-mother the electrice Dorothy, she having found means of alienating the affections of Frederic William from this son of the first marriage, who was weak, deformed, and whose education had been greatly neglected. Frederic married Elisabeth Henrietta, daughter of William VI. landgrave of Hesse; and after the death of that princess, remarried with Sophia Charlotta, daughter of the duke of Hanover, Ernestus Augustus, and sister of George, who was afterwards king of England. Upon the death of his father, he succeeded to the government, although it is affirmed that the elector his father, by the solicitations of the electrice Dorothy, had made a will, by which he divided all the acquisitions which he had made, during his government, among the children of the second marriage. The Austrian party made great use of this testament to alienate the new elector from France, the emperor engaging to annul this paternal disposition, upon condition that Frederic III. restored to him the circle of Schwibus.

*Frederic
III. first
king of
Prussia.*

Frederic III. was no sooner come to the government than Louis XIV. declared war against the empire; and supporting his manifesto by arms, in one campaign made himself master of almost the whole course of the Rhine. The elector, who had conceived an aversion to the French, because they seemed to be the favourites of his step-mother, engaged warmly in the war against Louis XIV. and sent a considerable body of troops to the Upper Rhine; afterwards taking the command in person, he besieged Bonne, where, after the taking of Mentz, the allies joined him, and preventing Boufflers from assisting the garrison: the governor surrendered on the 12th of October. The following campaign, likewise, the elector sent considerable succours to the allies.

A.D. 1689.

*Engages in
a grand
alliance
against
France.*

The prince of Orange, who was now in possession of the crown of England, took the command of the allied army in Flanders, and having an interview with the elector, he prevailed with him to send fifteen thousand men to join the army in Flanders, whilst the emperor obtained

from

from him a considerable assistance against the infidels in Hungary.

Though Frederic had no direct interest in these wars, yet as he was naturally fond of pomp and show, and as his ambition was awakened by the new acquisitions of grandeur of the prince of Orange and the duke of Hanover, he used all politic means to court the favour of the emperor, that he might succeed to a plan of aggrandizement which he had formed for himself. As his weakness would not allow him to aggrandize himself at the expence of his neighbours, equally powerful with himself, he resolved to procure the grandeur of a title, which, by the external magnificence and pomp that attended it, might flatter his ambition. Having fixed his plan, he employed all his politics to bring it to maturity; and as the good dispositions of the emperor would, in a great measure, procure the suffrages of the whole Germanic body, the elector granted to him the circle of Schwibus, contenting himself with the reversion of the principality of Friesland, and the barony of Limburg. Upon the same principles likewise of prejudicing the emperor in his favour, his troops served in the imperial armies in Flanders, upon the Rhine, and in Hungary: not venturing to pursue his design abruptly, he waited for the opportunity of a favourable conjuncture.

*Yields the
circle of
Schwibus
to the em-
peror.*

A.D. 1698.

*Czar Peter
arrives at
Berlin.*

While Europe was torn to pieces by violent wars, after the example of his father, he accommodated the difference with regard to succession, between the dukes of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Strelitz. He likewise founded the university of Halle, which he furnished with able professors, and built several fine sluices upon the river Salle, to render it more navigable. About this time also, he received at Berlin the Muscovite ambassador, who had in his retinue the czar Peter Alexiowitz, that young prince having left his own kingdom with the noble design of instructing himself, in order to civilize his people.

*General
peace con-
cluded at
Ryfwick.*

France being, by this time, quite exhausted, by reason of the long and destructive wars which it had maintained, Louis XIV. having formed another scheme of ambition, namely, to procure the succession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon, he gave up all his conquests, and concluded a peace with the allies at Ryfwick. While in the North, Augustus, duke of Saxony, obtained the crown of Poland by a second election, this new king, exhausted by his liberalities, sold to Frederic III. the advowson of the abbey of Quedlenburg, Petersburg, and Halle. The kingdom of Poland, soon after this election, being disturbed by intestine

intestine diffensions, the elector, taking advantage of these troubles, seized upon Elbing, to reimburse himself for a sum of money which the republic of Poland owed him. An accommodation being afterwards agreed to, the Poles, as a security for the money, presented him with a crown and jewels of Russia, which are still preserved at Koningsburg; after which the elector evacuated the city, and preserved, with the consent of the republic, the possession of the territory of Elbing.

In the beginning of this century, Europe was again involved in war, upon account of the dispute betwixt the emperor and the French king, about the succession to the Spanish monarchy. Frederic III. who was then at peace, took the part of the grand alliance, of which king William was the soul, and the archduke of Austria the pretence. All the offers which France made to him, to detach him from the allies, were in vain. As he hoped that this conjuncture would open the road to the royalty at which his ambition aimed, he warmly espoused the cause of the emperor, and at Vienna negotiated the treaty that concerned his grandeur. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to acknowledge Frederic III. as king of Prussia, upon condition that he furnished an assistance of ten thousand men, at his own expence, during the whole course of this war, maintained a company of the garrison of Philipsburg, and should be always in concert with the emperor in all the affairs of the empire; that his royalty should not alter any thing of the obligations of his states in Germany; that he should renounce the subsidy which the house of Austria owed him; and that he should give his vote for the election of the male children of the emperor Joseph, unless weighty and indispensable reasons obliged the electors to chuse an emperor of another house.

A.D. 1700.

The elector engages with the emperor in the war against France, and acquires the title of king of Prussia.

This treaty being signed and ratified, Rome exclaimed against it, the republic of Poland was silent, the Teutonic order protested against the act, and renewed their ancient claim to Prussia; the king of England, who only fought for enemies against France, and had need of the assistance of the elector in the grand alliance, was one of the first who acknowledged him, and was followed by Augustus, king of Poland. Denmark, who only feared and envied Sweden, made no objection; and Charles XII. who, at that time was engaged in a difficult war, thought not proper to dispute about a title to augment the number of his enemies. The coronation was solemnized the following year; the king, whom we shall henceforth call Frederic I. repairing to Prussia, where he instituted, in memory of this event,

the

*A royal
academy of
sciences
established
at Berlin.*

the order of knights of the Black Eagle. Likewise at the pressing solicitations of his queen, Sophia Charlotte, he established a royal academy of sciences at Berlin, of which Leibnitz was the chief.

While the king was employed at Berlin in celebrating feasts and diversions, Charles XII. who had obliged the king of Denmark to conclude a peace, defeated the Saxons at the passage of the Duna, and obliged them to retire towards the frontiers of Prussia. These transactions greatly alarmed Frederic I. As the greatest part of his troops served in the imperial armies, he was afraid lest the war in his neighbourhood should disturb his new kingdom; but Charles XII. at the intercession of the emperor, and the maritime powers, promised to observe a neutrality as to Prussia.

A.D. 1702.

*The king
succeeds to
part of the
estates of
the prince
of Orange.*

The king having raised eight thousand new troops sent them into Flanders to reinforce the allied army, and repaired himself into the country of Cleves, to recover the inheritance of William of Orange, king of England. The rights of Frederic I. were founded upon the testament of Frederic Henry of Orange, who had settled his estates, in case of the extinction of males, upon his daughter, the wife of the grand elector. King William had left a testament quite opposite, in favour of prince Frison of Nassau, of which the states-general were executors. The estates of the succession consisted in the principality of Orange and Meurs, and the different lordships situated in Holland and Zealand. Frederic I. threatened to withdraw his troops, if justice was not done him; a provisional accommodation was regulated, by which the inheritance was divided into two equal parts. Louis XIV. having put the prince of Conti in possession of Orange, the king was greatly offended, and augmenting his army, declared war against France, because the army of Boufflers had committed some excesses in the country of Cleves.

A.D. 1703.

*Concludes a
defensive
alliance
with
Charles
XII. of
Sweden.*

While the war of the succession continued, the Prussian troops maintained with glory the reputation they had acquired under the grand elector; they took Keiserswert near the Rhine, and in the action where Villars surprised and defeated Stirheim, the prince of Anhalt made a fine retreat with the eight thousand Prussians which he commanded. Charles XII. having now driven the Saxons out of Poland, and dethroned Augustus, Frederic I. to secure the tranquillity of his provinces, concluded a defensive alliance with that king, who had a victorious army in his neighbourhood, and put strong garrisons into all his towns in Prussia.

The

The duke of Marlborough having led the allied army into Suabia, to deliver the empire from the French, the elector sent a new reinforcement to his army, which body of troops had a considerable share in gaining the victory of Blenheim; by which battle the French lost Bavaria and Suabia. The duke of Marlborough, after this glorious campaign, repairing to Berlin, easily penetrated the character of Frederic I. He was full of submission and complaisance to the king, and artfully flattering his vanity, he was officious to present him with the ewer, when he rose from table. Frederic could not resist him, and granted to the flatteries of the courtier, what he would have perhaps refused to the merit of the great general. The fruit of this negociation was, that prince Anhalt marched into Italy at the head of eight thousand men.

The court of Frederic was soon after disturbed by the death of the excellent princess Sophia Charlotte. She died in the bosom of her family at Hanover; and recommended the learned whom she had protected, and those arts which she had cultivated, to the protection of her husband the elector. She was a princess of distinguished merit, who joined all the charms of her sex to the graces of a brilliant wit and solid understanding.

The forces which the king had sent into Italy were defeated at Casano with prince Eugene; but the loss at Casano was soon forgot by the gaining of the famous battle of Turin, in which the Prussians had a principal part, for which bravery prince Eugene complimented the king. During the course of this war, Frederic I. made some pacific acquisitions; he bought the county of Tecklenburg, in Westphalia; and madam de Nemours, who was in possession of the principality of Neufchatel, happening to die, the council of state of that principality adjudged the sovereignty to the king, as heir to the prince of Orange, which determination was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht.

A popular sedition having disturbed the city of Hamburg, Frederic I. sent four thousand men to support the prerogatives of the sheriffs and syndics. He likewise, by stopping the merchandize of the city of Cologne upon the Rhine, and at Wesel, and threatening to prohibit the Roman Catholic worship in his territories, obliged that city to acknowledge their error, the populace having forced the doors of the Prussian resident, because he had a protestant chapel in his house.

After a long course of victories, Charles XII. being defeated at Pultawa, Augustus, who saw his antagonist ruined, thought himself disengaged from the treaty of Alt Rastadt,

A.D. 1704.

A.D. 1705.

*His queen
Sophia
Charlotte
dies.*

*The king
acquires the
principality
of Neuf-
chatel.*

A.D. 1709.

Raustadt, and had a conference at Berlin with the king of Denmark and Frederic I. in consequence of which Augustus again entered Poland with an army, while the king of Denmark attacked the Swedes in Scania. But Frederic I. could not be moved to engage in the war. He made a journey to Koningsburg, where he obtained of the czar, who came thither to establish the young duke of Courland in his possessions, upon condition that he married the niece of Peter Alexiowitz. Upon his return to Berlin, he was informed of the reputation of his troops, who distinguished themselves in Flanders and in Italy.

In Pomerania, the Swedes seeming to threaten to enter Saxony, the king proposed to maintain an army of neutrality, to prevent the war from entering his own territories; while in the south France renewed the negociations of peace at Gertrudenburg, and in the preliminaries engaged to acknowledge the royalty of Prussia, and the sovereignty of Neufchatel: but the war continuing, the Prussians were employed in this campaign, under the prince of Anhalt, at the sieges of Aire and Douay, which they took; and the king then declared that he would not restore the city of Gueldre, where he had a garrison, till the Spaniards paid him the subsidies which they owed him. By the peace he preserved the possession of that city.

A.D. 1710.

*The plague
ravages
Prussia.*

The passage, and the neighbourhood of so many armies, brought the plague this year into Prussia; and the famine which began to be severely felt, augmented the violence of that contagion. The king, who was ignorant of one part of the evil, spent his revenues in magnificence and luxury, while two hundred thousand souls perished, partly for want, and partly by the distemper. The prince-royal, astonished at the want of feeling in his father towards the Prussians, earnestly pressed the counts of Wartenburg and Witgenstein, directors of the finances, to buy corn for the subsistence of the poor people who were starving; but these ministers being inflexible, the prince resolved to ruin them, by means of a young courtier, who often played at chess with the king, who dropt so many insinuations against the ministers, and which he took all opportunities of repeating, that at last Witgenstein was sent to the fortress of Spandaw, and Wartenburg banished.

While the allies exhausted their strength in reducing the power of France, the emperor Joseph died; and the empire elected in his place the archduke Charles, who was then blocked up in Barcelona. This change in the empire opened a way to a general pacification; the English, being now weary of their vast expences, were disposed to enter
into

into a negociation at Utrecht. Meanwhile the king, who likewise desired to terminate the difference with regard to the succession of Orange by a definitive treaty, repaired to the country of Cleves to regulate that affair with the prince of Friesland; but that unhappy prince was drowned in passing Maerdick, on his way to the Hague.

The allies, following the example of the English, began to think seriously of peace, the emperor alone desiring to continue the war. But these pacific sentiments of the South had no influence upon the North; the king of Denmark entered the duchy of Bremen, and took Staden. The czar and the king of Poland endeavoured to make a descent upon the island of Rugen, but were prevented by the Swedes; they were likewise disappointed at Stralsund, and the Saxons and Danes were defeated at Gadesbuck by Steinboeck.

Frederic I. though desirous of reconciling the contending parties, to prevent the storm from falling upon his own states, yet was prevented by death from seeing the conclusion of the peace. He died in the beginning of the year 1713, of a slow disease which had attacked him for a long time. He had three wives: the first was a princess of Hesse, by whom he had a daughter, married to the hereditary prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden; his second wife, Sophia Charlotte, of Hanover, bore Frederic William, who succeeded him; and he divorced his third wife, who was a princess of Mecklenburg, upon account of madness. His person was little and deformed, with an air of haughtiness; he had a very common aspect; his soul was flexible to all the impressions that were given him; and those who had once gained a certain ascendant over him, had the power of animating or calming his spirit. Being more attached to that splendor which dazzles, than to the useful, or what is solid, he confounded vain shew with true grandeur. But he is worthy of praise for having always preserved his states in peace, while those of his neighbours were ravaged by war; for having a heart naturally good, and for having never violated his conjugal fidelity.

Under the reign of Frederic I. the new colonies, which the grand elector had established, arrived at a flourishing state, and by their industry enriched their protector. His court was numerous and brilliant, and abounded in money by means of foreign subsidies. Luxury appeared in his liveries, cloaths, tables, equipages, and buildings. The king had in his service two of the most ingenious architects in Europe, and a sculptor as perfect in his art as the two

A.D. 1712.

*The king dies.**His character.**The improvements during his reign.*

first. The fine arts now began to flourish in Berlin, an academy of painters being founded; and afterwards, by the solicitation of queen Sophia Charlotte, a royal academy of sciences. This princess thought it not unworthy of a queen to esteem a philosopher; and as those who have received from heaven enlightened souls are elevated to an equality with sovereigns, she admitted Leibnitz into her familiarity, and proposed him as capable alone to lay the foundations of this new academy. He appointed four classes, one for physic and medicine, another for mathematics, the third for the languages and antiquities of Germany, and the last for the Oriental languages and antiquities. The king likewise founded at Berlin an academy for young people of condition, upon the model of that of Lüneville, but unfortunately it did not long subsist.

Under Frederic William, the second king, the form of the state was entirely changed: the court was dismissed, and the great pensions were reduced; many people that had once kept coaches now went a foot, which gave the public occasion to say, that the king had restored the impotent to the use of their limbs. The king, likewise, by a severe proclamation, prohibited the exportation of wool, and established a magazine at Lagerhaus, from which wool might be furnished to poor manufacturers. He gave also rewards and immunities to those who settled in his cities; he built the city Potsdam, which he also peopled, for then it hardly had four hundred inhabitants, whereas, at present, it has more than twenty thousand. During these alterations, the luxury, magnificence, and pleasures of the former reign disappeared; the spirit of œconomy was introduced through all the states, among the rich as well as the poor.

Of the ancient and modern government of Brandenburg.

The ancient government of Brandenburg, when it was pagan, was in the hands of the Druids; their princes being properly generals of the nation, were called *fursten*, that is, *conductors*. The first emperors of Germany who subdued these barbarians, appointed *margraves*, or governors of the frontiers, to rule these warlike people; but the authority of these governors was not very absolute, the inhabitants being still possessed of a great deal of liberty, and even refused homage to the first burgraves of Nuremberg, who were established in the Marche. The great families were possessed of strong castles, surrounded with moats, and made war upon one another, without regarding the laws and government. Although the elector Frederic I. subdued them, the states still remained masters of the government;

vernment; they granted subsidies; regulated the taxes, and fixed the number of the troops, which were only raised in great extremities; they were consulted in the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and it was by their advice that the laws were administered. Under Joachim II. the credit of the states was so powerful, that they redeemed some bailliages upon which the prince had contracted debts, upon condition that neither he, nor his successors, should henceforth borrow upon them or alienate them: the elector consulted them upon all his affairs, and even promised to undertake nothing without their consent. The states wrote to Charles V. and observed to him, that they did not think it proper that the elector should appear at the diet of the empire; upon which Joachim II. laid aside the journey. George William consulted the states for the last time, to know if they thought it proper that the elector should make an alliance with the Swedes, by putting his towns into their hands; or if he ought to follow the party of the emperor. Afterwards Schwartzenburg, the minister, having all power with a weak prince, centered in his person the whole power of the sovereign and the states. He imposed contributions by his own authority, and there remained no more to the states of that power which they had never abused, than the merit of a blind submission to the orders of a court.

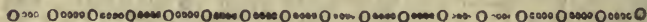
A.D. 1410.

A.D. 1631.

The electors had no other council than the states till the reign of Joachim Frederic; this prince formed a council composed of the minister of justice, and the minister of the finances, and of him who had the charge of the affairs of the empire, and the marshal of the court. From this council, where a stadtholder presided, all decrees in the last instance proceeded, likewise all orders civil and military; and when a journey or war obliged the elector to leave his states, this council exercised the functions of the sovereignty. The power of the first minister and council becoming enormous, the elector Frederic William appointed to each of his ministers their separate department, and established in each province two counsellors, to regulate and give account of affairs; and residing during the first years of his government at Koningsburg, he provided the council; which he left at Berlin, with ample instructions relative to the time and circumstances in which he then was. Things remained on this footing during the reign of Frederic I. but with this difference, that he suffered himself to be governed wholly by his ministers. Frederic William II. changed the whole form of the government; he limited

A.D. 1725.

the power of the ministers; he regulated the finances, which were in great disorder, and he established in each province a college of justice, and a college of finances, subordinate to the ministers. He declared all the fiefs freehold for a certain annual rent, which the proprietaries paid to the state; it was he, in a word, who gave the state the most advantageous form, and established the government with the greatest wisdom.



C H A P. XCIV.

The History of the Duchy of Mecklenburg.

S E C T. I.

From the Time of the Vandals to the Accession of Adolphus II. and John Albert.

*History of
Vandalia.*

VANDALIA was a large country beyond the Elbe, and included the kingdom of the Abodrites, or Abodriti, part of which formed the country that is now called Mecklenburg. We shall omit the very distant accounts given us by Marchallus Thurius of this district, because the pretended antiquity of them is so remote, that it is impossible to conceive, considering the extreme ignorance of the age, how they could have been transmitted to posterity. The manners of the people were probably the same with those of the Scythians, their ancestors, and the Germans, of whom we have given copious accounts in the preceding parts of this history; we shall, therefore, take it up so late as the period of our Saviour's birth, when it is by no means improbable that the natives might have some knowledge of letters, by means of the great number of illustrious Romans, who, upon the fall of their republic, either retired or were banished thither.

Strunic was then the leader of the Vandals, and he made a naval descent upon the dominions of Frotho, the third king of Denmark, who had been always considered as the lord paramount of Vandalia, and whose general, Eric, defeated the Vandalian fleet. Not content with this, by Frotho's orders, he invaded Strunic's dominions, put him to death, and laid his country waste. Frotho, dreading the

the resentment of the Vandals, whom he knew to be a warlike and restless people, decoyed them into his armies, under pretence of employing them and giving them preferment, and put great numbers of them to death. After this, they, with the Marcommanni, the Quadi, and many other northern nations, attacked the Roman garrisons, about the year 166. The events of that war, which brought Rome almost to destruction, have been already related in the Ancient History, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that the Romans, under the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, after they had defeated his general near Aquileia, where he lost above twenty thousand men, again reduced them to subjection. The Vandals remained some time after this unmolested by the Romans; but had many contests with the kings of Denmark, some of whom being powerful princes, renewed their claim of tribute from the Vandals, which, about the year 261, they made good, the leader or king of the Vandals, being then Alberic I. By this time the Vandals were greatly esteemed in the Roman, and all other armies, for their courage, and became the terror of all Europe, as may be seen in numerous passages of the Ancient History. They served even in the armies of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and in the struggles which they made for their independency, they sometimes brought the Roman empire to the brink of destruction. The emperor Aurelian having often experienced their valour to his cost, that he might disunite their force, assigned to them lands in Britain, and other provinces of his empire, which they joyfully accepted. Their own countries were at once uncultivated and overstocked with natives, and, wherever they were settled, they behaved themselves as brave and faithful subjects of the empire.

About the year of Christ 340, we find the nation of the Vandals governed by Wismar, who had succeeded Alberic. Under him they invaded Jutland in Denmark; but they were at last defeated by Siward, the king of that country. The successor of Wismar was Meicesslaus. About the year 341, they renewed their incursions into Denmark, where they proved victorious over Siward, and took Jarmerci his son, and his two daughters. The prince they confined, and the princesses were sold at public sale, while the Vandals made themselves masters of all Cimbria. The Danish monarchy was, at this time, reduced to a low state by the Swedes on the one hand, and the Vandals on the other. Jarmerci continued still in confinement, and though obliged to work as a slave, he discovered so many noble qualities, that he became Wismar's chief favourite. Not being able

*Succession
of their
princes.*

however to forget his high rank, and finding himself closely watched, he, and one Gunno, another Danish prisoner, took an opportunity at a great festival, to murder their guards, whom they had made drunk, together with the queen of the Vandals, and with the utmost difficulty they escaped to Denmark, where Jarmerci peaceably ascended the throne.

*Reign of
Jarmerci.*

His first care was to reduce the Swedes, and then driving the Vandals out of Cimbria, he restored Denmark to its former lustre. He then invaded Vandalia itself, where he is said to have been guilty of many cruelties, and forced the Vandals to renew their annual tribute. Marching to other wars, the Vandals massacred the troops whom he had left to bridle them, for which they were afterwards severely punished by Jarmerci, who defeated them in repeated battles. The Vandals for some years after this remained in peace, till becoming too populous for the limits of their country, in the reign of the emperor Honorius, about the year 405, they joined the Goths, and their other barbarous neighbours, and broke like a torrent into the empire. The king of the Vandals, at that time, was named Radagaisus, or Radagaistis. He, probably, was no other than the leader whom they had chosen to head their expedition, which they intended to be a migration into Italy, where they were to settle with their wives and children. The number of fighting men under Radagaistis, exclusive of their families, is said to have been two hundred thousand; and the emperor found himself unable to stop their march, though the famous Stilicho commanded his armies. Radagaistis advanced as far as Tuscany without opposition, and laying siege to Florence, he was defeated, taken, and put to death with his sons, while the few Vandals who escaped the sword were publicly sold, and reduced to the most wretched slavery.

*The Van-
dals de-
feated.*

It was not long before the Vandals under Godegisles, another of their leaders, being invited, as some conjecture, by Stilicho himself, underhand, or as others say, being pressed by famine, invaded Gaul; but twenty thousand of them were cut off by the Franks, who were then the subjects or allies of the empire. It is thought that those incursions were greatly favoured, not only by the intrigues of the several candidates for the empire, but by such of the Romans who were still pagans, as the Vandals themselves were. Being joined by the Alans, and other barbarous nations, they repulsed the Franks, but were subdued by Constantine, who, notwithstanding, suffered them to remain in Gaul, from whence they were driven by the Gauls themselves about the

the year 410. The name of their king at this time is said to have been Gundericus; and he and his followers remained for nineteen years in Spain, from whence they went over to Africa.

By those frequent migrations into the finest countries of Europe, the country of Vandalia lay uncultivated and unpeopled, and especially the lands of the Abrodites, and the Heruli, which now form the duchy of Mecklenburg and the county of Schwerin. The Wendi, or Venedi, being pressed on the north side of the Vistula by the Goths, passed that river, and seized, without opposition, upon the eastern parts of Vandalia; and the inhabitants of the whole, about the year 613, were blended together under the denomination of Slavonians, by king Vislaus III. As the inhabitants of Mecklenburg had then no connection with the Romans, we know but little of their history at this period. It appears, that notwithstanding the general name by which they were distinguished, their septs, or tribes, particularly the Abodrites, still retained among themselves their ancient appellations; but, after various struggles, in which they were blended sometimes with the Saxons, and sometimes with the Slavonians, they were obliged to receive the yoke of Pepin and Charlemagne, kings of France, under whom they were protected, and enjoyed some respite from the depredations of their neighbours.

*Submit to
Pepin and
Charle-
magne.*

Aribert was king of the Abodrites in the year 779, when Charlemagne, that bloody enthusiast for the conversion of infidels, undertook to render them Christians. This attempt was the more practicable, as they had been always attached to him and his family, and after presiding in person at one of their diets, where he introduced several very useful regulations, he prevailed with them to admit missionaries into their country, who were to instruct them in the Christian religion. His zeal was crossed by Wittikind, duke of Saxony, who publicly declared, that to render Saxons Christians was making them slaves. To enforce this doctrine, he raised a great army, and invaded the country of the Abodrites. The reader may consult other parts of this work for the events of the wars that followed between those two great princes. It is sufficient here to say, that Charles protected the Abodrites, and defeated Wittikind. Soon after, the Abodrites were invaded by the Wilsî, a part of the Slavonians settled near the Baltic sea; but they too were chastised by Charles, and their country was plundered. About this time, Charles held frequent diets with the northern nations, from motives partly of religion and partly of policy; and at one of them, in the

year 794, the king of the Abodrites, who was nearly related to the emperor by marriage, attended, which was so much resented by the heathen Saxons, that they murdered him on his return homewards. This assassination was severely resented by Charles, who revenged it upon the whole nation, by putting many thousands of them to death.

*History of
the Abodrites;*

It is not easy to ascertain the rules of succession at this time among those barbarians; though they seem to have been indetermined, yet they generally kept in the same line of blood when the descendants were fit to govern. The Abodrites, on this occasion, were so grateful to Charles, that they made him the compliment of desiring him to name the successor to their late king, and he gave them one Thraico. Unhappily for the Abodrites, they could not always enjoy the powerful protection of Charles, as his extensive dominions often obliged him to march to other parts of Europe. No sooner did he leave the North, after raising Thraico to the chieftainship of the Abodrites, than they were exposed to two enemies, the Saxons and Godfrey king of Denmark, who demanded from them a renewal of their tribute, which he rated at the payment of a hundred white horses at the accession of every new king of Denmark. The Abodrites, though pressed at the same time by the Saxons, had now forgot that their ancestors ever had been tributaries, and depending on the all-powerful protection of the emperor, they entered into an offensive war with Godfrey. But Charles was at too great a distance to give them succour, and Godfrey, invading their country, defeated their forces, and drove Thraico from his throne. They substituted in his stead one Godalaibe, who again made head against Godfrey, but his army was routed and himself slain; and the Dane at last, though at the vast expence of the best blood of his country, succeeded in obliging the greatest part of the Abodrites to receive him as their lord paramount, and to pay him tribute.

*who are
protected by
Charles-
magne,*

Charles was, at that time, in the more southern parts of Europe. The events we have recited touched his ambition, as well as religion; and he sent his son Pepin with an army to chastise the Abodrites, who had recognized the sovereignty of the Dane, which he did in a most signal manner. Godfrey (F) saw himself unable to resist the imperial arms,

(F) This prince, in the foregoing part of this work, is called Gotrick, as the Abodrites are called Abaras; and several other variations of the same kind may be observed. This is owing to our being obliged to accommodate the spelling of every

arms, and fought to enter into a treaty with Charles. The demands of the latter were, that the Dane should give up all manner of sovereignty over the Abodrites, and solemnly promise never again to molest the vassals of the empire or its allies. Those terms were rejected by Godfrey, who pretended that the Abodrites had given him the first provocation. Hostilities again commenced, and Charles put Thrafico, who had remained at his court ever since his expulsion, at the head of an army, which at first was successful, but was afterwards defeated, and Thrafico himself was killed by the Danes. Charles then raised one Sclaomer to the throne of the Abodrites, who continued for several years in peace, till they were required by Lewis the Debonnair, son and successor of Charles, to assist Harold in his dispute with Regner for the crown of Denmark. The Abodrites raised an army, and being joined by the Saxons, they entered Jutland, after many repeated disappointments, by favour of the ice. The Danish princes equipped a fleet, with a good number of land forces aboard, which watched the invaders so closely, that they were obliged to return home, without doing any thing material but wasting part of the country.

The successors of Charles the Great, being by no means equal to him, either in power or abilities, soon lost the dependence of the Abodrites upon their crown. Sclaomer thought himself ill-treated by Lewis, in obliging him to embark so deep as he had done in Harold's quarrel, while Louis declared Cendragne, the son of Thrafico, who had lost his life in the imperial service, to be Sclaomer's associate in the government of the Abodrites. Sclaomer upon this called in the Danes to assist him in maintaining his dignity; but he was defeated, and being taken prisoner, he was carried to Aix la Chapelle, where the emperor commuted the sentence of death that had been passed upon him for his rebellion, into that of banishment*. Some German historians, of the greatest credit, inform us, that in October, 826, the emperor held a diet at Ingelheim, to enquire into the dispositions of his feudatory princes; and that finding cause to suspect the fidelity of Cendragne, he detained him; but sent commissaries into his country, to learn how his subjects stood affected towards him. A re-

every proper name to that of The Danish Gotrick, therefore, the historians of the country is the German Godfrey. under which it is mentioned.

* History of the Empire by Heiss.

port being made in his favour, Cendragne was dismissed to his government, but not before he had given hostages for his good behaviour.

*Attempts
to convert
them.*

After this the Abodrites appear to have lived in peace for some years ; but two causes concurred in breaking in upon their tranquillity. The first was the dislike they had to their dependence upon the emperor ; the second was, their attachment to paganism and their hatred of Christianity. The divisions among the descendents of Charlemagne had now weakened the empire ; and the Abrodites were guilty of many rebellions, which were as often suppressed. In such cases they commonly purchased their pardon by promising to admit Christian missionaries into their country. The emperor, Henry I. the greatest prince of his time, had their conversion so much at heart, that, after subduing them, he employed the bishop of Holstein to convert them. The prelate we are told, succeeded in making the king a Christian, but the bulk of his subjects still continued gross idolaters. It appears, that at this time, the Abodrites were a very considerable people ; for the emperor was obliged to station a general officer, under the name of a marquis, at Brandenburg, that he might repel the occasional incursions of the Abrodites upon that territory. The reigns of the three succeeding emperors were disturbed by the insurrections, or, as they are called by the imperial historians, rebellions, of the Abodrites. But as the particulars contain neither variety, instruction, nor entertainment, all we can say, is, that the Abrodites, who, probably had no writers among them, are represented by the historians of the contrary party, as having been always defeated ; though they still continued to hold out obstinately against Christianity. It is true, that some of their princes, from political motives, occasionally conformed to that religion, for we are told, that about the year 986, their king Mistevojus I. and his wife, were both of them Christians, but both of them afterwards apostatized.

*The first
Christian
king.*

Mistevojus was succeeded by his son Meicesslaus II. who married the king of Hungary's daughter, and his sister was the wife of Boleslaus I. king of Poland. Mistevojus II. succeeded his father Meicesslaus, and was the first real Christian king of the Abodrites. His first wife, upon that account, was nearly related to the emperor Otho, but his second wife, who was a Saxon princess, brought him back to paganism, though it was not long before he abjured it ; upon which his subjects dethroned, and drove him into exile, where he was murdered by his unnatural wife. A kind of anarchy prevailed among the Abodrites after this.

The

The two sons of the last Mistevojus, the youngest of whom, Udo, had succeeded him, were killed by the Saxons; and his son Gothescale relapsed into idolatry, chiefly, as it was thought, with a view of raising an army among his own subjects, to revenge his father's death; and after various conflicts and incursions into Saxony, he was taken prisoner by that duke; but, in consideration of his great qualities, was released. Upon his return to his dominions, he found that his subjects had raised another prince to his throne, upon which he fled to Denmark, where he married the daughter of Sweno, the Christian king of Denmark, and abjured paganism. By the assistance of his father-in-law, he recovered his dominions, but his attachment to Christianity, and his affection for the Danes, soon procured him to be assassinated; and the Abodrites invading Denmark, were guilty of the most dreadful inhumanities against the inhabitants, especially of Sleswic, which they took by surprise.

Henry, Gothescale's son, when very young, escaping the hands of his father's murderers, was carried into Denmark; and, by the assistance of that king, he mounted the throne of the Abodrites. As the northern nations in those days were much given to acts of piracy, Henry, about the year 1097, sheltered two Danish outlaws, who had been guilty of great enormities of that kind; and when Eric demanded Henry to give them up, he flatly refused to comply. Eric, upon this raised a powerful fleet and army, and besieged Julinum, formerly the capital of Vandalia, and having taken it, he put the pirates, and all the Danish outlaws to death. It is said, that since this siege, Julinum has never recovered its lustre, and perpetual wars were carried on between the Danes and the Abodrites during the remainder of Eric's reign. In the mean while, Henry attacked the isle of Rugen, subdued it, and married the widow of its king, whom he killed. After Eric's death, Henry made a demand upon Nicholas, his successor, of some places, the property of which had devolved upon him, in right of his mother Sigritha, who was sister to Nicholas. Henry meeting with a denial, he entered into alliances with his neighbours, invaded Denmark, and ravaged Sleswick, where he had a private correspondence with Elif, its governor. This traitor advised his master to move to the relief of his country with a fleet and army, promising to join him with a large force, which Nicholas complied with; but being disappointed by Elif, Henry fell upon the Danes, who were destitute of cavalry, and gave them a total defeat.

*Henry, king
of the Abodrites.*

His wars.

Though

*Agreement
with
Canute the
Dane.*

Though Nicholas removed Elif from his government for his treachery, yet he could not prevent Henry from besieging Sleswick the capital itself, which owed its preservation only to the valour of its inhabitants; for they forced Henry to raise the siege. Nicholas then made his nephew Canute duke, or governor of Sleswick, that he, by his great valour and accomplishments might defend so important a province. Canute before he entered upon hostilities, offered to come to an agreement with Henry, provided the latter would repair the ravages he had committed. Henry, instead of complying, vowed an irreconcilable enmity to the Danes, unless he was put in possession of the places he claimed; and his defiance being mingled with some insulting expressions, Canute, that very evening, set out with an army to besiege him in a castle where he resided, and before which he appeared at break of day. Henry, who had no idea of such an expedition, was unprovided of all the means of defence, and with the utmost difficulty saved himself from falling into the enemy's hands by swimming across a river, upon which Canute took and plundered the castle, and returned to Sleswick. Henry lost no time in raising an army to oppose Canute's progress; but it was completely defeated, and he was obliged to fly to Lubec, leaving the rest of his country to the mercy of Canute.

Henry, moved by the distresses of his people, applied in his turn for peace; and the behaviour both of Canute and him on this occasion, gives us the most exalted idea of their virtues. No sooner was Henry's proposals intimated to Canute, than the latter, being determined as much as possible to abridge the negotiations, resolved to have a personal conference with his antagonist, and set out for Lubec with no more than twenty attendants, where his magnanimous confidence inspired the like sentiments in Henry. They immediately embraced one another, as if they had always been friends; and they agreed, that Canute should pay a sum of money equivalent to Henry's demands, and that a lasting amity should ensue; which engagement the king of Denmark equitably discharged, without putting Canute to any expence. This happened about the year 1127; but, from the complexion of the negotiation, we are apt to conjecture, that one of the terms of the agreement was, that Canute should succeed Henry in the kingdom of the Abodrites, to which he nominated him his heir, he having no children that were of an age for government. On this occasion, the emperor Lothair II. was applied to, as being head of the empire, who readily confirmed the destination.

Upon

Upon the death of Henry, or, perhaps before, Canute mounted the throne of the Abodrites, being at the same time duke of Sleswick, by which he was a vassal to the king of Denmark: a war breaking out between the latter, and Wratislaus, duke of Sclavonia, Canute was summoned to the assistance of the Danes, and Wratislaus, discovering a ready inclination for peace, he ventured himself on board the king of Denmark's ship, where he was detained prisoner. Canute hearing of this, remonstrated so strongly to his Danish majesty upon so dishonourable a proceeding, that he thanked his nephew for the regard he had shewn to his honour, and released Wratislaus. Canute's noble sentiments upon this, and many other occasions, procured him great numbers of enemies at the Danish court; among whom was Magnus, the king's son, who was afraid lest Canute, an account of his extraordinary virtues, should be nominated to the succession of Denmark. One of the chief charges urged against him, was his having subjected to the emperor the kingdom of the Abodrites, which had formerly been tributary to that of Denmark; and his performing all acts of royalty independent of Denmark. Nicholas was at last induced, by the representation of his son, to have a very bad opinion of Canute. The latter was all this while intent upon the duties of a good king and subject. He chastised the pirates who had infested the coasts of the Abodrites; he reduced some rebellious provinces which had revolted from Denmark to Sweden, and then he repaired to the Danish court, where he soon perceived that a strong party had been formed for his destruction. For some time Canute was powerfully befriended by the queen, whose favourite niece he had married; but, upon her death, Nicholas summoned him before a general assembly, where he appeared as Canute's accuser. The charge against the latter, was that of ambition and affectation of popularity, and his presuming to wear in public the ornaments and attendants that were due only to independent sovereigns. Canute appeared in the assembly, on his defence, with the greatest firmness and dignity, but, at the same time, with the utmost respect to his king and benefactor, and pleaded his own cause with so much eloquence, that he was not only acquitted by the assembly, but again received into the most cordial friendship of the king, and, seemingly, of his son likewise.

Canute becomes king of the Abodrites.

He is persecuted at the court of Denmark.

The latter, however, hated Canute more than ever, and invited him to a feast of reconciliation, where he apologized for his unjust suspicions; and informed Canute, that being determined to enter upon a crusade, he intended to leave his

*Canute
is trea-
cherously
murdered.*

his wife and children under his protection. Canute had some intimations from his wife Ingeburge, that these professions were fallacious; but still disdaining all suspicion, he was prevailed upon by Magnus, on pretext of some very important private business he had to communicate, to give him the meeting in a wood, where he was treacherously assassinated by Magnus, and some trussians whom he had concealed there for the purpose. The famous Ingeburge was then pregnant with a son, of whom she was delivered, and who afterwards mounted the throne of the Abodrites, by the name of Waldemar; but the subjects of Canute were equally grieved and enraged at the loss of their prince, the most amiable of any in his age or country. Canute had left two bastard brothers, Harold and Eric, who took upon themselves, but from very different views, the guardianship of the young prince and his kingdom; and to animate the people more to revenge, they publicly exposed the bloody cloaths in which Canute had been murdered; so that in a short time they assembled a great army, who chose Eric for their general.

*His death
revenged.*

He had many virtues, and sincerely wished to revenge his brother's death, but Harold was ambitious and designing, and aspired to the throne, and the greatest inveteracy subsisted between the two brothers. The formidable army, however, under Eric, struck terror into Nicholas, who still sat upon the throne of Denmark, and who not only disowned the assassination of Canute, but banished his son Magnus on that account. Those compliances appeased the Abodrites, till they saw Nicholas, in contempt of his oaths and engagements, recall Magnus to his court. They then again flew to arms, and Eric being once more chosen their general, was offered the kingdom of Denmark, which he declined to accept of, till his services should deserve it. It is said, that Nicholas, by flattering Eric's ambition, which it seems he was not without, prevailed on him to agree to a cessation of arms, and treacherously took that opportunity to cut off the greatest part of his troops, and to drive Eric himself, and the remainder, into Zealand; where Eric accepted of the title of royalty which he had before refused. It was then that Harold discovered his real views, by deserting his brother and joining with Nicholas. Eric shewed himself worthy of the crown he had accepted of, for, after much of blood had been spilt in the struggle, Magnus was killed in battle, and Nicholas himself afterwards fell a sacrifice to the burghers of Sleswick, for whom he had always entertained the highest contempt; and who took arms to revenge the death of Canute. Upon the death of Nicholas,

Eric

Eric mounted the throne of Denmark. But it is now time to return to the history of the duchy of Mecklenburg.

It does not clearly appear, during the above dispute, how the infant son of Canute was disposed of; it is said, that upon Canute's death, the Abodrites raised to their throne Pribislaus I. and Nicholas, the grandsons of Godeschale, by his eldest son Bucco, who died in 1075. From this time the succession to the duchy of Mecklenburg may be said to have descended in an hereditary line to its present dukes. The Abodrites, while Nicholas and Eric were disputing for the throne of Denmark, had made some incursions into that country, for which Eric made severe reprisals; and under pretence of converting the Vandals, he carried fire and sword into the country of the Abodrites. It was then the age of crusades; but, upon Eric's death, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, instead of marching against the infidels of the East, undertook a crusade against the pagans of the North, and laid siege to Dobinum, or Doberin, in Mecklenburg. This place was a famous asylum of piracy, to which not only the Vandals, but all the northern nations in general were now addicted. The Mecklenburghers in Doberin, by the assistance of the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, forced the king to raise the siege with great slaughter, and committed such ravages upon the coasts of Denmark, that Sweno, its king, found himself obliged to advance a large sum of money to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on condition of his assisting him with a numerous body of troops for the entire reduction of Mecklenburg. Henry eluded the performance of this engagement, having himself an eye upon the reduction of Vandalia to his own subjection. Nothing had hitherto stood in the way of his ambition but the fear of the emperor, whom he soon reconciled by his services, and he gave Henry a permission to establish bishops in Vandalia, or, in other terms, to conquer it.

*Piracies of
the Abodrites, or
Mecklenburghers.*

King Pribislaus II. the nephew of Pribislaus I. was then upon the Abodrite throne. Notwithstanding all the pains that had been taken for their conversion, the generality of his subjects continued still pagans. Though Pribislaus II. was a brave prince, and made a noble stand for the independency of his country, yet being defeated in several bloody battles, he was obliged to resign to his conqueror, Henry the Lion, part of his dominions, and to content himself with the title of prince of Mecklenburg, which was the capital of his reserved territory. This city had suffered so much by war, that its episcopal see was translated to Schwerin, and the province of Butzow was appropriated to support

*Pribislaus
II. a
Christian.*

support it; but to prevent the effects of future apostacies, Henry appointed one Guncelin, to superintend and guard the affairs of the church and bishop, under the title of count of Schwerin. Many of the Saxons, Henry's subjects, having served in Italy, their manners were less ferocious than those of the Mecklenburghers, whose country had been greatly depopulated by their late wars. To repair this waste of men, Henry encouraged many of his Saxons to settle in Mecklenburg, and their residence there polished the minds of the inhabitants.

*Submit to
the Saxons.*

As to Pribislaus being deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, he thought it his duty to submit to his conqueror, by punctually fulfilling all he had undertaken, and by seconding him in all his views for polishing and improving the manners of his people. This made him a favourite with the duke of Saxony, who employed him in many of his northern expeditions, especially against Waldemar; who, about the year 1154, became sole king of Denmark. The duke of Saxony being engaged in more distant wars, Waldemar sought to revenge himself upon Pribislaus, by attacking Mecklenburg, and this occasioned a rupture between him and Henry. The reader is to observe, that there was still, in other parts of Vandalia, a copious field for the ambition of both those princes; and, after some disputes, they came to an accommodation, which ended in each making an addition of some Vandal territories to his own dominions. The duke of Saxony thus leaving his country in peace, undertook, according to the mode of those times, an expedition into the Holy Land, in which he was attended by Pribislaus, who, being now old, died by a fall from his horse in a tournament at Luneburg. He was three times married, first to Petronella, daughter to Canute, king of the Wendes. Secondly, to Voisboda, daughter to the king of Norway; and thirdly, to Matilda, daughter to Bolelaus Crispus, duke of Poland.

*Disputes
about his
succession.*

Pribislaus II. left two sons, Canute and Henry Burewin, and was succeeded by the former. The ambition of Henry the Lion, by this time, had raised him up enemies on all hands, and drawn upon him the resentment of the emperor, and the other princes, of Germany, by whom he was put to the ban of the empire, and obliged to fly to England, where he was received by his father-in-law Henry II. All the princes, and others whom he had despoiled of their dominions, or their heirs, then resumed possession of them, and, among other states, Mecklenburg recovered its liberty. The Danes were then at war with Bogislaus, the prince of Pomerania, with whom the Mecklenburghers took part; while

while Jarimar, prince of Rugen, assisted the Danes, and having taken Henry Burewin prisoner, he made a present of him to Canute king of Denmark. That prince was then secretly resolved to revive the Danish claims of subjection from the country of the Abodrites, and, indeed, from Vandalia in general. As Canute, prince of Mecklenburg, had no issue, his succession was disputed by his uncle Nicholas, who opposed Henry Burewin; and the Dane was artful enough to prevail with both parties to chuse him for their umpire. His decision was, that Nicholas should enjoy the town of Rostock, with the district of Kissins; while Henry was to succeed to the cities of Mecklenburg and Hovia, with all their dependencies; and both were to hold their principalities as fiefs of the crown of Denmark. Twenty-four hostages, among whom was Henry's son (his elder brother Canute being now dead), were required and delivered for the performance of this treaty, upon which the kings of Denmark ground their right to the title of kings of the Vandals, for reasons that must be obvious to the reader.

As the encroaching bishops of Rome never failed to make the propagation of the Christian religion one of the terms of territorial acquisitions, which they pretended to be invalid without their consent; Canute, who now looked upon himself as lord paramount of the vast country of Vandalia, granted to the knights of the Teutonic order, then a powerful body in Germany, large tracks lying towards the eastern part of Vandalia, on condition of their serving as a kind of military missionaries for the propagation of the Christian religion in that country; and part of those estates now form the inheritance of his present Prussian majesty, and the princes of the house of Brandenburg. A marquis of Brandenburg was then in being, and a party in the confederacy with Adolphus, count of Dessau and Holstein, against Canute, who, in virtue of his paramount powers over the two princes of Mecklenburg, whom he had lately settled, ordered them to oppose this confederacy with all their troops. A battle followed, which proved fatal to the prince of Rostock, but glorious to Henry, who entirely defeated the count of Dessau, or Holstein, and made himself master of the greatest part of his estates, and forced the count to retire to Hamburg. He afterwards, by an ill-judged treaty, fell into the hands of his enemies, and remained long prisoner in Denmark, till he was released chiefly through the intercession of the prince of Mecklenburg, with Waldemar, who succeeded Canute in the throne of Denmark.

Canute reduces Mecklenburg.

*Origin of
the king of
Denmark's
title as king
of the Van-
dals.*

The glory which the prince of Mecklenburg acquired by conquering Adolphus, inspired him with ideas of independency upon the crown of Denmark, which he thought his country had been wrongfully deprived of; and he, in concert with the count of Schwerin, made some efforts for that purpose, which drew upon them the arms of Waldemar, which Henry Burewin was unable to resist, and therefore made his submission. Waldemar upon this, as additional security to his rights, applied to the emperor Frederic II. who granted him letters patent, confirming him in the possession of all the Vandalian territories, which he, or his predecessors, had acquired. To this grant a very remarkable clause was added, prohibiting all future emperors, or princes of the empire, from molesting the king of Denmark in his possession, under any pretext whatever. It does not appear that, after this, Henry Burewin was engaged in any war; for he applied himself to the arts of peace, and to the removing those disorders which war had introduced into his country. After he had governed Mecklenburg for thirty-six years, with indefatigable attention to the good of his people, he resigned the administration into the hands of his two sons, and betook himself to a very private station. He was twice married; first, to Maud, daughter of William, prince of Brunswick, and mother of his two sons and a daughter, who was married to the count of Oldenburg; and secondly, to Adelhard, daughter of Lofeus Albus, king of Poland, but she brought him no issue.

*The family
of Bure-
win,
princes of
Mecklen-
burg;*

The names of Henry Burewin's two sons were Henry, who resided at Gustrow, and Nicholas, who resided at Mecklenburg, while the count of Schwerin continued still to enjoy a very considerable property in the principality, and therefore his history has an immediate relation to this part of our work, and contains one of the most remarkable transactions of that age, which has been already hinted at. Upon his undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land, he recommended his wife to the protection of Waldemar, who became so enamoured of her, that he scandalously seduced her from the duty she owed her husband. The count, upon his return, being informed of what had passed, dissembled his resentment, and repaired to Waldemar, who was then hunting in the island of Luith. After partaking for some days of that diversion, he one evening invited Waldemar, who was attended by his son, into his tent, where the king was overpowered by sleep; and the count seized that opportunity of conveying him on board a ship, which carried him to Schwerin, where he was confined in the fort of Danneburg. There is some reason for suspecting, that the amour between

between Waldemar, and the count's wife, did not give rise to this very singular adventure, though something like it might have been a concomitant cause. The truth is, that Waldemar was now become too powerful to the south of the Elbe; and the princes there, whom he had either rendered tributary, or oppressed, had entered into a general confederacy to do themselves justice. The daring action of so inconsiderable a prince as the count of Schwerin, and his confining, by his own power, so great a king for above three years, cannot otherwise be accounted for; and our conjecture is strongly confirmed by the event. The native Danes, who were passionately fond of their sovereign, offered to ransom him at a rate so high, that it must have shaken the resolution of a far greater prince than the count, had he not been influenced by very extraordinary motives; for had conjugal resentment been the only spring of his conduct, he undoubtedly would have taken a more signal revenge of the king than merely putting him under confinement. The affection of the Danes for their imprisoned sovereign proved to be the strongest bar to his liberty; for they made no effort to rescue him, lest the count, in the mean time, should have put him to death. Frederic II. was then emperor of Germany, and secretly approved of the confederacy against Waldemar, whom he thought to be too powerful in the empire. The clergy, the nobility, and the people of Denmark, unanimously joined in a petition that he would exert his authority for the deliverance of Waldemar; and a diet of the imperial states was convoked upon the subject, while the Danes, at the same time, had recourse to the see of Rome, imploring the intercession of the spiritual arms in the cause of their sovereign.

The matter being debated in the diet, Waldemar was offered his liberty if he would give up all his possessions on the south of the Elbe, or lying near that river; and, in short, if he would resign all the conquests and acquisitions he had made. The pope offered to interpose in his favour, provided he would render his crown tributary to the Roman see. Waldemar rejected both proposals with equal indignation, and the count of Schwerin shewed a noble disdain at the menaces of the pope, who pretended to be the sole umpire in the matter. The count perceiving the firmness of Waldemar, had recourse to the confederacy he had formed. The two princes of Mecklenburg, count Adolphus of Holstein, the archbishop of Bremen, and many of the neighbouring princes, who had been injured by Waldemar, took the field, and acted with so much success, that the Danes were stripped of all their conquests, espe-

and recover their independency.

cially those they had made in Vandalia; and each proprietor, after dispossessing the Danish prefects and governors, returned to the possession of his own estate. This revolution, which appears to have been wisely and firmly conducted, reduced Denmark to so miserable a state, that Waldemar's family, and chief subjects, joined in throwing themselves at his feet, to beg that he would relent. At the same time, they distributed large sums among the princes of the empire, that they might favour his cause. They could not, however, mitigate the terms of his release, which Waldemar was at last prevailed on to accept. He was obliged to swear, that he would never attempt to resume Holstein, Hamburgh, Schwerin, and the countries that had been taken from him on both sides of the Elbe; to renounce all his family pretensions to the third part of Schwerin, which had fallen to his grandson Nicholas, whose mother was daughter to that count; that he never should express any resentment against the authors of his imprisonment, and that he should pay, within a certain time, the sums stipulated for his ransom. For the performance of those terms the king gave two of his sons, and some of his chief nobility, as hostages.

Mecklenburg having thus re-asserted her independency, lost Henry Burewin one of her princes, while the pecuniary terms of the late treaty was punctually complied with, and the Danish hostages withdrawn. But the pope, as might have been easily foreseen, having absolved Waldemar from the obligation of his oath, and the Lubeckers, though not included in the late treaty, having recovered their liberty, Waldemar, collecting a great army, marched towards the Elbe; but was opposed by the princes of Mecklenburg, the bishop of Lubeck, the count of Holstein, whose territories he had again seized on, and other parties in the late confederacy. Both armies were numerous, resolute, and well commanded, for Waldemar was allowed to be a consummate hero; but after performing wonders in a general battle then fought (in which he lost an eye, and, falling from his horse, was carried off the field by a common soldier), he sustained a total defeat. Not discouraged with this, he assembled the broken remains of his army, and receiving some reinforcements, he made fresh attempts for recovering the territories he had renounced; but all of them were ineffectual, as the duke of Saxony had by this time joined the confederacy.

Again submit to the Danes.

Nicholas of Mecklenburg, the younger son of Henry Burewin I. who was now dead, about the year 1228, was unfortunately buried in the ruins of a house where he had
for

for some time resided, and left no issue; and thus all the country of Mecklenburg, excepting Schwerin, fell to Burewin II. and his sons; among whom, according to the mode of succession in those days, he portioned it out at the time of his death; and this occasions some intricacy in part of the ensuing history. His eldest son John had, for his division, Mecklenburg Proper. Part of the country of the ancient Heruti fell to Nicholas; as Rostock, and its dependencies, did to Henry Burewin, whom he shall call by his family Burewin III. and the territory that was called Vandalia Proper, was inherited by the fourth son Pribislaus. From this distribution, it is evident, that the Burewin family was then very powerful. But being thus parcelled out, it was not near so formidable as when united under one head. The growing power of the emperors filled the Mecklenburg princes with the most dreadful apprehensions of their falling under their dominion; for which reason they entered into a treaty with Eric VI. king of Denmark, whose power was less formidable to them than that of the emperor, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. To strengthen this alliance, Burewin III. married Margaret, sister of Eric, and the count of Schwerin was admitted as a party in the treaty, which proved extremely fortunate for Eric, for he was faithfully served by the Mecklenburg princes in the long bloody wars which he waged with his brother. With the same fidelity they served Christopher I. Eric's brother and successor in the kingdom of Denmark. We have already mentioned John, the eldest son of Henry Burewin II. His character is uncommon, especially for that age and country. He was the immediate ancestor of the present Mecklenburg family, and when young he studied divinity at Paris, where he acquitted himself so well, that he received the degree of doctor, and the epithet of the Divine. But his theology had nobler objects than useless disputations and unintelligible distinctions. His country, notwithstanding all that had been done for its reformation, still contained a great number of pagans, and of half reformed Christians, who, having no sentiments of true religion, had turned free-booters, and lived upon plunder. John, upon his return, applied himself to reform the former, and extirpate the latter, in which he succeeded. He likewise was a main instrument, with the princes of his family, in restoring peace to Denmark, and effecting an accommodation (though it was a short-lived one) between Elizabeth of that kingdom, and Abel, duke of Sleswic. He likewise employed his arms to excellent purpose in repelling

*History of
John the
Divine.*

the incursions and depredations of the Livonians; but a spirit of reformation and regularity, joined to a studious course of life, formed a character so little understood in those times, that John was not respected so much by his subjects as his exemplary virtues deserved; so that when he died in the year 1260, his merits were soon forgotten. The name of his wife was Luitgarda, by whom he had six sons, Henry, Nicholas, Poppa, Herman, John, and Albert.

*His son
Henry taken
prisoner.*

The eldest, Henry, succeeded John in his dominions, but the latter took a turn different from that of his father; for it partook of the madness of the age, the spirit of crusading in the Holy Land, for which he acquired the appellation of John of Jerusalem. His zeal for visiting the Holy Sepulchre was such, that when Lewis IX. of France, to whom he had attached himself, returned to Europe, Henry of Mecklenburg set out for Jerusalem, but being taken prisoner on his journey, he was sent to Grand Cairo, where he was carried before the sultan of Egypt. Henry, when he was taken, was attended by a domestic, who was carried with him into captivity, and who had been bred up to the silk manufactures (probably in Italy, with which country Germany had then great connections.) This faithful servant was so expert in his business, that besides his own occasions, he supplied those of his master during a long captivity of twenty-six years. Here the German historians give the Egyptians a German sultan, who having been long employed in the armies of the Franks (for so the Europeans in general were then called all over Asia), raised himself to that dignity by his valour. This sultan had been once a Christian, and had some knowledge of Henry of Mecklenburg, by his having served in his father's armies, and set him at liberty without any ransom. All Egypt, and the neighbouring countries, were then under the power of banditti, who intercepted Henry in his return to Germany; so that it was his fate once more to be carried a prisoner to Grand Cairo, where the sultan again set him at liberty, furnished him with necessaries for his journey, and provided him with a proper escort, till he could proceed in safety to his own dominions, where his subjects were overwhelmed with joy upon his return.

Delivered,

*and returns
to Meck-
lenburg.*

This happened about the year 1300, and, perhaps, his long absence was profitable to his dominions, which thereby did not feel the scourge of war. They were governed by one of his brothers in peace, and with so great œconomy, that he was enabled to purchase the dominions of Pri-
bisslaus,

bislaus, Henry the second's youngest son, who was obliged to sell them, that he might pay for his ransom to Rodolphus, bishop of Schwerin, who had taken him prisoner. Henry was scarcely resettled in his dominions, when entering into a fresh war, he laid siege to, and took the city of Wismar. Next year he died. By his wife Anastasia, a Pomeranian princess, he had two sons and two daughters. The sons were, Henry who succeeded him, and for his valour was called the Lion, and John: the daughters were Anne, who was married to John, count of Holstein; and Luitgarda, the wife of Przemislaus, king of Poland, who is said to have strangled her.

During the administration of Henry the Lion, Nicholas Burewin, of the Mecklenburg family, quarrelled with the margraves of Brandenburg, by refusing to execute a marriage contract he had entered into with their sister; and Nicholas in the end was obliged to sell his principality of Rostock, and put himself under the protection of the king of Denmark. This intimidated the margraves from continuing their hostilities, and all the differences between them and Nicholas were submitted to the arbitration of his Danish majesty, and Henry the Lion, who settled every thing amicably. In the mean while, the inhabitants of Rostock did not think that Nicholas had any power to transfer their allegiance from the Mecklenburg family to the king of Denmark; and their opposition appeared to be so determined, that his Danish majesty, to quiet them, was obliged to appoint Henry the Lion to the government of Rostock, but took an acknowledgement from him, promising to hold it only during his, the king of Denmark's, pleasure. Henry had married Beatrice, the last margrave of Brandenburg's daughter, and, in her right, he claimed a large estate, which was disputed by her brother the margrave John, whom he defeated, and obliged him to resign the province of Sturgard; a cession so disadvantageous to the Brandenburg family, that the disputes between them and Henry were often renewed; but Henry still maintained his possession.

*Nicholas
Burewin
mortgages
Rostock.*

About the year 1307, the nobility of Holstein rebelled against Gerhard their count, who defeated and forced them to fly to Lubec, which was then a city very considerable for its strength and commerce, where they were favourably received. This so greatly exasperated the count, that he raised a fort at the mouth of the Trave, to interrupt their trade, and to intercept all their communications by water. The Lubeckers, upon this, applied to the duke of Saxony, and to Eric, king of Denmark, under whose protection their city

*War with
the Lu-
beckers,*

was, for assistance; and the latter sent them some troops. The count of Holstein, on the other hand, had recourse to Henry of Mecklenburg, who joined him, and forced the Lubeckers to a peace, by which they were obliged to leave the fort upon the Trave, for four years, in the possession of the count, and, after that, all differences between the parties were to be referred to the emperor Albert. The divisions between the count and his nobility were afterwards accommodated by the mediation of the king of Denmark, and the prince of Mecklenburg, who were chosen by both parties to be guarantees of the accommodation, and judges in all future disagreements. Next year, viz. 1308, those princes interested themselves in favour of Bergen, the late king of Sweden, who had been taken prisoner and deposed from the throne. The imprudence of the two kings, Eric and Bergen, had occasioned a general revolt of the chief men of their party, and they must have been ruined, had it not been for the firmness of the prince of Mecklenburg, who stood by them, and was the means of putting an end, for that time, to the war. The next military affair in which the prince of Mecklenburg was engaged, was on occasion of a difference that had arisen between the king of Denmark and the Rostockers, who refused to suffer him to celebrate a tournament which he had proclaimed to be held in their city. Others say, that this quarrel was occasioned by the prince of Mecklenburg having appointed his nuptials to be celebrated in Rostock, and that the Rostockers had shut their gates against him, as not thinking it safe to admit his numerous attendants. The prince, upon this, applied to his friend and ally, Eric, king of Denmark, who, as lord-paramount of the city, peremptorily required the city to open their gates to the prince, which they as peremptorily refused to do. Upon which, his Danish majesty equipped a fleet, with which he blocked up Rostock by sea, and having raised some force, which he thought to be sufficient for continuing the blockade, he returned to Denmark, while the prince of Mecklenburg was still carrying on the siege by land. No sooner did the king of Denmark withdraw, than the Rostockers attacked the works he had left to guard the mouth of the Warnaw, and not only demolished them, but built two strong forts to prevent their city from being blocked up, in like manner, for the time to come. Not contented with that, they invaded Denmark with their shipping, and ravaged several of its principal sea-ports. This provoked Eric so much, that he returned afresh to the siege, and, after an obstinate dispute, he took the towers upon the Warnaw; but, being obliged to return

*and the
Rostockers.*

to Denmark, he once more left the siege under the command of the prince of Mecklenburg, who straitened the city so much, that the inhabitants, being driven to despair, murdered all the senators who fell into their hands, while the rest were obliged to throw themselves upon the prince of Mecklenburg for protection. The citizens, in like manner, submitted to his mercy, and offered to give up the place; upon which a cessation of hostilities was granted. But notwithstanding all the miseries the Rostockers had suffered, they still refused to admit the prince within their walls, even to finish the treaty, which they insisted upon being transacted without their gates. The prince, exasperated by their obstinacy, had recourse to stratagem. He loaded two covered waggons with armed soldiers, which was pretended were provisions; a present so grateful to the half-famished citizens, that they opened their gates to admit them, upon which the soldiers, concealed in the waggons, jumped out, and securing the gates, gave an opportunity to the prince to march into the city at the head of a strong detachment of his troops. Notwithstanding this, the citizens bravely put themselves under arms, and a smart encounter happened between them and the prince in the market-place, in which, probably, he would have been defeated, had he not proclaimed aloud, that he came thither only for the sake of justice, to give the inhabitants peace and protection, and that every thing should be settled according to their minds, by the strictest rules of equity. This declaration had its weight with the people, fainting under hunger, and the tumult ceased. The prince then sent for the principal burghers, remonstrated to them that their conduct had been refractory and rebellious, and he pronounced that they should pay, at three instalments, fourteen thousand marks in silver, as an indemnification for the king, himself, and the marquis of Brandenburg, who was their ally. This compromise being finished, the king again asserted his right to the sovereignty of the city, and gave the government of it to the prince of Mecklenburg, upon condition of his holding it under the crown of Denmark.

*An accommodation
with them.*

The strict alliance between the king of Denmark, and the prince of Mecklenburg, at this time, was founded upon reciprocal maxims of policy. The Mecklenburgers assisted the king in keeping those states and cities in awe who owed him fealty, while the king was a powerful protection to the prince, against the encroachments of the imperial power. In the year 1326, Waldemar, of Sleswick, having been elected king of Denmark, pursued a different plan of policy,

*Great
friendship
between
Denmark
and Meck-
lenburg.*

policy, for he assisted the prince of Rugen with troops, in a territorial dispute he had with the prince of Mecklenburg. The latter, for some time, was obliged to give way, and even to conclude a treaty with the Rugeners, though he paid no regard to it longer than the continuance of the Danes upon their island; but it is uncertain how the quarrel ended. Christopher, king of Denmark, being driven out of his kingdom, had recourse to the princes of the house of Mecklenburg, for his being restored. They accordingly raised some troops both by sea and land, who, with prince Henry of Mecklenburg at their head, took Wardinburg, esteemed to be the strongest place in Denmark; while the Mecklenburghers were in their turn besieged by the count of Holstein, and the place was defended with such obstinacy, that the besieged were reduced to the last degree of famine, but made so good a countenance, that the besiegers thought themselves happy in concluding a capitulation, by which Christopher, who had been shut up in the place, together with Henry, and all their soldiers, had liberty to retire to their ships. After this, Christopher was pursued from place to place; but at last he retired to Rostock, which city, together with all the territory that now forms the duchy of Mecklenburg Strelitz, was ceded to Henry. The reader, in the preceding part of this work, has been informed of the fate of Christopher, who, chiefly by the assistance of the prince of Mecklenburg, recovered his dominions, or, at least, the greatest part of them. Henry died in the year 1329; his first wife was Beatrix, whom we have already mentioned to have been daughter to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg; and by her he had a daughter, named Maud, who was married to Otho, duke of Luneburg. Henry's second wife, was Anne, sister of Adolphus, duke of Saxony, by whom he left two sons, Albert, who succeeded to the principality of Mecklenburg, and John, who, by his father's will, inherited the lordship of Stargard. Henry, by the same marriage, had two daughters; Anne, who was married to the count of Holstein, and Agnes, who was married to Nicholas, one of the Mecklenburg princes.

*Death of
Henry the
Lion.*

*Peace
between
Mecklen-
burg and
Branden-
burg.*

The death of Henry the Lion encouraged the marquis of Brandenburg to attempt to re-unite Stargard to his own dominions; but he met with so vigorous a resistance from the two princes of Mecklenburg, that he was obliged to renounce Stargard, and to accept of Lentzen, a town on the Elbe, in lieu of it, by way of portion for his wife Ingelburga, Albert's daughter, whom he married, upon condition that Albert should likewise release, without ransom, a hundred

the subjects of Lewis, whom he had taken prisoners. After this, Nicholas, who had sold Rostock to the king of Denmark, having been attacked by the duke of Pomerania, and finding himself hard pressed, applied for assistance to his kinsman Albert, who marched in person against the duke, and recovering for Nicholas the town of Grun, he left him in quiet possession of his reserved territory. Germany, especially in the neighbourhood of the Mecklenburg dominions, being then pestered with banditti and robbers of all denominations, Albert formed the noble design of exterminating them. As they were resolute and numerous, Eric, duke of Lauenburg, undertook to protect them; but he had soon reason to repent of so scandalous a measure. Albert, without any regard to the duke's interposition, attacked them, and defeated them in all their fastnesses, especially in the counties of Wirtenburg and Rattensburg; and obliged Eric himself to sue for peace.

The difficulties which the emperor Charles IV. had in mounting the imperial throne, may be seen in the preceding part of this history. His cause was vigorously espoused by Albert, and the princes of the Mecklenburg family, and, therefore, they were declared enemies to the house of Bavaria. A margrave of Brandenburg, to whose estate Lewis of Bavaria had succeeded, having died in the Holy Land, an impostor started up, who pretending to be the real margrave, returned to Germany; and he acted his part so well, as to gain a great many friends, and particularly Albert of Mecklenburg, the duke of Saxony, and the prince of Anhalt. The king of Denmark, the brother-in-law of Lewis, resented this so much, that they fitted out a large armament both by land and sea, with which he ravaged the Mecklenburg estates in a most merciless manner; and then marching into Pomerania, he made himself master of Stargard. Albert was not wanting to himself upon this occasion; he drew together an army, with which he shut up the king in Stargard, and Albert must have become master of the place, and his person, had not the margrave of Brandenburg's brother come to his assistance, which obliged Albert to raise the siege of Stargard, and to march against the Brandenburgher, whom he entirely defeated, and he narrowly escaped falling into Albert's hands. The king took the opportunity of Albert's raising the siege to draw his army out of Stargard, and he marched with it against the Mecklenburg territory, which he once more filled with desolation and ravages. From thence he marched against Berlin, which had declared for the impostor,

*War with
Bavaria.*

postor, and besieged it, but was closely followed by Albert and the Mecklenburg princes. A most bloody battle must have ensued, had not some princes, who were not so deeply engaged in the quarrel, together with the principal subjects of both parties, interposed, and prevailed upon them to chuse the king of Sweden to be the umpire of their differences. An accommodation, under his mediation, accordingly took place, and it was agreed, that the princes of Mecklenburg should abandon the cause of the pretended margrave; that the reigning margrave of Brandenburg should pay ransom for all his subjects who were prisoners in the hands of Albert; that he should absolve some towns, formerly belonging to Vandalia, from the oath of allegiance he had imposed upon them; and that he should marry Ingeburga, daughter of Albert; and in this peace were concluded the allies of both parties.

A peace.

A.D. 1349.

*Mecklenburg
erected into
a duchy.*

It is here proper to acquaint the reader, that by this time the emperor Charles IV. had, in consideration of the great services performed to him by the house of Mecklenburg, created Albert and John of Stargård, dukes of the empire. Not only their personal merit and high reputation pointed them out as proper subjects for this honour, but the great power and influence they had in the empire seemed to demand it. They had carried the terms of the late treaty with a very high hand, and notwithstanding the powerful confederacy against them, headed by his Danish majesty, they acquitted themselves with great honour, and instead of giving up any share of their family estates, they secured them from future invasions. Waldemar was then king of Denmark; and the duke of Mecklenburg, as well as the emperor, who had espoused the impostor, being now convinced of their error, Waldemar sought to enter into nearer connections than heretofore with the house of Mecklenburg. For this purpose a treaty of marriage was set on foot between Henry, son to duke Albert of Mecklenburg, and Ingeburga, daughter to his Danish majesty, though she was then no more than three years of age; but was to be delivered to the tuition of the duchess of Mecklenburg, till she was marriageable. By way of portion, her husband was to receive the towns of Kibnitz, Cropentius, and Tiffin, and all the territories belonging to them, together with six thousand marks of silver. About the year 1352, the duke of Stetin declared war against Albert. Waldemar, who valued himself for being a faithful ally, immediately raised an army, nominated a regency, and marched in person to Albert's assistance. The duke of Stetin upon this immediately submitted to a negotiation, which

*Marriage
between
duke Henry
and Inge-
burga,
daughter
to the king
of Den-
mark.*

which terminated in an alliance between him and the duke of Mecklenburg, in which Pomerania was included. The duchy of Mecklenburg, for some time after this peace, seems to have enjoyed a state of repose. In the mean while, a war raged in Sweden, between king Magnus, and his son Eric, whom the senate had raised to the throne. The dukes of Mecklenburg, and the count of Holstein, offered their mediation to compose the differences between them, and succeeded so far, that they effected an accommodation by Magnus delivering up part of his dominions to his son, who was to retain the regal title. This proved fatal to the young prince, for having declared his intention to marry, he was poisoned some days after by the hand of his own mother, who could not brook the mention of another queen of Sweden besides herself.

The tyranny of Magnus continuing over the Swedes, he called in the assistance of Waldemar, whom he is said to have made heir to his kingdom, to protect him against the resentment of his subjects. The latter, in like manner, applied for protection to Haquin, king of Norway. This last prince was to have been married to Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, who was then but seven years of age, and was afterwards the famous Semiramis of the North. The Swedes, being equally exasperated against Waldemar as against Magnus, prevailed with Haquin to drop this match, and to marry Elizabeth, sister to the duke of Holstein, in order to strengthen his interest in Germany. The Mecklenburg family could not, without great uneasiness, behold the growing connections between Magnus and Waldemar, as they tended to render the latter too powerful; and being equally dissatisfied with the proposal of Haquin's marriage with Margaret, favoured the match between him and Elizabeth; but that princess, in her voyage to Norway, being forced upon the Danish coast, was made prisoner, and detained by Waldemar. This ungenerous proceeding was resented by the duke of Mecklenburg, and the count of Holstein, who flew to arms, that they might oblige Waldemar to release the lady; but before that could be effected, the politic Dane succeeded in persuading Haquin to marry the princess Margaret; and it is said, that to secure the succession to the crown of Sweden to them and their posterity, he procured poison to be administered to Magnus and his queen Blanche, the same who had poisoned her own son. Whatever may be in this fact, which is far from being strongly attested, it is certain that the Swedes were so much exasperated at the conduct both of Magnus and Haquin, that they proceeded to the election of

*Magnus,
king of
Sweden,
deposed.*

of a new king, and offered their crown to Henry, count of Holstein.

The progress of those transactions have been already related in the histories of Sweden and Denmark. We shall, therefore, here confine ourselves to that of Mecklenburg. Duke Albert's professed principle in all those differences was to prevent any one monarch in the North from growing too powerful for Mecklenburg, and the other German princes upon the Elbe. With this view, he, and the princes of his house, had endeavoured to balance parties; and in order to prevent Waldemar from conquering Sconen, the duke invaded Fionia with a fleet and army at the same time, which reduced almost the whole country, and he returned triumphantly with a great number of prisoners, whom he detained as hostages. He had undertaken the invasion at the request of the Jutlanders, who hated Waldemar, and the princes of Holstein. Duke Albert, by this precaution, preserved himself from being duped by Waldemar, as the rest of his confederates were, by being trepanned into a negociation, after Waldemar had reduced Sconen, one of the finest provinces in Sweden. Albert next joined the Hanse Towns, who had united to support their independency against Waldemar. They had been exasperated by that prince having plundered Wisby, one of the richest cities in the North, and they gave the command of their fleet to the count of Holstein, who attacked and plundered Hafnia, now Copenhagen, and afterwards made himself master of its citadel. On this occasion, the city of Lubec fitted out a squadron at its own expence, which was commanded by the consul John Wittenburgh; and in confidence of being supported by the Lubeckers, the confederates laid siege to Helsingburg; but they were obliged to raise it, because Waldemar intercepted, took, or destroyed the Lubec squadron, before it could arrive to support the siege. This success on the part of Waldemar encouraged the other garrisons of the country, that were in his interest, to defend themselves with great obstinacy. The count of Holstein, to re-establish the credit of his arms, which had suffered at Helsingburg, laid siege to Wardingburg; but the garrison defended themselves so well, that he was obliged to offer to raise the siege, provided the prisoners, that had been made during it, were restored to him. The besieged punctually complied with this condition; but the count, in the meanwhile, receiving a reinforcement, perfidiously resumed the siege with the greatest vigour, so that the commandant of the town, pretending to be reduced to the last extremity, offered

*Copenhagen
reduced.*

offered to capitulate, and desired the count to send into the town some of his officers to receive the keys of the place. The count, not mistrusting the commandant's sincerity, commissioned some of his chief officers for that purpose, to whom the commandant, in terms of his promise, delivered up his keys; but he immediately after put them under arrest, and detained them as prisoners. From this resolute action, the count perceiving, that the commandant was in a much better condition than he had imagined, broke up the siege, upon which the duke of Mecklenburg proposed to treat with Waldemar. An interview succeeded, in which the duke's three sons, Henry, Albert, and Magnus, attended him; and every thing being amicably adjusted on the part of the allies, the duke received the arrears of the fortune due to his son Henry's wife, daughter of Waldemar.

We have already mentioned the Swedes having made an offer of their crown to the count of Holstein, but he declined it, and recommended to their choice his cousin, prince Albert of Mecklenburg, who being son to the sister of Magnus, had, at least, some pretensions to that crown, upon the exclusion of his uncle and his son. The policy of the great princes of the North began now to unfold itself. Albert, without hesitation, accepted of the crown of Sweden, and was powerfully supported by his father, and the princes of the Mecklenburg family, while the kings of Sweden and Denmark united against him. Albert immediately repaired to Gothland, which was the rendezvous of the nobility, who were in opposition to Magnus, and was there proclaimed king, while his father, with a strong fleet, reduced Stockholm; and the nobility, assembling in that capital, publicly declared their reasons for dethroning Magnus, and recognizing Albert.

Notwithstanding those successes, Magnus, the late king, was still very powerful. Haquin, king of Norway, was his son; and the reader has already seen the connections he had with the king of Denmark, who was in possession of great part of Sweden, and some of its strongest towns. On the other hand, Albert, who had been crowned for a second time in the capital, was possessed of the hearts of the nobility and the people, and he raised an army sufficient to face that of the confederate kings, which had advanced as far as the province of Upland. A battle ensued, in which Albert proved victorious; Magnus was taken prisoner, and his son escaped with wounds. This victory obtained by Albert, great as it was, was far from being decisive. The kings of Denmark and Norway poured their forces into

*Albert of
Mecklen-
burg chosen
king of
Sweden,*

*and con-
quers
Magnus.*

Sweden,

Sweden, which prevented Albert from reducing the strong places that still held out for Magnus, who remained a prisoner in the castle of Stockholm. From the complexion of history, it appears, that Albert was resolved to sacrifice every thing that could secure him the possession of his newly acquired sovereignty, and that Waldemar was equally determined to sacrifice the interests of Magnus, that he might quietly keep his Swedish acquisitions. Albert called together the states of Sweden, who appeared in a very thin body, and obtained their consent for treating with Waldemar. A negotiation succeeded, and a treaty was concluded, by which Albert gave up to Waldemar the isle of Gothland, the city of Wisby, the fort of Helsingburg, with many other places and dependencies. Waldemar, at the same time, engaged to leave Albert in quiet possession of the crown of Sweden, and to drop all pretensions of sovereignty over Mecklenburg and Rostock, or the county of Schwerin; which, by the failure of the male line of the counts of Schwerin, had devolved upon himself in right of his wife Richarda, the only issue of Otho the last count.

Confederacy against Denmark.

As this treaty did not expressly include the reigning duke of Mecklenburg as a party, he began to encroach upon that duchy. Duke Albert, who was now old, still adhered to his plan, and prevailed with the nobles of Jutland, and the duke of Sleswick, the count of Holstein, the Hanse Towns, and several other states, to league themselves against Denmark. This confederacy was not purely defensive, for it soon appeared to be a treaty of partition, by which all the acquisitions of the crown of Denmark were to return to their original proprietors; and even Albert king of Sweden entered into it. Waldemar, then stricken in years, did not retain spirits sufficient to face this storm; and after settling a regency with full powers to act for him, he resolved to abandon his government, in hopes that his absence would mitigate the resentment which his enemies had conceived at his person. Meanwhile, the confederates took the field, and, in pursuance of their plan, each seized the portion of territory which had been allotted to him by the treaty, whilst Waldemar was pursuing his journey to Rome, to which, as he pretended, he had vowed a pilgrimage. This resolution had proceeded only from his first consternation; for, upon second thoughts, instead of going to Rome, he repaired to the emperor's court, before which he laid the wrongs he had suffered in the most pathetic manner; and his imperial majesty recommended his cause to some princes of the empire, who were as unwilling, as they were

were unable, to assist him. Every one knows to what a height of power and insolence the court of Rome had arrived at this time. Waldemar had high ideas of the services which his holiness, who was pope Gregory XI. could render him, and applied to him, but not in person, with presents, and by his ambassadors. The reader has already seen how this application terminated, and with what spirit Waldemar repented the menaces of the pope, who had threatened to excommunicate him.

The prudence of the grand-marshal of Denmark, who had been left at the head of the regency, broke the confederacy against his country by detaching from it the Hanse Towns, and thereby sowing dissensions among the other allies; upon which Waldemar returned to Denmark, where he soon after died in peace. By this time Haquin, who still continued to make war with Albert, king of Sweden, had made such a progress in that kingdom, that he delivered his father Magnus from his confinement, but upon conditions very advantageous to Albert; and Magnus soon after was drowned. But the death of Waldemar, without male issue, was a very interesting circumstance to the duke of Mecklenburg, old as he was. His son Henry had been married to Ingeburga, the eldest daughter of Waldemar, and therefore the hereditary right to the crown of Denmark indisputably devolved upon Albert of Mecklenburg, the issue of that marriage; while Margaret, who was but the second daughter, now a widow, put in her claim to the sovereignty, and was, by the states of the kingdom, declared regent, till her son Olaus should be of age. It was in vain for the old duke of Mecklenburg to fill all the courts of Europe with complaints of the injustice that had been done his son; for he was obliged to support them by a strong army which he raised, and which was joined by the troops of his son the king of Sweden, and likewise by a naval armament. But the latter was dispersed by storms, which disconcerted the measures of the Mecklenburg princes: for Albert being obliged to return to his capital of Stockholm, found a great part of the Swedes had formed an association against him, on account of the partiality he had shewn to the Germans about his court; and that many of them had gone over to Margaret, who promised them her assistance in dethroning Albert, on condition of her succeeding to the crown of Sweden, and of its being made hereditary in her family, to which they agreed by oath.

The old duke of Mecklenburg, through those unexpected events, was deprived of his son the king of Sweden's assist-

Olaus chosen king of Denmark, and his mother Margaret regent.

ance; and he himself was unable to prosecute his grandson's right to the crown of Denmark, though he had, on the principle of hereditary right, a very strong party in that kingdom. Several meetings of the states were held without any election being made; but at last Margaret managed so well, that Olaus was chosen, and being but eleven years of age, his mother was declared regent during his minority. Old duke Albert, perceiving the Danes to be almost unanimous in their choice, was obliged to submit his grandson's right to arbitration, and it was agreed to stand by the new establishment, which was not to injure the title of the Mecklenburg prince, who was, in right of his mother, to inherit such a part of the Danish succession, as should be adjudged to him by the marquis of Misnia. This agreement was made, but not ratified, when old duke Albert died. His wife was Euphemia, sister to Magnus Smek, king of Sweden, and by her he had issue three sons, Albert king of Sweden, Magnus, and Henry; and two daughters, Anne, who was married to Adolphus VII. count of Holstein, and Ingeburga, whose first husband was John I. margrave of Brandenburg, and her second, Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg, likewise, son to the emperor Lewis of Barbaria.

Young Albert, competitor for the crown of Sweden, did not long survive his grandfather; and his death left Olaus in the unrivalled possession of the Danish crown. Olaus himself dying soon after, the dispute lay between Margaret, the late regent (for her son died after he came of age), who now claimed in her own right, and her elder sister Ingeburga, wife to Henry of Mecklenburg. Margaret, during her regency, had shewn great capacity for government; and the Danes had such an aversion to the Swedes, to whose king Henry was brother, that she was raised to the throne, to which she soon after added that of Norway, which had been some time vacant by the death of her husband Haquin. A female ruling two northern crowns was a prodigy that had never been known before, and her new subjects became uneasy under Margaret's government; especially, considering the calamities to which both crowns might be subject in case of her death without issue. She loved power too well to accept of a husband; but, being pressed to name her successor, she referred the nomination to the states, who pitched upon prince Eric, son of Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania, by Mary the daughter of Henry of Mecklenburg, and Ingeburga; who was accordingly accepted of as her successor. About the same time, Margaret added the title of queen of Sweden to that of Denmark and Norway, which exasperated Albert king of Sweden

den to the last degree ; so that Henry of Mecklenburg and he agreed upon a joint war against Margaret ; who was supported by the duke of Pomerania, father to the young prince, whom she had adopted for her successor, and who had been sent into Denmark for his education. After many personal, and some of them coarse and indecent altercations, between Margaret and the Mecklenburg princes, both parties took the field. Mecklenburg was, at that time, in a flourishing condition, and its ducal family, when united, formed a power next to that of the emperor; and superior to that of any German prince. The Swedes, on the other hand, were divided; many of them had gone over to Margaret, and had actually elected her their queen, which had given her the pretext for assuming that title, while others opposed Albert in all his domestic measures. Notwithstanding this, he was at the head of an army, and was in possession of most of the strong holds in the kingdom; but two of them, Oberstein and Orestein, were surrendered to Margaret, after she had taken upon herself the title of queen, and after the nobles of her party had come to a formal resolution to dethrone Albert, and to transfer their allegiance to her.

Albert finding the defection against him encreasing every day, and that the senate had actually recognized the right of Margaret, collected all his strength, and a general battle was fought on a plain near Falkoping, which proved decisive in favour of Margaret. Albert, and his son Eric, were taken prisoners, as was the prince of Holstein, and many of the first noblemen of Sweden. As the battle had been obstinately fought, many thousands of the Swedes were killed, and among them nineteen of their general officers. The king, and his son, were put under a strict guard, and Albert's misfortunes effaced the memory of his miscarriages; for the Swedes refused to crown Margaret during their king's imprisonment. It is allowed on all hands, that had the Swedes discharged their duty as well as the Brandenburgers, and other Germans did, in the late battle, Albert must have been victorious. Many reproaches passed between them on that account; for the Swedes threw upon the Germans all the blame of their king's misfortune, and even such of them as refused to recognize Margaret's authority, refused to join in any attempt to deliver Albert.

*Difficulties
and dis-
tresses of
Albert.*

By this time, Magnus and Henry, the sons of old duke Albert, were both dead, and the succession of the duchy of Mecklenburg devolved upon John, the son of Magnus. This prince supported the king his uncle's cause with great

*Revolution
in Meck-
lenburg.*

*Duke John
relieves
Stockholm.*

firmness, and for that purpose borrowed a large sum from the grand-master of the Teutonic order, upon a mortgage of some of his estates. The cities of Rostock and Wismar, with some other Hanse Towns, joined him, and an armament both by sea and land, under the command of duke John, was immediately fitted out, and proceeded towards Stockholm. That city was now besieged by queen Margaret, and contained a strong garrison of Germans, who were all of them faithfully attached to their imprisoned king, for which reason they exercised the greatest cruelties upon the Swedish inhabitants, whom they accused of endeavouring to give up the city to Margaret. Duke John, before he sailed, had published a manifesto at Wismar and Rostock, containing a kind of a general letter of marque and reprisals, indemnifying the commanders of all vessels, and their crews, who should take any ships belonging to Sweden, Norway, or Denmark. In his voyage to Stockholm, he was overtaken by a tempest, which dissipated his fleet for some time, but having collected it, he proceeded on his voyage; and landing at Stockholm, he found the siege still continued, and the prudence of the governor of the castle, and some moderate senators, alone prevented the garrison and townsmen from cutting one another's throats. Duke Albert immediately landed his forces, and, after driving the besiegers from their posts, he reinforced the city with all kinds of provision and ammunition. He then re-embarked his troops, and, in a short time, all the coasts of Sweden were filled with flames, slaughter, and rapine. The Mecklenburghers, and their allies, made descents wherever they found an opportunity; but the chief calamities of the Swedes arose from the pirates, who, by John's manifesto, had been authorized to commit the like hostilities, without being obliged to any service in return, but that of supplying the garrison of Stockholm when in want of provisions. At one place, duke John's troops were attacked by the exasperated peasants, who, having no leader to head them, were soon cut in pieces. It must be confessed, that those ravages were so far from serving the cause of the imprisoned king, that they ruined it. The pirates, who assumed to themselves the name of purveyors, had no regard but to their own plunder; and the sufferings of the Swedes inspired them with horror at the Germans, which extended to the person of their late king.

In the year 1394, matters continued in this ruinous situation in Sweden, where the cause of Albert was supported only by the duke of Mecklenburg, but so powerfully, that Margaret, though her right had been recognized by

by all orders among the Swedes, was forced to listen to terms of an accommodation. The first conference was held at Helsingburg, but that proved ineffectual, by the governor of Stralsund being killed in a skirmish between the Danes and Mecklenburghers. Soon after, queen Margaret and duke John had a personal interview at Laholm. Here it was agreed, that Albert and his son should be restored to their liberty; that they should, within three years, renounce all their pretensions to the crown of Sweden, or return to their prison; that, in case of non-performance, the Hanse Towns should be bound to pay to Margaret the sum of sixty thousand marks; that a truce, among all parties, should take place during the said three years; but that king Albert, with the consent of queen Margaret, should give up, during that time, Stockholm to the Hanse Towns, as a security for the sum for which they were engaged. Besides this general treaty, one of a more private nature was transacted between duke John and queen Margaret, who demanded a considerable ransom for Albert, which the exhausted state of Mecklenburg rendering it extremely inconvenient for the duke to pay, was generously raised by the ladies, who, for that purpose, sold their jewels and paraphernalia. This public spirit was rewarded by a law which passed, rendering the daughters of the Mecklenburg nobility capable to succeed to the estates held in fee of the duke.

*A truce
concluded.*

The vast affection which duke John shewed for his uncle, and the prodigious efforts he made for his deliverance, are the more extraordinary, as by the family modes of succession in Mecklenburg, the uncle generally reigned jointly with the nephew, which he accordingly did upon his return to Mecklenburg. The glory of having been a king for twenty-three years, had got such possession of his spirit, that it could not be effaced by all the miseries and inquietudes he had suffered during that period, so that he was but little disposed to fulfil the intention of the late treaty. Instead of that, he redeemed the city of Stockholm from the Hanse Towns, by paying them the sixty thousand marks for which they stood engaged; and he even redeemed from the Teutonic order the island of Gothland, which had been mortgaged to them by his uncle; so that Margaret, though she had been formally recognized and crowned, and had procured the succession to be settled in the person of Eric and his descendants, could not as yet be said to be the sole queen of Sweden. The death of prince Eric, king Albert's son, put an end to all her inquietudes; for that event rendered Albert so unambitious, that he consented

*King Albert
returns to
Mecklen-
burg.*

to the evacuation not only of Stockholm, but of several fortresses he still held in Sweden; and sent to Margaret a formal renunciation of that crown. He then returned to the cares of domestic government, and, aged as he was, he married Helen, daughter of Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick.

*Affairs of
that duchy.*

Though the late immense expence of the war with Margaret had exhausted Mecklenburg, yet that duchy was the better enabled to bear them, through the wise and vigorous measures which had been taken by duke Henry, Albert's brother, during his administration. This prince had found the duchy infested by banditti, who were often encouraged and protected by the nobility, to whom, when convicted, he shewed as little favour as to the meanest peasant, for they were immediately executed; by which severity he is distinguished in history by the epithet of *Suspensor*, or *the hanger*. Having thus left to his brother and nephew the duchy in a state of peace and security, it soon recovered the wounds of war; but the abdication of Albert now introduced a revolution in the politics of the Mecklenburg family. The provision which that prince had made for the independency of Mecklenburg upon the crown of Denmark, instead of being saluary, was judged to be dangerous, now they had no ally in the North. It was easy for them to foresee, that either the emperor or Margaret would renew their claims of superiority over Mecklenburg; but they preferred that of the latter to the former; and, in the year 1411, both duke John, and duke Ulric of Stargard, did homage to Margaret, and to Eric their cousin, who was her associate, and was to be her successor in her three kingdoms, and engaged not only to assist them in all their wars, but to enter into no treaty with their enemies.

*Death of
Albert,
king of
Sweden.*

Next year, being 1412, died Albert, king of Sweden and duke of Mecklenburg. By his wife Ricarda, daughter to the count of Schwerin, he had a son and a daughter, Eric, whom we have already mentioned to have died before him, and Ricarda, wife to John, duke of Moravia, the emperor Sigismund's brother. He had issue by his second wife Helen, Albert, who was fifteen years of age when his father died, and became partner in the government with duke John. We are told, however, that this method of co-regency was found to be so very inconvenient, and so detrimental to the state, that a new rule of succession was settled, by which the elder branch was absolutely to preside in all affairs of government, while the younger was to act as his substitute, or first minister. We know of no wars in which Mecklenburg, or its dukes, were

were involved till the death of queen Margaret, when her successor, Eric, refused to ratify an award that had been pronounced by Ulric, duke of Stargard, between queen Margaret and the duke of Brunswick, Holstein, and Sleswick. Eric pretended that the interests of his crown were not to be subjected to any arbitration, and that the matter must be decided before a general assembly of the states; and he required the duke of Mecklenburg to attend while the process was depending. The dukes, concerned on the other side, refused to submit to a tribunal, composed of judges who were subjects to the prince with whom they were contending; and they prepared to make good their claims by force of arms. They were joined by John, duke of Mecklenburg, who, probably, thought that Eric had overstrained his authority, and that the case of the dukes might be some time or other his own. The war was, for a while, carried on with great animosity, but with no decisive advantage on either side. At last duke John, having retired to Sleswick, he was there besieged by Eric, and the place being untenable, the duke, on the 17th of July, 1417, was obliged to agree to a capitulation, by which he engaged never again to carry arms against the crown of Denmark. This capitulation, by which John was suffered to return to his dominions, greatly weakened the common cause in which he engaged; but the truth is, he, and the princes of his family, began now to think that it was time to give repose to their dominions. As the first fruits of their leisure, they founded and endowed the university of Rostock, in which they were assisted by the townsmen, in 1419, privileged by a bull from pope Martin V. which was afterwards confirmed by the emperor Ferdinand I. This was a wise and useful institution, as it tended to take off from the Mecklenburghers that ferocity of manners to which they were as yet but too much addicted, and which led them to despise the arts of peace, to the infinite detriment of their country. This, and other public-spirited works, raised the reputation of the two dukes to the highest pitch in the North; and, in the disputes which then raged between the crown of Denmark and the princes of Holstein, they were generally chosen umpires; but their differences were of such a nature as not to be reconcileable by any mediation. In 1423 those two princes died. Albert had no issue by his wife Margaret, who was daughter to Frederic, elector of Brandenburg. John was married first to Judith, daughter of the count of Hoya; and his second wife was Catherine, daughter to Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. He

had two sons, John III. and Henry the Fat, who succeeded him.

The dukes of Mecklenburg pursue the arts of peace.

As to the other branches of the Mecklenburg family, particular mention is made, at this time, of Ulric I. duke of Stargard, and his son Henry, who was in a confederacy with Christopher III. king of Denmark, for reducing Lubec, in which they failed. The perpetual wars that were now carrying on between Denmark and Sweden, gave a breathing time to the states of Mecklenburg, which their princes wisely improved to the best purposes, the advancement of commerce, literature, and manufactures, in their dominions. For some years, this desirable situation rendered prince and subject equally happy, and each repaid the benefit of reciprocal obedience and protection he received from the other. In 1443, died, without issue, John III. He had been married to Anne, daughter to Casimir, duke of Pomerania Stettin, and by his death, his brother, Henry the Fat, became sole duke of Mecklenburg, and prince of Wenden, the male line of which principality had been extinct in 1436; for the male issue of Nicholas, already mentioned, failed in William, whose daughter was married to Ulric, the second duke of Stargard, great-grandson to John I. of that duchy; and upon Elric's death, without issue, his succession devolved as aforesaid upon Henry the Fat; who, by this accession, became master of a powerful territory, which he ruled in great tranquillity till the time of his death, which happened in 1477. He was married to Dorothy, daughter to Frederic I. elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had four sons; Albert, who succeeded him, but died in the same year without issue; John, who died in his father's life-time; Magnus, who succeeded Albert; and Balthazar, bishop of Schwerin: and two daughters, Anne, who died without issue; and Elizabeth, abbess of Ribnitz.

Uncertainty of their succession.

Notwithstanding all the pains which the princes of the house of Burewin had taken to settle their succession in the elder branch of their family, it never could be effected; for the second brother claimed the same title, and exercised an almost co-ordinate power with the elder. Balthazar, wearied of an ecclesiastical life, married Margaret, daughter to Eric, duke of Pomerania; and, assuming the title of duke of Mecklenburg, he entered upon the exercise of the government. The Hans Towns were then very powerful, and that of Rostock held itself to be equal to many sovereign princes, for which it had been often chastised by the emperor and the pope; so that in the year 1437, having fallen under the ban of the empire^a, its academy was re-

^a Busching's Geography, vol. vi. p. 335.

moved to Griefswalde, from whence the professors returned in 1443. Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg, like his immediate predecessors, cultivated the arts of peace, and gave orders for erecting the church of St. James, in Rostock, into a cathedral. In this he was vigorously opposed by the haughty Rostockers; but Magnus, being determined to assert his rights of sovereignty, proceeded in his design, and actually established a chapter in the church. The citizens, upon this, took arms, expelled the canons, killed the provost, and imprisoned the dean. This happened about the year 1487, when the university was removed to Lübeck. The duke endeavoured to reduce the rebels by besieging their city; but his efforts, though very vigorous, proved ineffectual; and, at last, both parties being tired of the war, it was agreed, that the citizens should indemnify the duke for his expences, that the exiles and prisoners should be reinstated and restored, and that the Rostockers should be confirmed in all their ancient privileges.

*Defence of
Rostock.*

The Lubeckers about this time shewed a like spirit with those of Rostock, by the opposition they made to their sovereign John, king of Denmark. That prince was so deeply engaged in a war with Sweden, that he could spare but few troops to employ against the rebels; and therefore he was obliged to have recourse to the method of negotiation; in which he employed the pope's legate, with duke Magnus, to whom was afterwards added prince Frederic, his Danish majesty's brother. A congress was accordingly held at Lübeck, but through the obstinacy of the Lubeckers, who aimed at nothing less than absolute independency upon the Danish crown, the mediation proved fruitless; and soon after duke Magnus of Mecklenburg died. He was a wise and a worthy prince, and was married to Sophia, daughter to Eric, duke of Pomerania, who had been betrothed to his elder brother. By her he had three sons and four daughters. The sons were Eric, Henry, and Albert the Handsome, who reigned co-ordinately. The daughters were, Sophia, the wife of John, elector of Saxony; Dorothy, who was abbess of Ribnitz; Anne, who married the landgrave of Hesse, as did the fourth daughter Catharina, the duke of Saxony. Eric, the eldest son, had his education in some of the chief universities in Europe, and had so great a turn for learning, that he intermeddled but little in affairs of government, and died about five years after his father. His brother Henry was so excellent a prince, that he obtained from his contemporaries the glorious epithets of the Peaceful, and the Father of his People. Among the first cares of his government was to check the insolence

*Congress of
Lübeck.*

*Death of
the duke of
Mecklen-
burg.*

*Dispute
between
the Meck-
lenburghers
and Lu-
beckers.*

insolence of the Lubeckers, which was now become insupportable. They extended their fishery, of which they made vast profits, as far as Dessau, a town belonging to the duchy of Mecklenburg; and some of their fishermen being one day insulted by three drunken peasants, a quarrel ensued, in which two of the peasants were made prisoners, while the third escaped, and alarmed the country for the safety of their companions, and particularly the owner of the estate where they lived. A party, under arms, was immediately assembled, who posted themselves at the bridge of Dessau, that they might intercept the fishermen in their return. While they waited there the two peasants came on shore, and reported, that far from being mal-treated, they had been most jovially entertained by the Lubeckers; upon which the party dispersed. The report of this adventure reaching Lubec, a troop of horse was immediately detached against the supposed party, whom the Lubeckers imagined to have assembled to disturb their fishing; but though the troop found all quiet, they had the insolence to commit some trespasses on the estates of the Mecklenburghers. A scuffle naturally ensued, in which one of the troopers was killed; and the others, being wounded, fled back to Lubec. Upon this, the Lubeckers, almost to a man, rose in arms, and plundered, wasted, or burnt, the Mecklenburg estates; so that in one incursion, beside noblemen's houses, it was computed that thirty villages were destroyed. The dukes made reprisals, and not only ravaged the lands of the Lubeckers, but laid siege to Moelen, which, however, they were not able to carry. In the mean while, those republicans compromised their affairs with Denmark, by which, being at liberty to employ all their force against Mecklenburg, the war was carried on with the utmost fury, but without either party having any apparent advantage. At last, both being tired of mutual ravages, they made peace by the interposition of the neighbouring princes, and both sat down with their own losses.

*Dawning
of the Re-
formation
in Ger-
many.*

By this time, the Reformation was dawning in Germany, and duke Henry, having examined into Luther's principles, began to relish them; but proceeded on a plan of conduct very different from that of many other princes who favoured the new doctrines. He was so far from considering it in a political, or party-light, that he refused to enter into the league of Smalkald; nor did he so much as encourage any of his subjects to follow his example, by embracing the principles of the Reformation. Rational, religious enquiry, was all that he recommended or enjoined, and he shewed the same countenance to all his subjects, whether Roman

Roman Catholic or Protestant, if he was convinced that their principles were conscientious. In short, he was, as far as he could, of no religion but that of Christ, to whose precepts and practice he conformed himself, without regard to human authority, farther than as he thought it was confirmed by the Gospel.

His brother, the other duke of Mecklenburg, Albert the Handsome, was far from Henry's amiable character. Upon the expulsion of Christiern, king of Denmark and Sweden, for his tyranny, Albert entered into intrigues with the Lubeckers for restoring him to his throne. The reader, in the history of Denmark, will find a detail of these proceedings. The dispute, at this time, lay between the deposed Christiern II. and Christiern III. son to his uncle Frederic, who had succeeded him in the throne. Christiern III. was disagreeable to the Roman Catholic party among the Danes; and though he had been recognized by the province of Jutland, yet the Lubeckers had been so active for the deposed king, that he was in possession of Scania, and many important places of Germany. In the mean while, a war broke out between the Lubeckers and the Holsteiners; upon which the former applied to the abbot of Mecklenburg for his mediation, wherein he was perfectly successful; a peace being restored between those two people, upon condition that neither should assist the enemies of the other. This gave a new turn to the war, the complexion of which was now entirely altered. Christiern III. marched into North Jutland, where he chastized some piratical Lubeckers, while duke Albert of Mecklenburg raised an army, which he led into Denmark, and joined with that of the count of Oldenburg, who had espoused the interest of Christiern II. Christiern III. had seized the isle of Fionia, and the Lubeckers gave duke Albert the command of a fleet which was intended for the relief of Christiern II. but, in the mean time, to block up Christiern III. in Fionia. In this expedition, duke Albert commanded the sea-forces, as the count of Oldenburg did the land-troops. Christiern III. was then besieging the town of Assen, and the confederates sent orders to the garrison to make a brisk sally upon his camp, while they attacked his entrenchments. Christiern was aware of their design, and far from declining an engagement, he burnt his tents, and marched out against his enemies, whom he attacked and entirely defeated. This did not discourage duke Albert and the count of Oldenburg; for though they had lost about half their army in the late engagement, they encouraged their party to make a fresh attempt, and duke Albert proceeded with the

*Wars of
Albert duke
of Mecklen-
burg.*

*Obliged to
submit to
the king of
Denmark.*

the Lubeck fleet, and some reinforcements he had received, to Copenhagen, where they were soon after besieged by a more powerful fleet under Christiern III. The city was defended with great obstinacy, and held out till their provisions were exhausted, and they were reduced to extremity. At last, they were obliged to capitulate, and more to their advantage than they could well have expected, after so ill-conducted an expedition. Christiern III. and his friends, were not only tired of the siege, but he began to have suspicion of his allies the Swedes. The terms he granted to duke Albert are said to have been honourable, though others say, that Christiern obliged him to ask pardon for his behaviour, but that his humiliation was very slight. It is certain, that Albert's duchess, during the siege of Copenhagen, had been delivered of a child in that city, and that the capitulation was no sooner concluded, than Christiern presented her with all kinds of refreshments; while he expressed so much resentment for the wicked behaviour of the count of Oldenburg, that he declared, had it not been for the blood-relation between them, he would have taken off his head.

His marriages and death.

This duke Albert was married, first, to Anne, daughter of Joachim I. elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had six sons and a daughter. The sons were, John Albert, Ulric, who was afterwards bishop of Schwerin, George, Christopher, bishop of Ratzeburg, Charles, who succeeded to that bishoprick; and Lewis, the sixth son, who was born during the siege of Copenhagen, died in his cradle. Albert's only daughter Anne, was the wife of Gottard, duke of Courland, and Albert himself died in 1547. Henry the Peaceable, his elder brother, was first married to Ursula, daughter of John, elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had a son, Magnus, who was bishop of Schwerin, and having embraced the Lutheran religion, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic I. king of Denmark; but he died without issue, two years before the death of his father Henry. The latter had likewise two daughters by his first marriage; the eldest, Sophia, was married to Ernest of Zell, duke of Lunenburg; the second, Ursula, was abbess of Ribnitz. Henry, for his second wife, had Eleanor, daughter to Philip, elector Palatine, and he had a son and two daughters. The son's name was Philip; but as he grew up, his understanding appeared to be so defective, that he was universally adjudged to be unfit for government. The daughters, by the same marriage, were Margaret, who was married to Henry, duke of Munsterburg, as the other daughter was to Frederic III. duke of Leignitz.

Henry

Henry the Pacific had a third wife, who was Ursula, daughter of Magnus II. duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; but by her he had no children. As to Henry the Pacific himself, he died in 1552, after an administration that had proved extremely beneficial to his subjects.

Through the weakness of Henry's son Philip, we look upon his male issue to have been then extinct, and the administration of Mecklenburg consequently devolved upon John Albert, the eldest son of Albert the Handsome, and Ulric bishop of Schwerin. Those princes possessed the virtues of their family, by the attention they paid to all literary institutions, particularly the university of Rostock; the revenues of which had been greatly abused, but were by them converted into comfortable provisions for men of learning and merit. Both of them professed the Lutheran religion, which, in their time, becoming that of their dominions, they were more zealous than their uncle had been in abolishing image-worship, and other abuses of the Romish church. They deserved equally well of their country in their legislative capacity, by composing a code of excellent laws; and their people must have been happy to the last degree under their administration, had not ambition intervened.

Ulric had married the widow of Magnus, bishop of Schwerin, daughter, as we have already seen, to Frederic, king of Denmark. As John Albert pretended, from family-conventions, to confine Ulric to the government and revenues of his bishoprick of Schwerin, the latter being now the husband of a king's daughter, found them to be too scanty for her support, and demanded of his brother a proportionable share of the Wenden, and other territories, which had fallen into their house since those conventions had been made, and therefore, as he alleged, were not included in them. John rejected this demand with some disdain, and Ulric, being encouraged by certain neighbouring princes, had recourse to arms to make them good, and actually invaded John's part of the Mecklenburg dominions. Ulric's chief ally was the duke of Brunswick, by whose assistance he took Boitezenburg, one of the strongest places of John's dominions, without his being able to relieve it. John had no recourse but to the assistance of his nobles, which he demanded in terms of their holdings, but they declined all concern in a quarrel between their two princes. This conduct is a plain evidence, either that the Mecklenburg nobility thought Ulric's claim to be just, or that they expected to reap some advantage by the ducal power not being invested in one person. Duke John was obliged to submit

Albert and Ulric, dukes of Mecklenburg.

Ulric, associated in the government.

submit to the necessity of the juncture, and to admit his subjects to be umpires between him and his brother. Their award was, that Ulric should have a moiety in the government of all the family-territories that had fallen to the house since the conclusion of the above mentioned conventions; and that, besides his enjoying the undivided revenues of the bishoprick of Schwerin, he should have half the ready money left by the uncle. As to the duke of Brunswick, the Rostockers, who undoubtedly thought themselves to be benefited by this convention, advanced to him sixteen thousand crowns for the payment of the auxiliaries he had lent to Ulric.

John's unsuccessful war with the Rostockers.

This compromise seems to have exasperated John Albert so much, that he was resolved to make the Rostockers sensible of his resentment. The people and the magistrates of that city had been long at variance, and they accepted of John Albert's mediation between them. He thought it a hardship to be a mediator where he ought to be a sovereign, and resolved to chastise both parties. The people had directed, upon the strength of certain imperial constitutions, a court of sixty tribunes, chosen out of their own number, to protect them against the encroachments of their magistrates. Upon the day of hearing, the people produced those writings, but John committed them to the flames, which threw them into the utmost despondency, and proportionally increased the exultations of the magistracy; but both were disappointed. John Albert, who came attended with a body of troops to give weight to his mediation, demanded not only that the keys of the city should be delivered up to him, but that the city itself should pay him above seventy-three thousand crowns, to indemnify him for the expences they occasioned to him on several occasions. The Rostockers paid the greatest part of the money; but the duke being determined to bridle them for the future, beat down some of their walls, and began to erect a citadel to over-awe the place: in this attempt, he was greatly assisted by the king of Denmark, who likewise had his reasons for being displeased with the Rostockers; but the latter, being strongly supported by the other Hanse Towns, John Albert was obliged to accept of an ineffectual submission on their part, by which they asked pardon for their conduct, while he himself was forced to demolish the citadel he had begun to erect.

His death, and family.

John Albert married Sophia, the daughter of Albert, duke of Prussia, by whom he had three sons: John IV. his eldest, who succeeded him; Albert, who died in his cradle; and Sigismund Augustus, who was married to a daughter of the duke of Pomerania, but died in his father's life-time,

without

without issue. As to John Albert himself, he died in the year 1576. Ulric, his brother and coadjutor in the government, had a daughter, Sophia, who was married to Frederic, king of Denmark, who, in the year 1577, paid a visit to his father-in-law on the following occasion. A great number of differences had long subsisted between the crown of Denmark and the city of Hamburgh; and as the dukes of Mecklenburg had immemorially been the umpires of the North, both parties, who had suffered considerably by their quarrels, applied to duke Ulric to compose their differences, which he accordingly did, and likewise those between the same city and the duke of Holstein. But while duke Ulric was thus labouring for the peace and prosperity of other states, as well as his own, his tranquillity was interrupted by a fresh quarrel he had with the Hanse Towns, on account of the Rostockers, who even contumeliously sought every opportunity to assert their independency upon him. The duke complained of their behaviour to the king, his son-in-law, who immediately equipped a fleet, which seized upon all the ships of the Rostockers, and blocked up the mouth of the river Warnow, while duke Ulric advanced against them with an army by land. The king, on this occasion, gave a proof how well he understood his own dignity, and that of his father-in-law; for, instead of publishing any manifesto, or making any proposals to the Rostockers, he gave them to understand, that he would continue to deny them all commerce with his dominions, and order his ships to destroy their trade, till they brought him a certificate of their good behaviour, under the hand of duke Ulric. The Rostockers were obliged to comply, and having, on promise of future amendment, obtained the certificate in question, the blockade of their city was raised, and their commerce returned to its former channels. In 1588, his Danish majesty, with whom his son-in-law duke Ulric had always lived in the most affectionate friendship, died, and was attended to his grave by the duke; who, next year, was present at the marriage of James VI. king of Scotland, and afterwards of Great Britain, with his grand-daughter, Anne of Denmark; and likewise at the nuptials of her sister Elizabeth with the duke of Wolfenbittel.

The Rostockers chastised.

All this time, John IV. of Mecklenburg, the son of John Albert, must be supposed to be co-ordinate with his uncle in the government; but he had, in fact, no share in it, being of so melancholy a cast of mind, joined to so bad a state of health, that, in 1592, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, he put an end to his own life. He had been married to Sophia, the daughter of Albert, duke of Holstein; and

John IV. of Mecklenburg kills himself.

and Charles his brother, bishop of Ratzeburg, became guardian to his two infant-sons, Adolphus Frederic, and John Albert II. He likewise left a daughter, Anne Sophia, who became a nun. The latter part of Ulric's administration was tranquil and peaceable; and he died in the bosom of that repose which he loved, at the uncommon age of seventy-five; by which he acquired the epithet of the German Nestor. He was twice married, first to Elizabeth, daughter to the king of Denmark, and widow to his cousin, as we have already observed; and secondly, to Anne, daughter to Philip, duke of Pomerania; but he left no issue except Sophia, who was married to the king of Denmark.

END OF THE THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME.



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